HISTORY OF DHARMASASTRA (Ancient and medieval religious and civil law)

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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW)

BY

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PREFACE

It is a little over ten years since the first volume of my History of Dharmasastra was published. In the preface to that volume I expressed the hope that time and health permitting I might issue in a few years the second volume dealing with the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra. For several years thereafter whatever leisure I could secure from professional work was devoted to the collection and orderly assortment of the vast Literature on Dharmasastra. After my return from a few months' visit to Europe in 1937 I commenced the work of writing the second volume. became apparent to me that to compress within the limits of a single volume the development of the thousand and one topics that fall within the purview of Dharmasastra would present only a scrappy and faint outline of the whole field. To add to the difficulties of my task my old painful complaint (duodenal ulcer) recurred with far greater virulence than before, so much so that, partly on medical advice and partly out of despair, in October 1938 I gave up the work altogether. When relief did not come even after six months' total abstinence from literary labours I resumed, in spite of my extremely painful complaint, the work of writing, for fear that otherwise the extensive materials that I had been collecting for nearly two decades might be entirely lost to the world of Sanskrit scholars and that my labours might be altogether wasted. Being afraid that my strength and resolution may not last till the completion of the rather ambitious undertaking, I decided upon bringing out in two volumes the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmasastra. The present volume contains the treatment of varna and āśrama, the samskāras, āhnika and ācāra, dāna, pratisthā and utsarga, and śrauta (vedic) sacrifices. The next volume (the last) will deal with the following topics: vyavahāra (Law and procedure), āśauca (impurity on birth and death), śrāddha, prāyaścitta, tīrtha, vrata, kāla, śānti, the influence of the Pūrvamīmāmsā and other sastras on Dharmasastra, customs and usages modifying Dharmasastra, the philosophical background of Dharmaśāstra, and future developments in Dharmaśāstra. Looking to my past performance I am unwilling to make any promise about the time when the next volume may be

expected to be published. I may state, however, that in view of the fact that at present I am in much better health than I have been for several years I shall try to publish it in three years more.

Excellent works dealing with distinct topics of Dharmasastra have been given to the world by eminent scholars. But so far as I know no writer has yet attempted single-handed to survey the whole field of Dharmaśāstra. From that point of view this volume partakes of the nature of a pioneer undertaking. therefore to be expected that such an ambitious project will manifest the defects of all pioneer work. The circumstances (adverted to above) in which this work had to be written and the great hurry with which it had to be rushed through are other factors that are responsible for the awkward or obscure expressions and the errors that it may contain. I mention these matters for lessening the surprise that such blemishes might lead my friends to feel and not for blunting the edge of adverse criticism. The critic is certainly entitled to mercilessly criticize the work for its shortcomings and mistakes. Some readers may complain that the present work is prolix, while others may say that the space devoted to several topics is meagre. I have tried to pursue a middle course.

There was great temptation throughout this work to compare ancient and medieval Indian customs, usages and beliefs as disclosed by dharmasastra works with those of other peoples and countries. But I have tried to omit, as far as possible, such comparisons. Whenever I indulge in them I do so for several reasons. It is the fashion among many writers, both European and Indian, to hold the caste system and the dharmaśāstra view of life responsible for most of the evils from which India suffers at present. To a very large extent I do not subscribe to that view. I have endeavoured to show that human nature being the same in essentials throughout the world, the same tendencies and evils manifest themselves in all countries, the same abuses prevail and the same perversions of originally beneficent institutions take place everywhere and anywhere, whether particular countries or societies are within the grip of the caste system or any other casteless system. Undoubtedly the caste system has in fact produced certain evils, but it is not singular in this respect. No system is perfect and immune from evil effects. Though I have been brought up in the midst of the Brahmanical system, I hope it will be conceded by scholars

that I have shown both sides of the picture and that I have endeavoured to write with detachment.

A few words must be said about the extensive quotations from Sanskrit works and the references to modern Indian Legislation and case-law. For those who cannot read English (most pandits and $\delta \bar{a}$ stris do not) the quotations will be of great help in understanding at least the trend of the arguments. Besides Indian scholars are as a class poor and cannot afford to purchase numerous books. Nor are there many good libraries in India where all works of reference can be had. For all these reasons thousands of quotations have been cited in the footnotes. The quotations are mostly drawn from published works and references to mss. are few and far between. I hope that the numerous quotations will not intrude themselves on the attention of those who want to read only the English portion of the work. Legislative enactments and case-law have been referred to for showing that many regulations of dharmasastra are still very much alive, that they govern the every-day life of Hindus and permeate all classes of Hindu society in spite of the fact that a considerable part of dharmasastra has become obsolete. Similar remarks apply to the numerous references to inscriptions on stone and copper. These latter serve to prove that rules laid down in the dharmasastra were throughout two thousand years observed by the people and enforced by kings and that such rules were not mere precepts composed by dreamers or scholastic pedants.

I acknowledge with great pleasure that I am under deep obligations to many predecessors and workers in the same and other fields and to many friends. Among the works to which I had to refer constantly and from which I derived the greatest benefit I must specially refer to the following: Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith, the Sacred Books of the East edited by Max Müller XLI. XLIII, XLIV). As I was handicapped by the fact that I know little German and less French, I could not fully utilise all the work done by modern European scholars. I am highly obliged to Paramahamsa Kevalānanda Svāmi of Wai for constant help and guidance (particularly in the śrauta portion); to Chintamansāstri Datar of Poona for assistance in the chapter on darśapurnamasa and for carefully going through the other chapters on śrauta; to Mr. Keshav Lakshman Ogale for his work on a portion of the Index; to TarkatIrtha Raghunāthasāstrī Kokje for reading through the whole work and suggesting additions and emendations.

Besides, assistance in various ways during the progress of the work for over three years was very kindly rendered by a host of friends, among whom I should like to make special mention of Prof. H. D. Velankar, Prof. Rangaswami Ayyangar Prof. P. P. S. Śāstrī, Dr. Alsdorf, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Mr. G. H. Khare, Mr. N. C. Bapat, Pandit Rangacharya Raddi, Mr. L. S. Dravid (a Sāmavedi of Poona), Pandit S. D. Satavlekar, Mr. P. K. Gode. Thanks are due to all these and other friends for their help and interest in this volume. I must state, however, that I alone am responsible for the views and mistakes contained in this work.

In a work containing thousands of quotations and references it is very likely that many slips have occurred. Besides it is very much to be regretted that several misprints have crept into the footnotes by the loss or displacement of dots and other loose parts of Sanskrit letters in the process of printing.

15th June 1941

P. V. KANE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. I. R. = All India Reporter (edited by Mr. V. V. Chitaley of Nagpur).

Ait. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmana.

All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad Series.

Ānan. or Ānand. = Ānandāśrama Press edition, Poons.

Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.

Āp. gr. = Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra.

Āp. M. P. = Āpastamba-mantra-pātha.

Āp. Śr. = Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra.

Āśv. gr. = Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra.

 \overline{A} śv. \hat{S} r. = \overline{A} śvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra.

A. S. W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India Reports.

Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra.

Baud. gr. = Baudhāyana-grhya-sūtra.

Baud, śr. = Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra.

Bhār, gr. = Bhāradvāja-grhya-sūtra.

B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.

Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series.

Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports (vol. I-XII).

Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter (edited by Ratanlal and Dhirajlal).

B. O. R. I. = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Br. Up. = Brhadaranyaka Upanisad.

Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta Series.

Chān, Up, or Ch. Up, = Chāndogya Upanisad,

C. I. I. = (Volumes of) Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal.

Com. = Commentator or Commentary (according to context).

Cr. ed. = Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes (Law Reports).

D. C. = Deccan College Collection of Sanskrit Mss.

Dh. S. = Dharmasütra.

Die Frau = Die Frau im Brahmanismus by Dr. M. Winternitz (1920, Leipzig).

E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.

E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.

E. R. E. = Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics (edited by James Hastings).

F. n. = Footnote.

Fick = The Social organization in North-east India in Buddha's time (translated from German by Dr. Shishirkumara Maitra, 1920).

Gaut. = Dharmasūtra of Gautama.

Gr. R. = Grhastharatnākara of Candeśvara.

G. S. = Gupta sainvat.

H. A. S. L. = History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Prof. Max Müller (1859).

Hir. gr. = Hiranyakeśi-grhya-sūtra.

I. A. = Indian Antiquary.

I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.

I. L. R. = India Law Reports series.

Ins. = Inscription or inscriptions.

J. B. B. R. A. S. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J. B. O. R. S. = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Jiv. = Pandit Jivananda's edition.

J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Kāthaka S. = Kāthaka Samhitā.

Kaut. = Kautilya's Arthaśāstra.

L. R. I. A. = Law Reports, Indian Appeals (decided by the Privy Council), the number of the volume being inserted between L. R. and I. A.

Mait. S. = Maitrāyani-samhitā.

Mānava gr. = Mānava-grhyasūtra.

Mārk. or Mārkaņdeya = Mārkaņdeya-purāņa.

Mit. = The commentary Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya Smrti.

Moo. I. A. = Moore's Indian Appeals.

n. = footnote.

Pāņ. = Pāņini's Astādhyāyī.

P and M = Pollock and Maitland's History of English Law.

Pår. gr. = Päraskara-grhya-sūtra.

Par. M. = Parāśara-Mādhaviya.

Pat. = Patañjali's Māhābhāṣya.

Q. = Quoted.

Rel. and Phil. = Prof. Keith's 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads.'

Rg. = Rgveda.

Rit. Lit. = Hillebrandt's 'Ritual Litteratur Vedische Opfer und Zauber'.

Sam. K. = Samskāra-kaustubha of Anantadeva.

Sam. P. or Pr. = Samskāraprakāša of Mitramišra.

 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \mathrm{Sam.~R.~M.} \\ \mathrm{or~S.~R.~M.} \end{array} \right\} \ = \mathrm{Samsk\bar{a}ra\text{-}ratna\text{-}m\bar{a}l\bar{a}} \ \mathrm{of~GopIn\bar{a}tha}.$

Śāń. gr. = Śāńkhyāyana-grhya-sūtra.

Sat. Br. = Satapatha Brāhmana.

S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (ed. by Prof. Max Müller).

Sch. C. O. = Scheduled castes Order of 1936.

Sm. C. = Smrti-candrikā.

Sm. M. or Smr. M. = Smrtimuktaphala of Vaidyanatha.

Śr. P. N. = Śrautapadarthanirvacana.

S. V. = Sāmaveda.

Tai. Ār. = Taittirīya Āraņyaka.

Tai. Br. = Taittiriya Brāhmaņa.

Tai. S. or Sam. = Taittirīya Samhitā.

Tr. = Translation or translated (according to context).

Up. = Upanisad.

Vāj. S. = Vājasaneya Sambitā.

Vaik, or Vaikhānasa = Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra,

Vas. or Vas. Dh. S. = Vasistha-dharmasūtra.

Viṣṇu. Dh. S. = Viṣṇu-dharma-sātra.

V. S. = Vedānta-sūtra.

Yāj. = Yājňavalkyasmṛti.

Yati. Dh. S. or Yati-dh.

Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesselschaft.

आप. ए. मू. = आपस्तम्बरुद्यसूत्र क. = क्रावेदरोहिता आप. घ. मू. or आप. घ. = आपस्तम्बर्धमृत्र ऐ. आ. = ऐतरेयारण्यक आप. म. पाठ = आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयत्राह्मण आप. श्री. मू. = आपस्तम्बर्धातसृत्र कटोप. = कटोपनिषद् आथ. ए. सू = आश्रलायनग्रीतसृत्र कात्या. च. कात्यायन आश्र. श्री. = आश्रलायनश्रीतसृत्र कात्या. श्री. = कात्यायनश्रीतसृत्र

н. р. В

कौषतिकि ब्रा.उ. = कौषीतिक ब्राह्मणोपनिषद गृ. र. or गृह. र. = गृहस्थरत्नाकर गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र छा. उ. = छान्दोग्योपनिषद् जै. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र जै. उ. व्रा. = जैमिनीयोपनिषदबाद्यण तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक तै. उ. = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण तै. सं. = तेत्तिरीयसंहिता परा. मा. = पराशरमाध्वीय पा. = पाणिनीयाष्टाध्यायी पूर्वमी. = पूर्वमीमांसास्त्र बृह. = बृहस्पतिस्मृति (as quoted in digests) बृह. उ. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद बी. गृ. = बीचायनपृह्यसूत्र बो. घ. or हो. घ. स्. = बोधायनधर्मसूत्र ब्रा. = ब्राह्मण

मिता. = मितादारा (याज्ञवन्वस्मृतिटीका)

मन् = मनुरमृति

मेधा. = मेधातिथि (मनुस्मृतिभाष्यकार) मे. सं. or मैत्रा. सं. = मैत्रायणीसंहिता मैत्री. उप. = मैत्र्युपनिषद् यति. ध. सं. = यातिधर्मसंप्रह या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति वाज. सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता वि. चि = विवादचिन्तामणि विश्वरूप = याज्ञवत्क्यस्मृतिटीका of विश्वरूप वि. र. = विवादरत्नाकर वै. स्मा. or वैखा. स्मा.=वैखानसस्मार्तसृत्र व्य. म. or व्यव. म. = व्यवहारमयूख शतपथवाः = शतपथवाहाण शां. गृ. = शांख्यायनगृह्य शां. श्रीः = शांख्यायनश्रीत शृह्यमः = शृह्यमारावर सं. को. = संस्कारकीरतुभ मं, प्र. = संस्कारप्रकाश सं. र. मा. = संस्काररत्नमाला स्मृतिच. = समृतियन्द्रिका स्म. म्. वर स्मृतिम = स्मृतिमुक्ताफः अ

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(of important works and authors referred to in this volume)

N. B.—Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are conjectural and only tentative.

4000 B. C.-1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmanas and Upaniṣads. It is possible that some hymns may go back to a period even earlier than 4000 B. C. and that some Upaniṣads (even out of those that are regarded as the principal and the earliest ones) are later than 1000 B. C.

800 B. C.-500 B. C.-The Nirukta.

800 B. C.—400 B. C.—The principal śrauta sūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Śāṅkhyāyana, Lātyāyana, Drāhyāyaṇa, Satyāṣādha) and some of the grhya sūtras (Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba &c.).

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—The dharmasütras of Apastamba, Gautama.

Baudhāyana, Vasistha and the Grhyasütras of Pāraskara, Baudhāyana and some others.

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—Pānini.

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—Jaimini's Pürvamīmāinsā-sütra.

300 B. C.—100 A. D.—Kauţilya's Arthaśāstra

150 B.C. — Mahābhāsya of Patañjali.

200 B. C.-200 A. D.-Manusmrti.

100 A.D.-300 A.D.-Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Visnudharmasūtra.

100 A. D.—400 A. D.—Nāradasmṛti.

200 A. D.—500 A. D.—Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra.

200 A. D.—500 A. D.—Sabara, com. of Jaimini.

300 A. D.-500 A. D.-Brhaspatismrti (not yet found).

300 A. D.—600 A. D.—Some of the extant purāņas viz. Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Kūrma, Matsya.

400 A. D. -600 A. D. - Kātyāyanasmrti (not yet found).

505 A. D.—587 A. D.—Varāha-mihira, author of Brhatsamhitā.

650 A. D.—750 A. D.—Tantravārtika of Kumārila.

788 A. D.—840 A. D.—Samkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher.

600 A. D.—900 A. D.—Most of the other smrtis and some of the purānas.

800 A. D.—850 A. D.—Visvarūpa, com. of Yājñavalkya.

900 A.D.

-Medhātithi, com. of Manu

1100 A.D.

-Mitāksarā of Vijāānesvara.

1100 A. D.-1150 A. D.-Kalpataru of Laksmidhara.

1100 A. D.-1150 A. D.-Jimütavāhana.

1125 A. D.

—Aparārka.

1150 A. D.-1200 A. D.-Smrtyarthasāra.

1200 A. D.-1225 A. D.—Smrticandrikā.

1150 A. D.-1300 A. D.-Haradatta.

1150 A. D.-1300 A. D.-Kullūka.

1260 A. D.-1270 A. D.-Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaņi.

1310 A. D.-1360 A. D.-Candeśvara, author of the Grhastharatnākara and other Ratnākaras.

1300 A. D.-1380 A. D.-Mādhavācārya, author of Parāśara-Mādhavīya.

1360 A. D.-1390 A. D.-Madanapārijāta.

1425 A. D.-1450 A. D.-Madanaratna.

1520 A. D.-1570 A. D.-Raghunandana.

1610 A. D.-1640 A. D.—Kamalākarabbaṭṭa, author of Nirnayasindhu and Śūdrakamalākara.

1615 A. D.-1645 A. D.—Nîlakantha, author of Samskāra-mayūkha and other Mayūkhas.

1610 A. D.-1640 A. D.-Mitra Miśra, author of Viramitrodaya.

1650 A. D.-1680 A. D.-Anantadeva, author of Samskära-kaustubha.

About 1686 A. D.—Smrtimuktaphala of Vaidyanatha.

1700 A. D.-1750 A. D.-Nāgojibhatta.

1750 A. D.-1820 A. D.—Bālambhaṭṭā, author of Bālambhaṭṭī.

1790 A. D.

—Dharmasindhu (of Kāśinātha),

CHAP. I. 1—18

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Slavery. Existence of slavery in Vedic times. Kinds of slaves in the smrtis. Manumission of slaves.

CHAP. VI. 188-267

Samskāras. Purpose of samskāras. Divisions of samskāras. Divergence as to number of samskāras. List of samskāras named by all or most of the smrti writers. Samskāras of Easy expiation provided for non-performance of samskāras. Garbhādhāna known from the times of the Atharvaveda. Procedure of Garbhādhāna in the Brhadaranyaka upanisad and smrtis. Whether it is a samskara of the woman or of the child. Altar in grhya rites. Homa. Preliminary rites in all samskāras such as Ganapatipūjana, Punyāhavācana, Pumsavana. Mātrkāpūjana, Nāndīsrāddha. Anavalobhana. Sīmantonnayana, Viṣṇubali, Sosyantīkarma, Jātakarma several component parts of it such as homa, Medhajanana. Nāmakaraņa. How names were given at various periods; several names for the same person. Rules about names. Karnavedha. Nişkramana, Annaprāśana, Varsavardhana, Caula, Vidyārambha,

CHAP. VII. 268-415

Upanayana. Meaning of the word. Origin and development of this sacrament. It implies gäyatryupadesa. Ancient features of upanayana. Originally a simple ceremony. The proper age for upanayana for the three varnas. The auspicious time for it. Rules about the skin, the garments, the girdle and the staff of the brahmacārin of different varnas. The preliminary rites of Upanayana such as homa. The principal rites of upanayana. History of yajūopavīta from ancient times. Rules for manufacturing and wearing yajūopavīta. Whether women had upanayana performed and could wear yajūopavīts. Wearing of yajūopavīta given up by kṣatriyas in the first few centuries after Christ. Whether upanayana performed for the blind, the deaf and dumb, idiots &c. Upanayana of mixed castes and of the asvattha tree. Imparting of sacred Gäyatrī to the student.

Vyāhrtis and 'om '. Eulogy of Gāyatrī. The dharmas (duties) of brahmacārins. Bhiksā (begging) for food by brahmacārin. Performance of Samdhyā twice daily and rules about the principal elements of samdhyā, such as ācamana, prānāyāma, mārjana, aghamarsana, arghya to the sun, japa of Gāyatrī, upasthāna (worship). Nyāsas and Mudrās. Study of the veda, the first duty. Features of the ancient educational system, such as oral instruction, teaching without stipulating for a fee, student's stay with the teacher. Qualifications of a good teacher and the qualities of a good pupil. Students did work for the teacher. Rules about honouring the teacher and elders, bowing to them and about the return of greetings. women relatives and the wife of the teacher. Rules about showing courtesy and precedence on public roads. Grounds of showing respect. Duration of student-hood. Subjects of study at various periods. Corporal punishment of pupils. Education of ksatrivas, vaišvas, šūdras and of women. Merits and defects of the ancient system of education. The Veda-vratas, Perpetual (naisthika) students. Patitasāvitrīka (whose upanayana had not been performed). Whether ksatriyas and vaisyas exist in the Kali age. The Vrātyastoma for those whose upanayana had not been performed at all. Taking back those who had been forcibly converted or who belonged to other faiths. Tolerance in ancient India. Absorption of foreign elements. Punarupanayana (performing upanayana again). Anadhyāya (cessation of study) on various days and for various reasons. Kesanta or *Godāna*. Snāna or Samāvartana (the student's return from the teacher after finishing Vedic study). Rules of conduct for snātakas.

CHAP. VIII. 416-426

Aśramas. Origin and development of the idea of āśramas (stages of life). Number of āśramas four from the times of the most ancient dharmasūtras. Manu's theory. Brahmacarya and householder's stage well-known even to the Rgveda. Vaikhānasa and yati in Vedic Literature. Three āśramas expressly mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. Idea of mokṣa (release from saṃsāra). Varṇa and āśrama complementary. Three different points of view about the four āśramas.

CHAP. IX. 427-541

Marriage. The most important samskāra of all. Texts do not point to a society where there was promiscuity and no

marriage. Purposes of marriage. Qualifications of a desirable Rules for the selection of a bride. Laksanas (indicatory characteristics), bahya (visible) and abhyantara (invisible or inferrible). Four or five grounds for preferring a particular girl. Selecting a girl by asking her to take one out of several lumps of clay gathered from various places. ancient times brotherless maidens not accepted as brides. unmarried woman was deemed in medieval times to go to heaven. Restrictions as to caste, gotra, pravara and sapinda Breach of these rules rendered a so-called relationship. marriage null and void. Age of marriage for men not fixed. Age of marriage for girls varied at different periods. In the ancient sūtras girls were married about the time of puberty. Reasons for insistence on pre-puberty marriages in Yājñavalkyasmṛti and other works not clear. Examples of inter-caste marriages in Vedic Literature, in dharma and grhya sūtras and smrtis and in inscriptions. Anyloma marriages allowed till about the 9th century A.D. Sapinda relationship explained in the Mit. Rules about prohibition of marriage on the ground of sapinda relation-Conflict of texts as to these rules. Marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter. Conflict on this point among medieval writers and among several castes. Narrowing of sapinda relationship permitted by writers of digests only on the ground of usage. Meaning of 'viruddhasambandha.' Sapinda relationship of the adopted son. Meaning of sapinda according to Dayabhaga and Raghunandana. Marriage between sagotras and sapravaras Meaning of 'gotra' and 'pravara' in Vedic works. Gotra and prayara of importance in several matters. Gotra in the sūtras and digests. Divisions and sub-divisions of gotras. Each gotra has one or more pravaras. Gotras of ksatriyas and vaisyas. Names of ksatriya kings among gotras and Marriage of sagotras and sapravaras void according to the writers of digests. Persons that have power to give a girl in marriage. Sale of girls in marriage in ancient times. Taking monetary consideration for one's daughter condemned. Father's power over his children. Conflict of views among writers as to ownership over one's wife and children. Infanticide, medieval and modern. Auspicious time for marriage. Medieval works introduced difficulties on astrological grounds. Forms of marriage. Meaning of raksasa and paisaca marriages. Svayamvara. Only two forms of marriage in vogue in modern times. Procedure of marriage in the Rgveda and in the grhya sūtras. List of the several elements in the marriage rite and

their description. When marriage becomes complete and irrevocable. Marriage brought about by force or fraud.

CHAP. X. 542-549

Madhuparka. Procedure of it from the sūtras. Arkavivāha (marriage with the arka plant). Parivedana (marrying before an elder brother or sister).

CHAP. XI. 550-582

Polygamy, polyandry, rights and duties on marriage. No evidence for polyandry in Sanskrit Literature except in the case of Draupadi. First duty of wife was to co-operate with the husband in all religious matters. Wife not authorised to perform religious rites independently or without husband's consent. Precedence among co-wives in religious matters. Theory of debts with which every man was supposed to be born, one being the debt to his ancestors and discharged by procreating sons. Duties of wife dwelt upon at great length in all smrtis and digests. Foremost duty of wife is to obey her husband and honour him as god. Ideal of a patieratā. Wife's conduct when husband was away from home on a journey. Supernatural powers ascribed to pativrata. Wife's right of residence and maintenance. Husband's power of correction. Humane treatment even when wife guilty of adultery. No identity of husband and wife for secular or legal purposes. Position of women in ancient India. Estimate of the character of women in Sanskrit works. Passages condemning women's character. High eulogy of and reverence for the mother.

CHAP. XII. 583-598

Duties of widows. Rules of conduct for widows for one year after the death of the husband. In widowhood woman to lead an ascetic life, avoid luxuries like perfumes, flowers, chewing betelnut. Widow (except one's mother) declared to be most inauspicious. Her rights in a joint family, and as heir to husband's separate property. Widow's position improved by recent legislation. The practice of tonsure of brāhmaṇa widows has no sanction in the vedas and smṛtis (excepting one or two). Examination of texts relied upon in support of this practice. Only Skandapurāṇa and medieval digests insist on tonsure. Practice gradually evolved from about 10th or 11th century. Sentiment that a woman should not be killed on any account.

Position of women became assimilated to that of sūdras in religious matters. Certain advantages conceded to women. Practice of *purda* did not exist for women except for queens and ladies of high or noble rank.

CHAP. XIII. 599-607

Niyoga. Great divergence of views about the origin and purpose of this practice. Stringent conditions were laid down by smṛtikāras before niyoga could be resorted to. Breach of the conditions severely condemned and made punishable. Some even very ancient writers on dharma did not allow this practice. The Mahābhārata is full of examples of niyoga. Some writers held that texts permitting niyoga applied to śūdras or to girls who were only promised in marriage to a person but not actually married to him (as he died in the meantime). Three views upon the question 'to whom the child born of niyoga belonged.' Niyoga forbidden in the Kali age by Bṛhaspati and other smṛti writers.

CHAP. XIV. 608-623

Remarriage of widows. The word 'punarbhū' does not necessarily mean 'remarried widow'. Nārada on the kinds of punarbhūs and svairiņīs. Baudhāyana and Kaśyapa on 7 kinds of punarbhū. Smṛtis (except those of Vasiṣṭha, Nārada and one or two others) prohibit remarriage of widows. Rules for a wife whose husband is unheard of for many years. Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act of 1856. Appalling number of child widows. Verses of Rgveda and Atharvaveda supposed to refer to remarriage of widows examined. Divorce unknown in Vedic or Dharmaśāstra Literature. Kauṭilya on divorce. Divorce law in England and Roman Catholic countries.

CHAP. XV. 624-636

Satī. Forbidden in India from 1829. Practice of widow burning obtained in many countries. Practice of Satī very limited in ancient times. Sahagamana and anumaruņa. Brāhmaṇa widows were not allowed anumaraṇa. References to practice of Satī in classical Sanskrit Literature and epigraphic records. Rewards promised to Satī. Some commentators were opposed to this practice. Restrictions imposed against widow-burning by the smṛtis. Procedure of the rite of widow-burning. Widow-burning more prevalent in Bengal than anywhere else owing to the higher rights of succession granted to wives.

CHAP. XVI. 637-639

Vesya. The institution existed from Vedic times. The rights of concubines to maintenance.

CHAP. XVII. 640-695

Ahnika and ācāra. Importance of the stage of householder. Grhasthas grouped into śālina and yāyāvara. Duties of householders described in detail in many smrtis and digests. Various ways of dividing the day. Smrtis usually divide the day into eight parts. Actions to be done on getting up from bed, such as hymns of praise to God, repeating the names of famous personages like Nala and of persons that are supposed to be cirajivins. Auspicious and inauspicious sights on getting up from bed. Rules about answering calls of nature. Cleanliness of body (sauca) in various ways. Acamana (sipping water). Dantadhavana (brushing the teeth) existed from the most ancient times. What twigs to be used for it. Times when there is to be no brushing of teeth. Snana (bath). Kuśas necessary in most religious acts. Rules about collecting kuśas. Snāna twice a day or thrice according to some. No bath at night (except on rare occasions). Natural water preferred to water drawn from wells or hot water. Procedure of bathing. Rules about the clay to be employed for smearing and cleaning the body. Ten good results of a bath. Six varieties of bathing with water. How one who is ill is to be purified. Tarpana as a constituent part of snana. Clothes to be worn by a house-Making marks on the forehead after bathing. Urdhvapundra and Tripundra. Saiva and Vaisnava sectarians condemning each other's marks. Saindhyā after bath. Homa. Two views about performing it before or after sunrise. Agnihotra twice daily. Three or five or six fires. When to begin maintaining grhya fire. Materials for havis. Homa to be offered by oneself or by one's son, pupil, brother, sister's son or a similar relative. Wife or unmarried daughter may offer homa in grhya fire if householder be ill. Japa of Vedic texts. What are mangala (auspicious) objects. The matters described so far occupy first eighth part of the day. In 2nd part revision of Vedic texts, collecting fuel sticks, flowers, kuśas &c. In 3rd part one was to find out means of maintenance and to earn wealth. In 4th part mid-day bath. Then tarpana of gods, sages and pitrs. A brief tarpana is also prescribed.

CHAP. XVIII. 696-704

Mahāyajāas (five daily observances or sacrifices). These are mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and Taittirīya Āraṇyaka. Mahāyajāas distinguished from śrauta rites in two ways. Sentiments that prompted the five yajāas in very remote days. Later on purpose of Mahāyajāas stated to be atonement for injury to life caused by daily acts. The five yajāas in order of performance are brahmayajāa, devayajāa, bhūtayajāa, pitṛyajāa and manuṣya-yajāa. Brahmayajāa. Earliest description in Śatapatha Br. and Tai. Ār. Brahmayajāa for Rgvedins described.

CHAP. XIX. 705-740

Derayajña. In sūtras homa is Devayajña. In medieval times home receded into background and devapujā took its place. Discussion whether images of gods were known in Meaning of Sisnadeva. Phallic emblems at Vedic times. Mohenjo-daro, Linga worship, Images known long before Pānini. Erection of temples and worship of images, whether borrowed or indigenous. Substances from which images were Principal gods of whom images were worshipped. Ritual of image worship. Who are entitled to perform devapūjā, Śālagrāma and other sacred stones. Pañcāvatanapūjā. Ten avatāras of Visnu. Germs of the theory in Vedic Literature. When Buddha came to be looked upon as an avatara of Why Buddhism disappeared from India. for religious persecution in India very meagre. Siva worship. Worship of Ganesa and Dattatreya. Earliest description of the worship of Visnu and Siva. The 16 modes of worship (upacāras). Flowers in the worship of different gods. Namaskāras to the sun. Worship of Durgā. Analysis of devapūjā in modern times.

CHAP. XX. 741-748

Vaiśvadeva. According to some it comprises three yajñas, viz. to gods, bhūtas and pitrs. Deities of Vaiśvadeva. Usually performed only once in the noon. Procedure of Vaiśvadeva. Views about Vaiśvadeva in relation to śrāddha. Baliharaṇa or bhūtayajāa. Daily pitr-yajāa.

CHAP. XXI. 741-756

Nṛyajña or Manuṣyayajña (honouring guests). Guests honoured from Rgveda downwards. Who is an atthi. Modes

of showing honour to guests. Motive of the injunction about guests was universal kindliness. Taking leave of a guest.

CHAP. XXII. 757-806

Bhojana (taking meals). Importance attached to purity of food. Rules about bhojana in Vedic Literature. Direction in which to take food. Times of taking food. Vessels to be used in bhojana. Preliminaries before bhojana (such as ācamana, prānāhutis &c.). Posture at time of eating. How much to eat. How panktis (rows of dinners) were distinguished. Who are panktipāvana brāhmaņas. Etiquette at time of bhojana. Occasions (like eclipses) when abstaining from food was prescribed. What food should or should not be eaten. Various grounds on which food was forbidden. Flesh-eating in Vedic times. Sacredness of cow. Pañcagavya. Occasions when cow could be offered in sacrifices. Rules about the flesh of beasts, birds and fishes. Causes of the giving up of flesh-eating. Ksatrivas have been meat-eaters from ancient times. Rules about taking milk and its products and about certain herbs and vegetables. Exhaustive list of persons whose food may not be taken. Great fluctuations about the rules as to whose food may not be taken by a brahmana. Laxity about food prepared with ghee, oil or milk. Food from five classes of śūdras could be taken by brāhmanas in the times of sūtras, but later on this was forbidden. Rules about persons who could cook and serve food for brahmanas. Drinking liquor in ancient times. All intoxicants forbidden to brahmanas from sūtra times, but some intoxicants allowed to ksatriyas and others. Maduas of various kinds. Tāmbūla after bhojana. Acts to be done after bhojana. Rules about sleeping. Sexual intercourse between husband and wife. Rules about Rajasvalā (a woman in her monthly illness). Rules about the distribution of the king's duties—in the several parts of the day and night.

CHAP. XXIII. 807-818

Upākarma (starting of the session of vedic studies) and utsarjana (cessation from vedic studies). Divergence about time of upākarma. Explanation of the importance attached to the month of Śrāvaṇa and the Śravaṇa constellation. Procedure of upākarma in ancient times. Analysis of the constituents of upākarma in modern times. Holiday after upākarma. Divergence about times of utsarjana. Description of modern utsarjana.

CHAP. XXIV. 819-836

Minor grhya and other rites. Pārvana sthālīpāka. Caitrī. Sītāyajña. Śrāvanī and Sarpabali. Serpent-worship from ancient times. Festival in honour of Indra. Aśvayujī. Agrayana iṣṭi. Āgrahāyanī. Śūlagava or Īśānabali. Vāstupratiṣṭhā, ancient and modern.

CHAP. XXV. 837-888

Dāna (gifts). Dāna is a special feature of householder's stage. Gifts highly extolled in the Rgveda. Gift of horses censured in some works. Gifts of land were not favoured in verv early times. Difference between dana, yaga and homa. Meaning of istapurta. All could make gifts (including women and śūdras). Persons fit and unfit to be donees. What things could be donated and what not. Three classes of things that could be given. Danas of three kinds, viz. nitya, naimittika and kāmua. Making gifts in secret eulogised. Certain gifts should not be spurned. Gifts of certain things forbidden. Proper times for making gifts. Generally gifts not to be made at night. Gifts at times of eclipses, sainkrānti and on ayana days specially recommended. Proper places for gifts. Presiding deities of various articles of gift. General procedure of making gifts. Kings were required to make various kinds of gifts to brāhmanas. Spending money for marriages of brāhmanas and settling them in houses highly eulogised. Gifts of land the most meritorious. Smrti rules about land-grants followed in epigraphic records. Verses deprecating the resumption of gifts made by earlier kings. Prior gifts to temples and brahmanas excepted in grants of villages. Taxes remitted in royal grants. The eight bhogas in relation to land grants. Discussion whether king is owner of all lands in the kingdom. Gifts called mahādānas described in purānas. Sixteen mahādānas. Procedure of Tulāpurusa and other mahādānas. Gift of cows highly extolled. Gifts of ten kinds called dhenus such as of ghee, jaggery &c. Ten kinds of gifts called parvata or meru danas viz. of heaps of corn, salt, sesame &c. Establishing a pavilion for distributing water. Gift of books. Gifts for propitiating planets. Founding of hospitals. Expiations for accepting gifts which should not have been accepted. When gift becomes irrevocable. Kinds of invalid gifts. Gifts to dharma held void by modern courts.

CHAP. XXVI. 889-916

Pratisthā and Utsarga (founding of temples and dedication of wells &c.). Women and śūdras also could spend on $p\bar{u}rta$ -

dharma, though not on ista (vedic sacrifices). Charitable works for the benefit of the public came to be regarded as more meritorious than sacrifices. Procedure of dedicating a tank or well to the public in the sūtras. Procedure prescribed in purānas gradually superseded the sūtra procedure. Meaning of dāna. pratisthā and utsarga. Trees highly valued in ancient Trees supposed to save a man from hell just as a son did. Worship of trees. Consecration of images in temples. Image worship in a public temple or privately. Procedure of consecration of images according to the Matsya-purana. later times other details added from Tantra works. kinds of Nyāsas viz, mātrkānyāsa, tattvanyāsa and mantranyāsa. Consecration of the image of Visnu from Vaikhānasa Smartasutra. Practice of attaching dancing girls to temples is comparatively ancient. When re-consecration (punah-pratisthā) becomes necessary. Jīrņoddhāra (repairing or re-constructing a dilapidated temple &c.), time and procedure of. Founding of mathas (monasteries or colleges for teachers and pupils). Distinction between a temple and a matha. Mathas said to have been established by the great teacher Sainkarācārya. The origin of mathas in general. How property of matha devolves. Appointment and powers of the head of a matha. How rulers and courts in ancient and medieval times controlled administration of temple and matha properties. Modern legislation dealing with religious and charitable endowments. Yogaksema is impartible. Control of founder on work dedicated to the public. Powers of a shebait to remove an idol or to establish another.

CHAP. XXVII. 917-929

Vānaprastha (forest hermit). Vaikhānasa, ancient word for vānaprastha. An ancient work called Vaikhānasa sūtra or śāstra. Time for becoming a vānaprastha. Principal points connected with being a vānaprastha. If he suffers from an incurable disease, he may start on the great journey till the body falls to rise no more. Intricate classification of vānaprasthas in Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra and others. Members of all varņas except śūdras could become vānaprasthas. Members of princely houses as vānaprasthas. Ending one's life by starting on the great journey (mahāprasthāna) or by fire or water or falling from a precipice when and why allowed. Historical examples of this practice. This practice prohibited in the Kali age. Most of the duties prescribed for vānaprasthas

are the same as those for samnyāsins. So vānaprastha stage forbidden in Kali age by the Nāradīya-purāņa and other works.

CHAP. XXVIII.

930-975

Saimyāsa (order of ascetics). Life of giving up worldly ties, of begging and contemplation on the Absolute known to the earliest Upanisads. Jābālopanisad prescribes rules for ascetics. The most salient features of samnyasa gathered from the dharmasūtras and smṛtis. Tridandi and ekadandi ascetics. Four kinds of ascetics, kuticaka, bahūdaka, hamsa and paramahamsa and their characteristics. Popular notion paramahamsa is beyond all rules and prohibitions combated by ancient texts. Vidvat-sainnvāsa and vividisā-sainnväsa. turiyātīta and avadhūta kinds of ascetics. Opinions as to whether samnyasa was allowed only to brahmanas or to all three varnas. According to smrtis and medieval works a śūdra could not become an ascetic. Women in rare cases adopted the ascetic mode of life. The word samnvasa convevs two distinct ideas. Some held that samnyasa was meant only for the blind and the cripple. Ascetics were to give up wife and home and were not to revert to householder's life. Ten orders of advaita samnyāsins following Samkarācārva's doctrines and their mathas. Disputes among the heads of these mathas as to properties and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. How successors to the pontiffs of the mathas are appointed. How and why samnyāsins gave up doctrine of ahimsū in medieval times. samnyāsin is severed from his family and loses rights of property in it. By custom certain samnyāsins called Gosāvis were allowed to have wives and concubines. Procedure of samnyāsa according to the sūtras. Procedure of samnyāsa according to Dharmasindhu. Principal elements are; eight śrāddhas, sāvitrī praveśa, virajāhoma, declaration of leaving home, all wealth and desires and taking vow of ahimsa, giving up of topknot and sacred thread, teaching by guru of pancikarana and mahāvākyas (like tat tvam-asi), giving of a new name by the teacher, yogapatta (p. 962), paryanka-sauca. Samnyāsa in extremis (ātura-samnyāsa). Controversies about giving up sikhā and yajñopavīta. Daily duties of an ascetic. No impurity on his death for his relatives and vice versa. Ascetic heads of mathas claim in modern times jurisdicof caste, excommunication, expiations for tion in matters lapses. In ancient times purisads (assemblies of learned

men) exercised these functions and kings acted on their advice. The number of persons required to constitute a parisad for deciding a doubtful point about dharma. Sistas constitute a parisad. Meaning of sista. The council of eight ministers established by Shivaji and the duties of the Panditrao, one of these eight. Panditrao took advice of the parisads of learned brāhmaṇas on questions of re-admission of converts, expiations &c. Many features of asceticism are common to all religions. It is a partial truth that Indians have the highest regard for the ascetic.

CHAP. XXIX. 976-1008

Śrauta (Vedic) sacrifices. Deep study of vedic sacrifices essential for the proper understanding of Vedic Literature, for appreciating the influence of that Literature on varnas. Chronology uncertain. Works, ancient and modern, on Vedic sacrifices. Jaimini on interpretation of Vedic texts relating to sacrifices. Cult of yajña existed in Indo-Iranian period. Literaiv and epigraphic evidence for the performance of Vedic sacrifices by kings after the advent of Buddha. Grants made by kings for enabling brahmanas to perform agnihotra &c. The references to sacrificial matters in the Rgveda. General rules applicable in all sūtras. Mantras of four kinds, 7k, yajus, saman and nigada. Different kinds of ladles. Sacrificial utensils. The several fires. The five bhüsamskāras. Agnyādheya. Choosing the devayajana (place of worship). Procedure of agnyādheva. Punarādheya. Agnihotra in the morning and evening. Rules about agnihotra when the householder goes away from home either alone or with his wife.

CHAP. XXX. 1009-1090

Darśapūrņamāsa (New moon and Full moon sacrifices). Time for starting the performance of darśapūrņamāsa. Anvārambhaṇīyā iṣṭi, śākhāharaṇa, barhirāharaṇa (bringing bundles of kuśa grass), idhmāharaṇa (bringing fuel sticks), Sāyamdoha. Upavasatha day. Sānnāyya. Brahmavaraṇa (choosing the brahmā priest). Praṇītā waters. Nirvāṇa (taking out sacrificial material). Prokṣaṇa (sprinkling) of sacrificial material, utensils &c. The Haviṣkṛt call. Beating the grains of rice. Baking cake (puroḍāśa) on potsherds. Construction of vedi (altar). Patnīsamnahana (girding up the sacrificer's wife). Barhirāstaraṇa (strewing the vedi with kuśas). Fifteen Sāmidhenī verses. Pravaramantra (invocation of fire). The two āghāras

(pouring of ajya in a continuous stream). Hotqvarana. The Prayājas (five offerings). Vasatkāra. Ajyabhāgas (two). The principal sacrifice of portions of the cake. Offering to Agni svistakrt. Cutting off a portion of the cake called prasitra (for brahmā). $Id\bar{a}$ cut off from purodāśa. A thin long slice of purodasa for yajamana. Invocation of Ida by the hotr. Brahmā eats prāsitra, hotr eats avāntaredā, all priests together with the yajamana partake of ida. Division of purcdasa for Agni into four parts and eating of the portions by the four priests. Mārjana thereafter. Cooking a mess of boiled rice (called anvāhārya) as fee for the four priests. The three anuvāja offerings. Recitation of sūktavāka. Throwing of prastara bunch and śākhā into fire. Śamyuvāka. Throwing the paridhis on fire. Patnīsaingājas. Phalīkaranahoma. Samsthājapa by hotr. Samistayajus offerings. Adhvaryu and brahmā leave the sacrificial hall. Yajamāna takes Visnu strides. Final prayer by yajamāna, Pindapitryajna,

CHAP. XXXI. 1091-1108

Cāturmasyas (seasonal sacrifices). Four Cāturmāsyas each called a parvan, viz. Vaišvadeva, Varunapraghāsa, Sākamedha and Sunāsīrīya, respectively performed on Full moon days of Phālguna, Āsādha, Kārtika and on the 5th full moon day from Sākamedha or two or three days before it. Observances on all parvan days such as shaving head and face, not using a cot. avoiding meat, honey, salt and sexual intercourse. Five offerings common to all Caturmasvas. Caturmasvas may be performed throughout life or for one year. Three special offerings in Vaisvadeva-parva. Nine prayājas and nine anuyājas in Vaisvadeva. Varunapraghāsa performed in rainy season outside the house. Two vedis prepared, to north and south, respectively in charge of adhvaryu and pratiprasthatr. Procedure is like that of Vaiśvadeva. Four special offerings in this in addition to five common to all. Procedure of Varunapraghāsas. The wife has to declare or indicate if she has any paramour. Concluding avablatha (bath) in a river or the like. Sākamedha requires two days. Three istis and a mahāhavis of eight offerings to eight deities. Then pitryajña (called mahāpitryajña) on a separate vedi. Also Traiyambaka homa offered to Rudra. Sunāsīrīyaparvan has three special offerings to Sunāsirau, Vāyu and Sūrya. Isti called Agrayana (offering of first fruits) in Sarad on Full moon day. Other istis performed for some specific objects e. g. putreșți for son, Kārīrīṣṭi for rain &c.

CHAP. XXXII.

1109-1132

Nirūdhapašubandha or Pašubandha (animal sacrifice). victim is offered in Somayaga also, but as part of it. Nirūdhapasu is an independent sacrifice to be performed by an āhitāgni every six months or once a year. Six priests required in this sacrifice. Procedure of animal sacrifice. Selecting a tree and making a yūpa (sacrificial post) and a head piece (casāla) for the post. Preparing a vedi and a raised platform on it called uttaravedi and a square hole thereon called nābhi. Animals sacrificed for Indra-Agni or Sūrya or Prajāpati. Eleven prayāja offerings. Verses from Apri hymns employed. The eleven pravāja deities. Šāmitra fire for roasting omentum of the victim. Hotr's recitation of the Adhrigu formula. Cheking to death or strangling of the he-goat. Omentum taken out and offered by the adhvaryu into Ahavaniya fire for Indra-Agni or Sūrya or Prajāpati. Six priests, sacrificer and his wife perform Mūrjana. The limbs of the victim that are cut off, and portions of which are offered as pasu-purodāsa. Heart of victim is roasted with a pike on sāmitra fire and offered as havis to Manotā. Priests and sacrificer partake of $id\bar{a}$ constituted by remnants of the limbs of the victim. Upavāja offerings of a part of the entrails along with the Anuyaja offerings. The hotr repeats the formula called Süktavāka. Maitrāvaruna throws his staff into fire. of Patni-samyājas with portions of the tail. Kāmyāh Paśavah (animal sacrifices from various desires). Ekādaśina, a group sacrifice of eleven victims.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1133-1203

Agnistoma. Sacrifices are divided into isti, pasu and soma. Seven forms of soma sacrifices, Agnistoma, Atyagnistoma, Ukthya &c. Soma sacrifices divided into ekāha, ahīna and sattra. Jyotistoma, often identified with Agnistoma, usually lasts for five days. Chief rites performed on those five days. Time for performing Agnistoma. Priests invited and honoured with Madhuparka. Requesting the king for sacrificial ground (devayajana). Sacrificer and his wife undergo apsu-dīkṣā and subsist on milk or light food. Purification of both with bunches of darbhas. Procedure of dikṣaṇiyā iṣṭi after which sacrificer comes to be called dikṣita. Even a kṣatriya sacrificer was announced as a brāhmaṇa. Observances of the dikṣita and his wife and people's conduct towards him. Observance of silence by sacrificer twice daily. The prāyanīyā iṣṭi. Purchase of Soma and the drama of higgling about its price. Cow offered as its price is taken back. Bundle

of Soma stalks placed on antelope skin spread on a cart, that is brought to the east of the pragvamsa. Recital of the Subrahmanyā litany by the Subrahmanya priest. A gost is presented to king Soma. Oxen are released from the cart, soma bundle taken out of the cart, placed on a couch of udumbara wood and brought to the south of the ahavaniya. Atithyesti (isti for hospitably receiving king Soma) follows. Then comes Tanunaptra (a solemn covenant of the sacrificer and priests not to injure each other). Prayargya and Upasad follow. Pravargya was a sublime rite supposed to endow sacrificer with a new body. Not necessary in every Agnistoma. The heated milk is called gharma and the pot of heated milk Mahavira or Samrāt. Wife was not to look at it (at least in the beginning), nor śūdras. On 2nd, 3rd and 4th days Pravargya and Upasad performed twice. How pravargya apparatus is discharged (udvāsana). Upusad is an isti, Mantras repeated in Upasad refer to sieges of iron, silver and gold castles. On 2nd day of upasads Mahāvedi is prepared, on which a quadrangular platform (called uttarayedi) is raised and a square hole called nābhi is made on which fire is brought on the 4th day from the original āhavanīya. Erection of the harvidhāna-mandapa in which two carts are kept. Digging of four holes (called uparavas) below the forepart of the shafts of the southern cart. A mound (khara) to east of uparavas for keeping soma vessels on. Erection of sadas to the west of the havirdhāna mandapa. Planting of an udumbara post in sadas. Preparing eight dhisnyas (seats), six in sadas, one in the agnidhriya shed and the eighth in the marjaliya shed. On uparavas kuśas are spread, over which two boards of udumbara are placed and a hide thereon. On the hide are stones for crushing soma stalks. Offering of an animal to Agni-Soma. Then follow offerings of ajya called Vaisarjina to Soma. Fire is carried to the uttaravedi, and established on agnidhra dhisnya. Bringing Vasativari water in a jar and keeping it in agnidhra shed. Lust day is called 'sutyā'. Repeating of a long prayer called Prātaranuvāka by hotr long before day-break to Agni, Usas and Aśvins. Making ready of five offerings Filling of ekadhana pitchers by adhvaryu and of pannejana vessel by the sacrificer's wife. Extracting Soma from a few stalks, filling the upamsugraha and offering its contents. Then comes Mahābhisava (principal pressing). Offering soma from various cups to several deities. Viprad-dhoma. Priests come creeping towards the north corner of the great vedi, where the

Bahispavamana laud is to be chanted by the udgatr, prastotr and the prati-hartr. Some of the other priests and the sacrificer become choristers. The nine verses of the Bahispavamāna stotra set out from the Rgveda and method of their manipulation when sung in the same chant exhibited. Notes on the parts and syaras of samans. Rites of offering the savaniya animal. The five savaniya offerings of cake &c. Offerings of soma from dvidevatua grahas (cups). Camasonnayana (filling of nine camasas) for the priests called Camasadhvaryus. offering of some from the cups called sukra and manthin. Two chips of wood offered to the asuras, Sanda and Marka. Acchaväka priest's request and filling his camasa with soma ing of rtugrahas. Ksatriyas were not authorised to drink soma. The hotr performs japa, āhāva (hotr's call) to which there is pratigara (response of adhvaryu), hotr offers prayer called tuspim-samsa, twelve clauses of nivid, then hotr recites the ājyaśastra. Enumeration and distribution of the twelve stotras and sastras of Agnistoma. Explanation of stoma, stobha and stotra. Meaning of Rathantara and other samans. of stotras other than Bahispavamāna near audumbarī post in sadas. Four ājya-stotras in morning pressing. sastra called Prauga recited by hotr and three more repeated by maitrāvaruna, brāhmanācchamsin and acchāvāka. At the end of morning pressing priests go out of the sadas. For the mid-day pressing priests again enter sadas. Procedure of midday pressing similar to that of morning pressing. The priest gravastut wears the cloth, in which soma stalks were tied, as a turban and repeats many verses from the Rgveda. The chanting of the Mādhyandina-pavamāna-stetra. The dadhigharma rite, then the offering of pasu purodasa and the five savaplya offerings (cake &c.). Distribution of daksina to the several priests, sight-seers and others. The yajamana throws antelope horn in cātvāla pit. Five offerings called Vaiśvakarmana. The Marutvatīya šastra. Pṛṣṭha-stotra and Niskevalya šastra Three more Frstha stotras and three sastras recited by maitravaruna and two others. Procedure of evening pressing similar to mid-day pressing. Arbhava-pavamāna chanted. Rbhus connected with third pressing. Havis prepared from savaniya paśu offered. Vaiśvadeva śastra. The Patnivata cup to Agni Patnivat. Chanting of Yajñāyajñiya stotra also called Agnistomeraman. Wife of sacrificer pours pannejana water over her thigh and udgate priest looks at her. Agnimāruta šastra recited by hoir. Hāriyojana cup offered to

Indra. All priests wait on ahavaniya with Minda mantras. Avabhrtha (final bath). All vessels except four sthalls are thrown into water. Yajamāna casts antelope skin in cātvāla pit. Avabhrtha sāman chanted. The nidhana of the sāman is repeated by all priests, yajamāna and his wife at three places on their way to reservoir of water. Yajamana and wife enter water, rub each other's back. Handful of kuśa thrown in avabhrtha isti. Purodāśa offered to Varuna and then to Agni and Varuna. The unnetr brings out yajamāna, wife and priests. They offer fuel sticks. The Udayaniya isti (concluding). Anubandhyā rite (offering of a barren cow to Mitra and Varuna) or only payasyā. Then five offerings called Devikā to Dhātr. Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū, Udavasānīyā isti like punarādheya. Theories about the identity of the soma plant and its relation to the moon. In the Deccan a substitute called 'ränsera' is employed for soma.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1204-1223

Other soma sacrifices. Brief descriptions of Ukthya, Sodasin, Atyagnistoma, Atiratra and Aptoryama. Vajapeya may be regarded as an independent sacrifice. Number 17 predominant in it. 17 cups of soma and 17 cups of surā for Prajāpati. A race with 17 chariots and 17 drums beaten. Vājapeya to be performed only by a brāhmana or ksatriya who desired super-eminence or overlordship. Horses of the chariots are made to smell caru of wild rice. When race starts brahmā priest repeats Vāji-sāman. An udumbara post as the goal for the chariot race. Chariot of sacrificer is in front and the rest follow at a distance. Chariots go round udumbara post and return to sacrificial ground. principal wine cup is held by the pratiprasthatr and other sixteen are held by those who joined in the race and they are drunk by those latter. Ladder raised against yupa and the sacrificer climbs up and holds a dialogue with his wife. Animals for Prajāpati are offered at time of mid-day pressing. Adhvaryu declares yajamāna to be samrāt Certain observances after Vājapeya. Fees distributed are 1700 cows, 17 chariots with four horses yoked to each, 17 dasis &c. After Vajapeya a king should perform Rājasūya and a brāhmaņa Bṛhaspatisava. Jaimini's conclusions about Vājapeva. Visvajit. Gosava and Sarvasvāra among Ekāha sacrifices briefly described. sacrifices extending over two to twelve days of soma pressing. Description of the twelve days of the Dvādaśāha. Differences between Dvādašāha as an ahīna and as a sattra. Rājasūya.

very complex ceremony extending over a long period (over two years), and comprising many separate istis, soma sacrifices and animal sacrifices. Rājasūya to be performed only by Its relation to Vājapeya. Dīksā on first day of bright half of Phalguna. The Pavitra sacrifice which is like Agnistoma. One year thereafter Abhisecaniya. Five offerings one on each day after Pavitra sacrifice. On Full moon of phalguna isti to Anumati. Cāturmāsyas performed for one year, between the parvans of which darsa and purnamasa rites are celebrated. After Sunasiriva several rites. Twelve offerings called 'ratninam havimsi' on twelve days in the houses of the ratnas (viz. the king. his queens, state officers &c.) offered to different deities. Abhisecaniya (consecration) rite on first of Caitra and follows procedure of Ukthya. Eight offerings called Devasühavimsi. Waters of seventeen kinds in seventeen vessels of udumbara from Sarasyati river and other sources. Partha homas. Holy water taken in four vessels. Sacrificer recites avid formulae. Four principal priests sprinkle him with water from four vessels and a kṣatriya, vaiśya and a friend of the king do the same. Story of Sunahsepa recited by hotr for sacrificer's benefit-King takes three strides called Visnukramas. Remnants of anointing water handed by king to his son. Symbolic march for plunder of cows. Dice-play which is so arranged that best throw comes to the king. Avabhrtha follows. For ten days after Abhisecaniya offerings called 'Samsrpām havīmsi' are made to Savitr and other deities. The Dasapeya, in which each of the camasas of soma are drunk by ten brāhmanas (i.e. in all 100). Very large daksinās prescribed e. g. some say 240000 cows should be presented. After Dasapeya some observances are kept by the sacrificer for one year. At the end of the year, the kesavapaniya ceremony took place. Then two rites called Vyusti-dvirātra at the interval of a month. One month after 2nd Vyustidvirātra the Ksatradhrti rite. One month after that the Sautrāmani isti.

CHAP. XXXV.

1224-1255

Sautrāmaṇī and other sacrifices. Sautrāmaṇī is one of the seven Haviryajāas according to Gautama. Chief characteristic was offering of surā (wine) in it, in modern times milk being offered instead. Kokilī and Caraka-sautrāmaṇī. Procedure of both. Sautrāmaṇī takes four days, during first three of which wine is prepared from various ingredients and on last day, three cups of milk and three of wine were offered. Three goats

were killed in this and fourth to Brhaspati. Method of preparing wine described. Remnants of the wine offered were not drunk by the priests, but a brahmana was hired for drinking them or they were poured on an ant-hill. Persons for whom Sautrāmani was offered. Avabhrtha and then āmiksa to Mitra-Varuna and an animal to Indra. Asvamedha. Horse-sacrifice in vogue even in Rgveda. It was a sacrifice for three days, to be performed by a king. Time of commencement. queens accompanied by princesses and large retinue come near the king. Rules about colour and qualities of horse. Guards of the horse, when it is let off to roam over the country. During horse's absence for a year three istis every day to Savitr. Chants by a brahmana after the istis every day and also by a ksatriya lute-player. Hotr recites to the king surrounded by his sons and ministers the narrative called 'Pāriplava.' Every day for a year four oblations called Dhrti made in the ahavaniya. At the end of the year horse was brought back and sacrificer took diksā. 21 yupas, each 21 aratnis high. Large number of animals tied to yupas slaughtered. Horse taken to a lake, bathed in it, brought back and anointed by the queens on various parts of the body. Dialogue between hotr and brahmā. When horse killed, queens go round horse, fan it with their garments, crowned queen lies by the side of the horse and both are covered with mantle. Abusive and obscene dialogues between hotr and crowned queen, between brahmā and favourite wife, between four principal priests and chamberlain on one side and the queens and their attendants on the other. Fat and blood of the horse offered. Brahmodya (theological dialogue of questions and riddles). Mahiman offerings. Remnants of these sprinkled over the king and offering to 12 months. Avabhrtha on third pressing day. Offerings on the head of a bald man who dips into water to 'Jumbaka' (Varuna). When sacrificer comes out of water after avabhrtha bath, persons guilty of grave sins plunge into it and become free from sies. Large fees on first and third pressing days. Asvamedha rare even in ancient times. Description of Asvamedha in the Mahābhārata. Epigraphic references to Asvamedha. Sattras. Their duration is from twelve days to a year or more. Dvādaśāha is the archetype. Sattras divided into two classes, rātrisattras and sāmvatsarika. Gavāmayana is model of all sattras of one year or more. Scheme of the parts of Gavam-ayana. When diksa commenced. General rules applicable to all sattras. Though all are yajamānas and

also priests in a sattra, one of them is called grhapati. Peculiar procedure followed as to dikṣā. Brahmodya on 10th day or abuse of Prajāpati. Rules to be observed while dikṣā lasts. Most interesting day is Mahāvrata, which is the last day but one in sattras. Harp with a hundred strings, brāhmaṇa and śūdra engage in praise and abuse of those engaged in sattra. Fight of ārya and śūdra for a white circular skin; abuse by harlot and brahmacārin of one another. Drums beaten on corners of vedi. Wives of sacrificers become choristers for chanting. Dance round mārjāliya by servants and slave-girls singing popular airs referring to cows. Sattras of a thousand years believed even by ancient writers to be mythical and Jaimini states that in such descriptions samvatsara means 'a day'.

Agnicayana (piling of the fire altar). This rite is the most complicated and recondite of all srauta sacrifices. Brāhmana is leading work on it. Fundamental conceptions underlying it are cosmological. Construction of fire altar in five layers is an anga of Somayaga. Five victims are first offered. Heads built up into altar. Clay for the bricks how brought, mixed and prepared. First brick called Asadha prepared by wife of sacrificer. Ukhā (pan) prepared from same clay, from which he prepares three bricks called Viśvajyotis. Other bricks prepared. Description of the piling of the altar in five lavers. Several forms of altar and of bricks. are of various sizes and have various names. Three bricks called svavamātrnnāh. Ground measured and ploughed. Furrows sown with several corns. Several things such as a lotus leaf, golden ornament, golden image of a man are first placed, then a living tortoise is enveloped in moss and made motionless and then altar is constructed on it. Each of five layers contains 200 bricks according to Satyāsādha, but others give larger numbers. Time required for piling varies. Peculiar mode of cooling altar. Numerous offerings. Procedure of Somayaga followed with a few variations. Observances for a year after cavana.

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HISTORY OF DHARMASĀSTRA VOLUME II

CHAPTER I

THE TOPICS OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

Manifold are the topics that have been included under Dharmasastra from very ancient times. The Dharma-sūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasistha deal in greater or less detail principally with the following subjects: the several varnas (classes), āśramas (stages of life), their privileges, obligations and responsibilities; the sainskāras performed on an individual (from garbhādhāna to antyesti); the duties of the brahmacārin (the first āśrama); anadhyāyas (holidays on which Vedic study was stopped); the duties of a snātaka (one who has finished the first stage of life); vivāha (marriage) and all matters connected therewith; the duties of the grhastha (house-holder's stage); śauca (daily purification of body); the five daily yaiñas; dana (gifts); bhaksyabhaksya (what food should one partake of and what not); suddhi (purification of persons, vessels, clothes &c.); āśauca (impurity on birth and death); antuesti (rites on death); \$raddha (rites performed for the deceased ancestors and relatives); stridharma (special duties of women) and stripundharma (duties of husband and wife); dharmas of ksatriyas and of kings; vyavahara (judicial procedure, and the sphere of substantive law such as crimes and punishments, contracts, partition and inheritance, adoption, gambling &c.); the four principal classes, mixed castes and their proper avocations; apaddharma (actions and avocations permitted to the several castes in extreme difficulties); prāyaścitta (sins and how to expiate them): karmavipāka (results of evil deeds done in past lives); šānti (rites on the happening of portents or for propitiating the planets &c.); duties of vanaprastha (forest hermit) and samnyāsin (ascetic). All these subjects are not treated in any fixed or settled order in the sūtra works. To take only one example, the subject of partition and inheritance occurs at the end of the dharmasūtra of Gautama, while Vasistha places the same subject in the middle of his work (17th chapter) and Apastamba deals with those topics after finishing

three-fourths of his work (in II. 6.14). Further, some works on dharmasāstra give very elaborate treatment of certain topics of which only faint traces are found in the ancient dharmasūtras and metrical smrtis. Such topics are vratas (which may be looked upon as extensions of the subject of gifts), utsarga and $pratisth\bar{a}$ (dedication of works of public utility and of temples and shrines), $t\bar{v}rtha$ (sacred places and pilgrimages to them), $k\bar{a}la$ (auspicious times, festivals &c.).

A glance at the above list will convince anyone how the conception of dharma was a far-reaching one, how it embraced the whole life of man. The writers on dharmasastra meant by dharma not a creed or religion but a mode of life or a code of conduct, which regulated a man's work and activities as a member of society and as an individual and was intended to bring about the gradual development of a man and to enable him to reach what was deemed to be the goal of human existence.

From this standpoint various divisions of dharma were suggested. Dharma was divided into śrauta and smūrta. first comprised those rites and ceremonies with which the Vedic Samhitas and Brahmanas were chiefly concerned, such as consecration of the three sacred fires, the Full moon and New moon sacrifices, the solemn soma rites &c. The smārta comprised those topics that were specially dealt with by the smrtis and that concerned the various classes and stages of life. The present work will concern itself principally with smarta dharma and srauta dharma will be dealt with concisely in an appendix. Some works divide dharma into śrauta (Vedic), smārta (based upon smrtis) and sistācāra (the actions of the respected in society). This classification is based on the three sources of dharma viz., śruti, smrti and śistācāra, as observed by Baudhāyana.3 Another and more comprehensive classification says that dharma is sixfold, viz. dharma of varnas (injunctions based on varna alone such as 'a brahmana should never drink wine' or 'a brahmana should not be killed'), āśramadharma

^{1.} दाराग्निहोत्रसंम्बन्धमिज्या श्रोतस्य लक्षणम् । स्मार्तो वर्णाश्रमाचारो यमैश्व नियमैर्युतः ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 144. 30-31; वायुपुराण 59. 31-32 and 39; 'अम्नयाधानादि-पूर्वकोऽधीतप्रत्यक्षवेदमूलो दर्शपूर्णमासादिः श्रोतः । अनुमितपरोक्षशास्त्राम्तुः शौचाचमनादिः स्मार्तः ।॥ परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 64.

². वेदोक्तः परमो धर्मः स्मृतिशास्त्रगतोऽपरः । शिष्टाचीर्णः परः प्रोक्तस्त्रयो धर्माः समातनाः ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 141.65; वनपर्व 207.83 'वेदोक्तः धर्मशास्त्रेषु चापरः । शिष्टाचारश्च शिष्टानां त्रिविधं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥ 7; vide शान्ति 354.6 also.

^{3.} उपविष्टो धर्मः प्रतिवेदम् । ... समार्वो द्वितीयः। तृतीयः शिष्टागमः। बौ. ध.सू. I. 1. 1-4.

(such rules as 'begging' and 'carrying a staff' enjoined on a brahmacāri'). varnāsrama-dharma (rules of conduct enjoined on a man because he belongs to a particular class and is in a particular stage of life, such as 'a brāhmana brahmacārī should carry a staff of palāsa tree), gunadharma (such as protection of subjects in the case of a crowned king), naimittika dharma (such as expiation on doing what is forbidden), sūdhūrana dharma (what is common to all humanity viz., ahimsā and other virtues).4 This classification appears to have been an ancient Medhātithi on Manu II. 25 speaks of fivefold dharma (only omitting sadharana dharma from the abovementioned six) and quotes the explanations of them from the expounders of smrtis. Hemādri (vrata-khanda p. 5) quotes 16 verses from the Bhavisyapurana on the six-fold dharma. It will be noticed from the above that all matters (except sādhāraņa or sāmānya dharma) have vurna and aśrama as the pivots round which the whole of dharmasastra revolves. It is therefore that in ancient smrtis like those of Manu (I. 2 and 107) and Yajñavalkva (I. 1) the sages are represented as asking the great expounders of those codes to impart to them instruction in the dharmas of varnas and āśramas.

Before embarking upon any treatment of varnas it would not be out of place to say a few words about dharmas common to all humanity. Our dharmasastra works do not enter into any subtle or detailed examination of the principles of ethics or of the moral standard, nor are the concepts of duty, happiness or perfection subjected to any searching analysis. But

^{4.} इह पश्चमकारो धर्म इति विवरणकाराः प्रपञ्चयन्ति । मेधा॰ on मनु II. 25; अत्र च धर्मशब्दः षद्विधरमार्तधर्मविषयः । तद्यथा-वर्णधर्म आश्रमधर्मो वर्णाश्रमधर्मो गुणधर्मो निमित्तः धर्मः साधारणधर्मश्चेति । मिताक्षरा on या. 1. 1.

^{5.} Kulluka on Manu II.25 and the Krtyaratnakara pp. 9-10 do the same. It is to be noted that some of these very verses are quoted as from Sumantu by the Smrticandrika. (I p. 6).

^{6.} Reference may be made to the 'Ethics of India' by Prof. Hopkins (1924) and 'Hindu Ethics' by Dr. John McKenzie in 'Religious quest of India' series. The former work is marked by a detached and fair attitude towards the ideas of the ancient Indians and their writings. The latter, I am sorry to say, is marred by the unsympathetic and supercilious attitude of a Christian missionary. Its key-note is perverse inasmuch as the foundation of the author's criticism is the notion that one is not really moral unless one is engaged in active social service. There is very little warrant for

this does not at all mean that the principles of ethics were passed over by dharmaśāstra works or were not highly thought of by them. From very ancient times truth is exalted above everything else. Rgveda VII. 104. 12 says 7 ° True speech and

(Continued from last page)

this hypothesis in well-known; works on Ethics. To expose the fallacies in Principal McKenzie's work would require a volume. But a few words must be said here. What particular brand of active social service the learned author has in view is difficult to follow. I would like to make him a present of the following lines from the Encyclopædia Britannica on Social Service 'The term social service is a comparatively new one in Great Britain. If it had been used previous to the 20th century it would have meant philanthropy and charity in the ordinary sense'. If the learned author means that ancient India never insisted on universal philanthropy and charity, he has read the Indian Literature in vain. Every house-holder was called upon by the Hindu Sastras to offer food according to his ability to students, ascetics and to all beings including the untouchable candalas and even dogs and crows. Every brahmana who could teach had to do so without demanding any fee beforehand. Maths were established in all parts of India for expounding religious books, feeding students and the poor. There are annasatras even now where hundreds are fed every day. No necessity arose throughout the ages for a Poor Law in India with its attendant evils well portrayed in Dickens' famous master-piece 'Oliver Twist'. The above were some of the different aspects of philanthropy and charity which are now dubbed social service. In the third century B. C. Asoka had established hospitals not only for men but even for beasts and Yaj. 1.209 equates the free nursing of sick persons with gifts of cows. The learned Professor asks with an air of triumph and condemnation of all Indian morality (p. 251) 'Is there anything comparable to the movement which St. Francis of Assisi initiated and led?' The learned Professor has fallen into the frequent error of comparing a movement of the 13th century with Indian ideas over 2000 years old. Again I shall quote words from the Encyclopædia Britannica. 'It would be an anachronism to think of Francis as a philanthropist or social worker or a revivalist preacher, though he fulfilled the functions of all these. Before every thing he was an ascetic and mystic'. The particular brands of Social Service that are now in vogue are mainly due to the ravages of Imperialism and extreme capitalistic tendencies. Besides he forgets that even the movement started by St. Francis had schisms and was guilty of all the moral evils that are associated with Western monastic institutions. Vide the recent and lucid book of Sir Sivaswamy 'Evolution of Hindu moral ideals' (1935, Calcutta University).

7. सुविज्ञानं चिकितुषे जनाय सञ्चासञ्च वचसी पसृधाते । तयोर्यत्सत्यं यतरहुजीय-स्तिवृत्सोमोविति इन्स्यसत्॥ ऋ. VII. 104. 12.

false speech run a race against each other. Soma protects out of the two what is true and what is very straight-forward and strikes down what is false'. The conception of ria in the Rgyeda is a sublime one and is the germ of the later doctrine of the rule of dharma. The Satapatha-brāhmana (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 85) enjoins 'therefore let a man speak naught but truth's. In the Taittiriyopanisad (I. II. 1), the teacher when taking leave of his pupil at the end of the latter's studenthood places truth in the forefront of his exhortation and dharma next. 9 In the Chandogya (III. 17) there is an allegory of a Soma sacrifice on life, where the daksina (fee to be paid) is fivefold viz. the five virtues of tapas (asceticism), dana (charity), ārjava (straightforwardness), ahimsā (non-injury to sentient beings), satyavacana (truthfulness). The Br. Up. remarks that truth and dharma are in practical life identical terms. 10 One of the noblest prayers in all literature occurs in the Br. Up. (I. 3.28) 'from falsehood lead me unto truth, from darkness lead me unto light, from death lead me unto immortality'. The Mundakopanisad says 'only truth is victorious and not falsehood; the path of the gods is spread out by (the pursuit of) truth'. The Br. Up. inculcates on all the great need of three cardinal virtues, viz. self-restraint, dayā (compassion or love for all sentient life) and dana (gifts or charity). 11 The Chan. Up, says that the world of Brahman is free from all evil and only those who have lived as chaste students can enter the world of brahma. The Chan. Up. V. 10 sternly condemns five sins, viz. theft of gold, drinking spirits, murder of a brahmana. defiling of one's guru's bed and association with these, as the greatest sins and in V. 11. 5 Asvapati exultantly declares that in his kingdom there were no grave sinners. Kathopanisad (I. 2.23) insists 12 upon cessation from evil

- 8. Compare ज्ञतपथना. I. 1. 1. 1. 'अनेध्यो है पुरुषो यद्मृतं दद्दाति। and I. 1. 1. 5. 'स है सत्यमेव हदेत।.
 - 9. बेदमनूच्याचार्योऽन्तेवासिनमनुशास्ति। सत्यं वद्।धर्मे चर।ते. उ. I. 11. 1.
- 10. तस्मात्सत्यं वदन्तमाहुर्धभै वद्तीति धर्मे वा वदन्तं सत्यं वद्तीत्येतदृध्येवेतदुभयं भवति । बृह. उ. I. 4. 14.; तद्तानि जपेद्सती मा सद्गमय तमसी मा ज्योतिर्भमय सूत्योर्माऽ- सूतं गमयेति । बृह. उ. I. 3. 28.
 - 11. तस्माद्तेत्रवयं शिक्षेद् दमं दानं द्यामिति । बृह. उ. V. 2. 3.
- 12. नाविरतो दुश्चरिताकाशान्तो नासमाहित:। नाशान्तमानसो वापि प्रज्ञानेनैनमाप्तु-यात् ॥ कठोप. I. 2. 23; vide also I. 3.7 and मैत्री उप. III. 5 for a list of qualities of darkness which the student of a high and sublime philosophy has to avoid.

conduct, peace of mind and concentration as essential for the seeker after the Self. The Udyogaparva 43.20ff, speaks of the twelve vratas (vows or rules of conduct) for brahmanas and verses 22-25 describe at great length the characteristics of one who is danta (self-controlled). Santi 160 contains an eulogy of dama (self-control). Sānti 162.7 describes how satya has 13 aspects and verse 21 says that non-injury to all beings in thought, word and deed, good will and charity are the eternal dharma of the good. 13 The Gautama-dharmasūtra (VIII. 24-26) holds that $day\bar{a}$ (compassion or love for all beings). $ks\bar{a}nti$ (forebearance), $anas\bar{u}y\bar{a}$ (freedom from envy), $\dot{s}auca$ (purity of body, speech and thought), anāyāsa (absence of painful efforts or ambitions), mangala (doing what is commended). akārpama (not demeaning oneself before others), $asprh\bar{a}$ (not hankering after sensual pleasures or the possessions of others) 14 are the qualities of the soul and remarks that the person who has these eight qualities realizes non-difference from Brahma reaches the world of Brahma, though he may not have all the other forty samskāras, while he who has all the forty samskāras but is not possessed of these eight qualities does not reach the world of Brahma. 15 Vasistha (X. 30) says that avoiding backbiting, jealousy, pride, egoism, unbelief, crookedness, self-praise, abuse of others, deceit, covetousness, delusion, anger and envy is the dharma of all āśramas and further (XXX. 1) he delivers a fine exhortation 'practise dharma (righteousness) and not adharma; speak the truth and not untruth; look far ahead, not

^{13.} अद्वीहः सर्वभूतेषु कर्मणा मनसा निरा । अनुग्रहश्च दानं च सता धर्मः सनातनः ॥ कामन्तवर्ष 162, 21.

^{14.} अथाष्ट्रावासगुणाः। द्या सर्वभूतेषु क्षान्तिरनस्या शोचमनायासो मङ्गलमकार्पण्यमसृहोते। गो. थ. स्. VIII. 23-24. Haradatta quotes eight verses which explain these eight qualities. Atri (verses 34-41) also defines these eight similarly but in different words. Apararka (pp. 164-165), Smrticandrika (I. p. 13), Hemādri (Vrata p. 8) and Parasaramādhavīya I. part 1 p. 84 quote from Brhaspati eight verses defining these eight qualities, which closely resemble Atri's. Vide Matsya 52.8-10 for these eight qualit'es and Vāyu 59.40-49, Mārkandeya 61.66 for saying that dayā (love for beings) is at the top of the eight ātmaguṇas and 28.31-32 for a slightly different enumeration of the eight. Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 8.35-37) says that these eight mentioned by Gautama (तितिका being substituted for आन्ति) and three more namely नाभिमानिता, सत्य, and भियवादिता are common to all varṇas. Vide विस्तष्ट VI. 3 आचारहीनं न पुनन्ति वेदाः.

^{15.} Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 13) quotes verses of Śabkha to the same effect.

near; look at what is highest, not at what is not highest'. Apastamba Dh. S. (I. 8. 23. 3-6) calls upon all asramas to eradicate faults that tend to destruction and to cultivate the opposite virtues (and gives long lists of both). This shows that in the scale of values mere performance of sacrifices and purificatory and other religious ceremonies ranked according to Gautama and other writers very low and the highest value attached to the moral qualities of the soul. There is no elaborate discussion of the questions as to why a man should tell the truth or abstain from himsā (injury to sentient beings) and cultivate other high moral qualities. But it should not be supposed that no indications whatever are given of the reasons why this should be done. Two principles emerge if we closely examine the texts. In the midst of countless rules of outward conduct there is always insistence on the necessity to satisfy the inner man (antara-purusa) or conscience. Manu IV. 161 says 'assiduously do that which will give satisfaction to the antarātman' (inner self); IV. 239 says 'No parents, nor wife nor sons will be a man's friends in the next world; but only righteousness.' 'Gods and the inner man mark the sinful acts' Vanaparva 207.54 and Manu VIII. 85, 91-92. Vide also Adiparva 74. 28-29, Manu VIII. 86, Anuśāsana 2. 73-74. The reason given for cultivating such virtues as dayā, ahimsā is based upon the philosophical doctrine of the one Self being immanent in every individual as said in the words 'tat tyam-asi'. This is the highest point reached in Indian metaphysics and combines morality and metaphysics. That doctrine requires us to regard the goodness or badness of one's actions from the standpoint of other individuals who will be affected by such actions. Daksa (III. 22) declares 16 'one who desires happiness should look upon another just as he looks upon himself. Happiness and misery affect one's self and others in the same way'. Devala says that the quintessence of dharma is that one should not do to others what would be disliked by one's self. 17 There-

^{16.} यथैवात्मा परस्तद्वद्र्द्रष्टव्यः सुखमिच्छता । सुखदुःखानि तुल्यानि यथात्मानि तथा परे ॥ दक्ष III. 22.

^{17.} श्रूयतां धर्मसर्वस्वं श्रुत्वा चैवावधार्यताम् । आत्मनः प्रातेकूलानि परेषां न समा-चरेत् ॥ देवल quotod in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 17. Compare आपस्तम्बस्माति X. 12 'आत्मवत्सवंभूतानि यः पश्यति स पश्यति॥', अनुशासनपर्व 113. 8-9 न तत्परस्य संदृष्यात् प्रतिकूलं यदात्मनः । एष संक्षेपतो धर्मः कामादन्यः प्रवर्तते ॥ प्रत्याख्याने च दाने च सुख-दुःखे भियापिये। आत्मोपम्येन पुरुषः प्रमाणमधिगच्छति॥, शान्ति 260. 20 and 25 यद्नये-विहितं नेच्छेदात्मनः कर्म पूरुषः । न तत्परेषु कुर्वीत जानस्विपयमात्मनः ॥ सर्वे प्रियाम्युपगतं धर्म पाहुर्मनीषिणः।

fore our texts lay down two seats of authority in morals viz., the revealed truth (sruti) that 'All this is brahma' and the inner light of conscience. Another reason for cultivating high moral qualities is found in the doctrine of the goals or ends of human existence (purusārtha). From very ancient times they are said to be four, dharma (right conduct), artha (economic interests), kāma (satisfaction of sexual, emotional and artistic life), moksa (liberation of the spirit). The last is said to be the supreme end and to be attained only by the few and the vast majority can only place it as an ideal to be attained in the most distant future. As regards the other three, there is a gradation of values. $K\overline{a}ma$ is the lowest of all and only fools regard it as the only end. 18 The Mahābhārata says: 'A wise man tries to secure all three, but if all three cannot be attained. he secures dharma and artha or only dharma if he has a choice of only one from among the three. A man of middling discipline prefers artha to the other two; dharma is the source of both artha and kāma.' The dharmasastra writers did not condemn kāma altogether, they recognise that kāma has a place as a motive urging men to be active but they assigned it a low They recognised that a man shares with lower beings the impulses and emotions of sex, but that the satisfaction of these impulses is of lower values than the moral and spiritual ends proper for a developed human personality and therefore insist that it should be subordinated to artha and dharma. Gautama (IX. 46-47) says 'one should not allow the morning, midday and evening to remain fruitless so far as dharma, artha and kāma are concerned. But among these three one should attach most importance to dharma.' Yāj. I. 115 says practically the same thing. Ap. Dh. S. (II. 8, 20, 22-23) declares that a man should enjoy all such pleasures as are not opposed to

18. त्रिवर्गयुक्तः प्राज्ञानामारम्भो भरतर्षभ । धर्मार्थावनुरुध्यन्ते त्रिवर्गासंभवे नशः॥ पृथक्रविनिविष्टानां धर्म धीरोन्छ्रध्यते । मध्यमोर्थे क्रिंडं बालः काममेवानुरुध्यते ॥...कामार्थी लिएसमानस्तु धर्ममेवादितश्चरेत् । निहं धर्माद्गैरयर्थः कामो वापि कदाचन । उपायं धर्ममेवाहुस्त्रिवर्गस्य विद्यापते । उद्योगपर्व । 124. 34-38; vide ह्यान्तिपर्व 167.8-9 for the statement that dharma is the best, artha is middling and kāma is the lowest and that a man should so act that dharma would be the principal goal of his life and that he should so deal with others as he would deal with himself 'तरमाद्धर्मप्रधानेन भवित्रयं यतात्मना । तथा च सर्वभूतेषु वितित्यं प्रधात्मिति ॥.' The महाभारत winds up with the words ऊर्ध्ववाडुविरीम्पेष न च कश्चिच्छणोति माम् । धर्माद्धर्थेश्व कामश्च स किमर्थे न सेव्यते ॥ स्वर्गारोहः 5.62; vide also शत्य 60.22, द्वोण 151.37

dharma. In this way one secures both worlds'. 18 In the Bhagavadgītā (VII-11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with kāma that is not opposed to dharma. Kautilya says 20 'one may enjoy kāma provided there is no conflict with dharma and artha, one should not lead a life of no pleasures' and then true to his role of a writer on arthasastra, he proclaims that his own opinion is that artha is the principal of the three, as dharma and $k\bar{a}ma$ both spring from artha.' Manu (II. 224)²¹ after setting out several views about which of the three is principal states it as his own opinion that one should strive for all the three, but adds that if artha or $k\bar{a}ma$ is in conflict with dharma one should give up artha or kāma as the case may be. Visnu Dh. S. (71.84) and Bhagavata I.2.9 say the same. The Kamasutra 22 of Vātsyāyana defines the three and says that out of dharma, artha and kāma each preceding one is superior to each following one and that to the king artha should be the highest goal. teaching shows that there are proximate ends or motives and ultimate ends or motives, that the ultimate ends are really the most valuable and that the whole teaching of dharmasastra points to this that all higher life demands discipline both of body and mind and requires the subjection of lower aims to aims of higher value. Manu II. 4 (like Aristotle in the first sentence of his Politics) says that the end of all activity is some presumed good. Manu further says (V. 56) that the natural proclivity of all beings is to hanker after the satisfaction of the common and lower desires of hunger, thirst and sexual gratification and therefore no stress is to be placed on them but on the cessation or curbing of these. The Upanisads 28 recognise the

- 19. भोक्ता च धर्माविरुद्धान भोगान । एवसुभौ लोकावभिजयति । आप. ध. II. 8. 20. 22-23.
- 20. अर्थशास्त्र I. 7 'धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत । न निःसुखः स्यात् । अर्थ एव प्रधान इति कौटिल्यः । अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामाविति । ?
- 21. धर्मार्थाबुच्यते श्रेयः कामार्थी धर्म एव च। अर्थ एवेह वा श्रेयस्त्रिवर्ग इति तु स्थिति: ॥ मनु II. 224; परित्यजेव्र्थकामी यो स्याता धर्मवर्जितो । मनु IV. 176; compare विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71.84 'धर्मविरुद्धो चार्थकामी (परिहरेत्)।'; अनुज्ञातन 111.18-19 'धर्मश्रार्थश्र कामश्र त्रितयं जीविते फलम् । एतञ्चयमवासन्यमधर्मपरिवर्जितम् '॥; विष्णुपुराण III. 11. 7 परित्यजेवर्थकामी धर्मपीहाकरी नृप । धर्ममण्यसुखोदके लीकविद्विष्टमेव च ॥
- 22. अलौकिकत्वाद्दष्टार्थत्वात् अपवृत्तानां यज्ञादीनां शास्त्रात्पवर्तनं लौकिकत्वाद् हृष्टार्थत्वाच्च प्रवृत्तेभ्यश्च मांसभक्षणादिम्यः शास्त्रादेव निवारणं धर्मः । ... विद्याभूमिहिरण्यपञ्च-धान्यभाण्डोपस्कर-मित्रादीनांमर्जनमजितस्य विवर्धनमर्थः । ... श्रोत्रत्वकृचश्चर्जिह्नाद्राणानामा-स्मसंयुक्तेम मनसाधिष्ठितानां स्वेषु स्वेषु विषयेष्वानुकूल्यतः प्रवृत्तिः कामः । तेषां समवाये पूर्वः पूर्वो गरीयात् । अर्थश्च राज्ञः । कामसूत्र I. 2.7-15.
 - 23. त्यमेव वृजीव्य यं त्वं मनुष्याय हिततमं मन्यस इति । कौषीतिक बा. उ. III. 1.

distinction between what is beneficial (hita) and what is most beneficial (hitatama). Śāntiparva (288, 20 and 330, 13) declares that what conduces to the greatest good of beings is 'satya.'

The Mitāksarā on Yāj. I. l. remarks that ahimsā and other are the dharmas common to all including even qualities The qualities are variously enumerated and emphasis cāndālas. is laid upon different lists in different works. Śankhasmrti (I. 5) says that forbearance, truthfulness, self-restraint and purity are common to all varnas. The Mahābhārata says that three are the best qualities among all beings viz., absence of enmity. truthfulness and freedom from anger⁸⁴ and in another place says that the best vrata (vow) for a man is threefold viz., he should feel no enmity (to others), should give and should speak the truth. Vasistha (IV. 4) says²⁵ that truthfulness, freedom from anger, generosity, ahimsā (non-injury) and procreation of offspring are (the common dharma) of all (varnas). Gautama (X. 52) says that even the Śūdra has to submit himself to the dharma of truthfulness, freedom from anger and purity (of body and mind). Manu says that ahimsā, truthfulness, no wrongful taking of another's possessions, purity and restraint of senses are in brief the common dharmas of all varnas. Manu (IV. 175) calls upon all to take delight in truth, in dharma, in conduct worthy of an arya and in purity. In the 3rd century B. C. the remarkable emperor Asoka inscribed on stone in all parts of his empire the following list of virtues: compassion. liberality, truth, purity gentleness, peace, joyousness, saintliness, self-control; which bear a close resemblance to Gautama's list and even to a later list of St. Paul (vide Pillar Edicts II and VII in E. I. vol. II p. 249 and p. 272). Yāj. (I. 122) mentions nine qualities as the means of securing dharma for all (from the brāhmana to the candala27). The Mahabharata says that freedom from anger, truthfulness, sharing one's wealth

^{24.} एताद्धि त्रितयं श्रेष्ठं सर्वभूतेषु भारत । निर्देरता महाराज सत्यमक्रोध एव च ॥ आश्रमवासिपर्व 28.9; त्रीण्येव तु पदान्याहुः पुरुषस्योत्तमं व्रतम् । न दुःहोच्चेव द्धाच्च सत्यं चेव परं बदेत् ॥ अनुशासन 120.10.

^{25.} सर्वेषां सत्यमक्रीधो दानमहिंसा प्रजननं च । बसिष्ठ IV. 4; vide बसिष्ठ X. 30 for 13 qualities prescribed for all asramas.

^{26.} अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचिमिन्द्रियानिग्रहः । एतं सामासिकं धर्मे चातुर्वण्येंऽ-जवीन्मन्तः ॥ मनु X. 63; vide मनु VI. 62 for ten gupas prescribed for all asrange.

^{27.} अर्थिसा न्द्रियमं यमः । दमः क्षमार्जवं दानं सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम् ॥ याः । 122 ; vide याः । 111, 66.

with others, forbearance, procreation (of children) from one's wife (alone), purity, absence of enmity, straight-forwardness, maintaining persons dependent on one-self—these nine are the duties of all varnas.²⁸ The Vāmanapurāṇa says that tenfold dharma is common to all and names these ten as ahimsā, satya, asteya, dāna, forbearance, restraint, quiescence, not demeaning oneself, purity, tapas.²⁹ Hemādri (vratakhaṇḍa pp. 7-8) quotes several passages from the Brahma, Brahmavaivarta and Viṣṇudharmottara for several sādhāraṇa dharmas (virtues common to all varṇas and āśramas). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra enumerates fourteen qualities as sāmānya-dharma.³⁰

The foregoing discussion establishes that all dharmaśāstra writers attached the highest importance to moral qualities and enjoined them upon all with all the emphasis they could command; but as their main purpose was a practical one, viz., to guide people to right acts in everyday life, they dealt more elaborately with the acts, rites and ceremonies that each person had to do with reference to his station in society. They are therefore found principally concerning themselves with varņāsrama dharma and not with sādhāraṇa dharma (i. e. duties common to all alike).

Aryāvarta — One important question that is very much canvassed in works on dharmasāstra is about the country or territory which should be called āryāvarta or which was a fit habitation for those who called themselves the followers of the Vedic religion. Therefore a few words on this subject would be quite relevant. The Rgveda shows that the centre of Aryan culture in the times of the Rgveda was the land of the seven

^{28.} अक्रोधः सत्यवचनं संविभागः क्षमा तथा । प्रजनः स्वेषु द्रारेषु शौचमद्रोह एव च । आर्जवं भृत्यभरणं नवैते सार्ववर्णिकाः ॥ शान्ति, 60. 7-8.

^{29.} अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं दानं क्षान्तिर्द्मः शमः । अकार्षण्यं च शौचं च ताम्ब्र रजनीचर। द्शाङ्गो राक्षसश्रेष्ठ धर्मोसौ सार्वविणिकः ॥ वामनपुराण 14. 1-2; बह्मपुराण 114. 16-18 prescribes the following as common to all varnas and asramas. 'द्या समस्तभूतेषु तितिक्षा नाभिमानिता। सत्यं शौचमनायासो मङ्गलं पियवादिता। मैत्री चेवास्पृहा तद्वद्वार्षण्यं द्विजोत्तमाः । अनस्या च सामान्या वर्णानां कथिता गुणाः ॥ आश्रमाणां च सर्वेवामेते सामान्यलक्षणाः ।।

^{30.} क्षमा सत्यं दमः शीचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयमः। अहिंसा ग्रुक शुश्रूषा तीर्थान्तस्यं द्या। आर्जनं लोभशृत्यत्वं देवबाह्मणपूजनम्। अनभ्यस्या च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते ॥ विष्णु-धर्मसूत्र II. 16-17; compare आए. ध. सू. I. 8. 23.6 for a long list of qualities prescribed for all astramas and शान्तिपर्व 297. 24-25 for 13 साधारणधर्मं अञ्चर्शस्यमहिंसा च प्रमादः (प्रसादः !) संविभागिता। आद्धकर्मातिथेयं च सत्यमकोध एव च ॥ स्वेषु दारेषु संतोषः शीचं नित्यानसूयता। आत्मज्ञानं तितिक्षा च धर्माः साधारणा नृष् ॥

rivers, viz. North-west India and Punjab. We find that the rivers from Kubhā (the Kabul river, in Rg. V. 53.9; x. 76.6), Krumv (the modern Kurram, Rg. V. 53. 9, X. 75. 6), Suvāstu (modern Swat, in Rg. VIII. 19. 37), the seven Sindhus (Rg. II. 12. 12. IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, X. 43. 3) up to the Yamunā (Rg. V. 52. 17, X. 75.5), the Ganges (Rg. VI. 45. 31, X. 75.5) and Sarayu (probably in modern Oudh, in Rg. IV. 30, 18 and V. 53. 9) figure in the Rgveda. Among the rivers of the Punjab the following are individually mentioned: - Sindhu (Rg. II. 15. 6 'he made the Sindhu flow northwards', Rg. V. 53. 9, Rg. IV. 30. 12, Rg. VIII. 20. 25 where reference is made to the medicine in the Sindhu, in the Asikni, in the seas and on mountains), Asikni (Rg. VIII. 20. 25, X. 75. 5), Parusni (Rg. IV. 22. 2, V. 52. 9), Vipās and Sutudri (Rg. III. 33. 1 where their confluence is spoken of), Vipāś alone in Rg. IV. 30. 12, Sutudri alone in Rg. X. 75. 5, Drsadvati, Apayā and Sarasvati (as very holy in Rg. III. 23. 4), Sarasvati alone (Rg. VII. 95, the whole hymn is addressed to it of which verse 2 says it springs from the mountains; Rg. VI. 61 is another hymn addressed to it, v. 10 of which says it has seven sisters), Gomati (Rg. VIII. 24. 30, X. 75. 6), Vitastā (Rg. X. 75. 5). Gradually the Aryans spread southwards and eastwards. The Kāthaka S. X. 6 speaks of Kuru-Pañcalas. In the Brahmanas the centre of Aryan activities and culture shifted to the countries of the Kurus and Pañcales and Kosala-Videhas. For example, the Satapatha Brāhmana remarks that in the lands of Kurupañcālas speech is at its best.31 In Sat. Br. XI. 4.1. 1 Uddālaka Āruni is called a Kuru-Pañcāla brāhmana and contrasted with brahmanas of the north (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 51). Similarly the Kausitaki-br. (VII. 6) remarks⁸⁸ that those who want to learn (best) speech go northwards or wait upon him who comes from that direction. In the Satapatha we have the story of Videgha Mathava who went beyond the country of Kosala-Videha, crossed the river Sadānīrā that came down from the Himālaya, and settled to the east of that river, where the country was a cultivated and civilized one in the times of that work, while in former ages it had been uncultivated (I. 4. 1. 4-17, S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. 105-106). Even in the Buddhist

^{31.} तस्माद्योत्तराहि वाग्यदाति कुरुपञ्चालञ्चा । शतपथ जा. III. 2. 3. 15. Vide S. B. E. vol. 12 p. XLII n. 1 and vol. 26 p. 50 for various interpretations.

^{32.} तरमादुर्विच्यां दिशि प्रज्ञाततरा वागुद्यत उद्ध्य उ एव यन्ति बाचं शिक्षितुं यो बा तत आगच्छति तस्य वा श्रुश्रयन्ते । कीबीताकी बा. VII. 6.

Jātakas we see that being an 'udicca brāhmaņo' was a source of great pride (vide Fick's work p. 40). The Tai. Br. speaks of the vedi of the gods as being in Kuru-ksetra.83 Even in the Rgveda itself the country through which the rivers Drsadvati, Apaya and Sarasvati flowed is spoken of as the best spot (vide III. 23. 4). The Tai. Br. says that the Kurupañcālas go east in the winter and westwards in the last month of summer. In the times of the Upanisads also the Kurupañcāla country appears to have occupied a pre-eminent place. The Br. Up. (III. 1. 1.) says that when Janaka, king of Videha, performed a sacrifice the brahmanas of Kurupañcala flocked there in large numbers. Vide also Br. Up. III. 9. 19. The Br. Up. VI. 2. 1 and Chandogya V. 3. 1 say that Svetaketu went to the assembly of the Pañcālas. Kausītaki Br. Up. (IV. 1.) names the countries of Usinara, Matsya, Kurupañcāla and Kāśivideha as centres of intellectual activity and in II. 13 refers to two mountains one in the North and the other in the South (meaning probably Himavat and Vindhya). According to the Nirukta (II. 2), the country of Kamboja was outside the limits of the country of Aryas, though the language spoken there seems to have been the same. The Mahabhasya lends support to this and adds that Surāstra was not an Ārya country (vol. 1, p. 9). In the times of the Dharmasutras great divergence of opinion prevailed on the question of the location of Aryavarta. The Vasisthadharma³⁴-sūtra says; 'Āryāvarta is to the east of the disappearance (of Sarasvati in the desert), to the west of Kalakayana. to the north of the mountains Pāriyātra and Vindhya and to the south of the Himālaya'. It then refers to two more views held by other authors viz., 'Aryāvarta is in the region between the Ganges and the Jumna' and 'where the black antelope roams about there is spiritual pre-eminence'. The Baud, D. S. (I. 1.27) gives the same limits of Aryavarta as Vasistha.

^{33.} वेदा वे सत्रमासत। तेषां कुषक्षेत्रे वेदिरासीत्। ते. बा. V. 1. 1; नि त्वा द्वधे वर आ पृथिन्या इळायास्पदे सुदिनत्वे अङ्काम् दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवद्रशे विद्विति ॥ इ. III. 23. 4; for Kurukşetra as a very ancient place vide Satapatha IV. 1. 5. 13 and Ait. Br. (chap. 35. kb. 4); आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपति। तस्मान्छिक्शिरे कुषपञ्चालाः प्राञ्जो यन्ति। तस्मान्जवन्ये नैद्याचे प्रत्यञ्चः कुषपञ्चाला यन्ति। तै. बा. I. 8. 5.

^{34.} आर्यावर्तः प्रागावृशीत्प्रत्यक् कालकवनादुव्क्पारियात्राद्धक्षिणेन हिमवतः । उत्तरेण च विक्थयस्य । ... गङ्गायसुनयोदम्तरेण्येके । यावद्वा कृष्णसुगो विचरति ताववृत्रह्मवर्चसिम-स्यक्ये । वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र I. 8-9 and 12-13.

substituting the word 'vinasana' for 'ādarsa'. 35 Pataājali in his Mahābhāsya defines Āryāvarta several times in the same terms as Vasistha does. 36 The Dharmasūtra of Śankha-Likhita gives somewhat similar limits by remarking 'spotless spiritual pre-eminence is to be found (in the country) to the east of the countries of Sindhu and Sauvira, to the west of the city of Kāmpili, to the south of Himālaya and to the north of Pārivātra '. 37 The extant Manusmrti (II. 22) makes Āryāvarta coterminos with the whole of India north of the Vindhya by saving that the territory between the Himalaya and the Vindhya and extending up to the eastern and western oceans is known by the wise as Aryavarta. The second view (viz. Arvavarta is the region between the Ganges and the Jumna) occurs in Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1.28). In the Tai. Ar. II.20 special honour is shown to those who dwell between the Ganga and the Yamunā. The third view (viz. Aryāvarta is the country where the black antelope roams about naturally) is the one given in most smrtis. Both Vasistha (I. 14-15) and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1. 29-30) quote an ancient $q\bar{a}th\bar{a}$ from the Nidana work of the Bhāllavins 38 to the effect that wherever the black antelope roams about in the country lying between the Sindhu in the west and the rising mountain in the east, there is spiritual pre-eminence. So this view is a very ancient one and probably

^{35.} प्राग्विनशनात् प्रत्यक् कालकवनाइ दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तसुद्क्पारियात्रमेतदार्यावर्ति तस्मिन्य आचारः स प्रमाणस्। बी. ध. स्. । 1.27. Even so early as the ताण्ड्यमहान्त्राह्मण we have the words सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते (24.17.1). This shows that the Sarasvatī had disappeared by the time of the ताण्ड्य. According to the Vanaparva 82.111 Vinasana is the tirtha where the Sarasvatī disappeared and Vanaparva (130.3-5) says that the Sarasvatī disappeared at the entrance of Niṣādarāṣṭra through fear of pollution from Niṣādas and Śalyaparva (37.1-2) tells us that Vinasana is the sacred place where the Sarasvatī disappeared through hatred for Śūdras and Ābhīras.

^{36.} कः पुनरार्याघर्तः । प्रागाद्शीत् प्रत्यक्कालकवनाद् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तसत्तरेण पारियाञ्चम् । महाभाष्य vol. l. p. 475 (on Pāņ. II. 4.10), vol. III. p. 174 (on Pāņ. VI. 3.109)

^{37.} प्राक्सिन्धुसौवीरात् दक्षिणेन हिमवतः पश्चात्काम्पिल्या उद्कू पारियात्राद्यनवद्यं ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । quoted in परिभाषाप्रकाश (वीरमित्रोद्य p. 57).

^{38.} अथापि भाहाविनो निदाने गाथासुदाहरन्ति। पश्चात्सिन्धुर्विधारणी सूर्यस्योद्ध्यनं पुरः। यावत्कृष्णोभिधावति तावद्वै ब्रह्मवर्चसम्। इति। वसिष्ठ l. 14-15. Visvarūpa reads 'विहरणी' and explains it as 'where the sun sets', while विधारणी may mean 'dividing line, boundary'. परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 57 reads वितरणी and explains वितरणी जनकपर्वतसमीपे मालवदेशे परशुरामेण धनुष्कोट्या कुण्डं भित्त्वा निर्मिनेविति जनमिन्द्वा।

arose from some mythological account as is indicated by the commentary of Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I.2 which quotes a prose passage of the Śvetāśvataras 'Sacrifice became a black antelope and wandered over the earth; dharma followed it in its wanderings'. This view of the limits of Aryavarta is maintained by Śańkha (as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 2), Visnudharmasütra 84.4. Manu II. 23, Yāj. I. 2, Samvarta 4, Laghu-Hārīta (I. p. 178), Veda-Vyāsa (I. 3), Brhat-Parāśara (p. 56) and several other smrtis. The Manusmrti (II. 17-24) defines Brahmāvarta as the country between the holy rivers Sarasvati and Drsadvati. 39 says that the traditional mode of conduct observed in that country is called sadācāra, that the countries of Kuruksetra, Matsya, Pañcala and Surasena are styled Brahmarsidesa and are slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta, that Madhyadeśa is between the Himālaya and the Vindhya and to the east of Vinasana and to the west of Prayaga, that Arvavarta is the country between the Himalaya and Vindhya up to the eastern and western oceans, that that territory where the black antelope roams about naturally is the country fit for sacrifices and the countries beyond constitute mlecchadeśa. that men of the three higher varnas should endeavour to live in these countries (viz. Brahmāvarta, Brahmarsideśa. Madhyadeśa, Āryāvarta &c.) while a śūdra, when distressed for his livelihood, may stay in any country whatever. The Visnudharmasūtra (84.4) says that the country where the system of the four varnas is not established is to be known as Mleccha country and Aryavarta is beyond that. This is explained by Aparārka (p. 5) as follows: one who desires to practise Vedic religion should live in one of the four countries viz. Brahmāvarta and others; if that is not possible, then in a country where there is establishment of the four varnas and the black antelope roams about naturally; if both these cannot be had, then one should dwell in a country where at least one of the two (cāturvarnya and black antelope) is found. The above discussion shows that in very ancient times the country south of the Vindhya was looked upon as beyond the pale of Aryan culture. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1.31) says that the countries of Avanti, Anga, Magadha, Surāstra, Daksināpatha, Upāvrt, Sindhu

^{39.} Vide Tandya Br. 25. 10. 13-14 for Drandvati falling into the Sarasvatī and 25. 10. 16 for the disappearance of the latter and Ait. Br. (chap. 38 kh. 3) for Kuru-Pañcala, Vasa and Usīnara as included in the centre of India.

and Sauvira are of mixed origin (i. e. not of pure Aryan ancestry), that a person who goes to Arattaka, Kāraskara, Pundra, Sauvira, Anga, Vanga, Kalinga and Pranuna (?) has to offer a solemn sacrifice like the Sarvaprstha and that for going to Kalinga the prayascitta is an offering to Vaisvanara Agni. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 292 quotes a verse of Devala to the effect that if a man goes to Sindhu, Sauvīra, Saurāstra, the border lands (or Mleccha countries), Anga, Vanga, Kalinga and Andhra he has to perform the Upanayana samskāra over again. 40 The Mit. adds a remark that this is so only if the man goes to these countries for some purpose other than pilgrimage. Gradually however as Aryan culture spread over the whole of what is now called India the view of the sages about the countries pre-eminently Arvan had to be given up. Medhatithi on Manu II. 22 explains that Aryavarta is so called 'because Arvas again and again spring up there and because the Mlecchas even if they overrun it from time to time do not abide there for long' and then makes the following very sensible observation (on II. 23) 'if a ksatriya king of excellent conduct were to conquer the Mlecchas, establish the system of four varnas (in the Mleccha country) and assign to Mlecchas a position similar to that of candalas in Arvavarta, even that (Mleccha) country would be fit for the performance of sacrifices, since the earth is not by itself impure, but becomes impure through contact (of impure persons or things).' 41 As a result of the spread of Aryan culture eastwards and southwards and the frequent invasions of non-Arvan tribes on the northwest, the countries on the rivers of the Punjab came to be looked upon in the whirligig of time as unworthy of the Aryas to live in. Karnaparva 43. 5-8 abuses those who live on the Sindhu and the five rivers of the Punjab as impure and dharmabāhya. 48

^{40.} सिन्धुसोवीरसोराष्ट्रांस्तथा प्रत्यन्तवासिनः । अङ्गचङ्गकलिङ्गान्ध्रान् गत्वा संस्कार-महीति । This is Devala v. 16 with slight variations in the 3rd pada. It is ascribed to Baudhayana in the Smiticandrika I. p. 9.

^{41.} आर्या वर्तन्ते तत्र पुनः पुनरुद्भवन्त्याक्रम्याक्रम्यापि न चिरं तत्र म्लेच्छाः स्थातारो भवन्ति । मेधाः on मनु II. 22; यदि कश्चित्क्षत्रियादिजातीयो राजा साध्वाचरणो म्लेच्छा-न्पराजयेत चात्र्वण्ये वासयेत् , म्लेच्छाश्चार्यावर्त इव चाण्डालाच् व्यवस्थापयेत् सोपि स्याद्यक्तियः, यतो भूमिर्न स्वता दुष्टा संसर्गाद्धि सा दृष्ट्यति । मेधा. on मनु II. 23.

^{42.} पश्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां येऽन्तराश्चिताः । तान् धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन् बाहीका-निप वर्जयेत् ॥ कर्णपर्व 43. 7 ; कर्ण० 44. 31–34 calls these countries Arattas and 'nastadharma'. Vide पश्च नद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र निःस्त्य पर्वतात् । आरद्दा नाम वाहीका न तेष्वायो द्वयदं वसेत् ॥ कारस्करान्माहिषकान् कालिङ्गान्करलांस्तथा । कर्कोटकान्वीरकाश्च दुर्धमीश्च विवर्जयेत् ॥ कर्नदर्व 44. 40 and 43.

Another word which is very often used, particularly in the Puranas, to denote the territory where the ancient Vedic religion prevails is Bharatavarsa or Bhāratavarsa. It occurs in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela (2nd century B. C.) as Bharadhavasa. 43 The Märkandeyapurāna says that Bharatavarsa has the ocean on the east, south and west and the Himalaya on north.44 The Visnupurāṇa (II. 3.1) says the same and Matsya (114-10) and Vāvu define Bharatavarsa as stretching from Cape Comorin to the source of the Ganges. 45 Sabara (not later than 5th century A. D.) in his bhasva on Jaimini (X. 1.35 and 42) shows that to him there was unity of language and culture from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin. 46 Paithinasi as quoted in the Paribhāsā-prakāśa (p. 58) says that dharma is fully developed (lit. four-legged) in the country from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin. 47 According to Märkandeya (53.41), Väyu (vol. I chap. 33.52) and other Puranas Bharatavarsa is so called after Bharata, son of Rsabha, descendant of Svayambhuva Manu; while Vāyu (vol. II. chap. 37-130) appears to strike a different note by saying that Bharatavarsa is so called after Bharata, the son of Dusyanta and Sakuntalā. The Visnupurāna says that after thousands of births a person secures life as a human being in Bharatavarsa and this land is called Karmabhūmi (the land of religious actions) for those who want to secure heaven and final liberation. The Vayupurana says almost the same and adds that in no land other than Bharatavarsa is karma prescribed for mortals. It is somewhat amusing to find that

- 43. Vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 79.
- 44. दक्षिणापरतो ह्यंस्य पूर्वेण च महोद्धिः । हिमवानुत्तरेणास्य कार्स्वकस्य यथा ग्रणः ॥ तदेतद्भारतं वर्षे । मार्कण्डेय 57.59.
- 45. उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमादेश्वेष दक्षिणम्। वर्षे तद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र संततिः॥ विष्णुपुराण 11. 3. 1; वायु vol. I, 45. 75-76 उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमवद्क्षिणं च यत्। वर्षे यद्भारतं नाम यत्रेयं भारती प्रजा।; मत्स्य 114. 10 आयतस्तु छुसारीतो गङ्गायाः पवहावधिः (प्रभवावधिः?); compare with the last वायुपुराण vol. 1, 45. 81 'आयतो ह्या कुमारिक्यादागङ्गाप्रभवाच्च वै।?
- 46. 'प्रसिद्धश्च स्थाल्यां चरशब्द आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीम्यः' on जैमिनि X. 1.35 and 'ओदने हि चरशब्दः प्रसिद्ध आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीम्यः' on जैमिनि X. 1.42.
- 47. पैठिनिसिः। आ हिमवत आ च कुमार्याः सिन्धुवैतरणी नदी सूर्यस्योद्यनं पुरः यानवद्गा कुष्णमृशो विचरति तत्र धर्मश्चतुष्णाद्गो भवतीति। परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 58.
- 48. कर्मभूमिरियं स्वर्गमपवर्ग च गच्छताम् । विष्णुपुराण II. 3.2; vide Wilson's Visoupurāṇa vol. II. pp. 105-106; ततः स्वर्गश्च मोक्षश्च मध्यश्चान्तश्च गम्यते । न अल्वन्यत्र मत्यांनां भूमौ कर्म विधीयते ॥ वायु 45.77; विष्णुपुराण II. 3.5.

many of the countries of India that in modern times pride themselves on being most orthodox are declared by the Āditya-purāṇa (as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā) to be countries unfit for habitation and to be such that a stay in them except for pilgrimage entailed loss of caste and prāyaścittas. 49 The Ādipurāṇa (Ādityapurāṇa?) as quoted in the Paribhāṣāprakāśa (p. 59) says 'no one, whether a dvija or not, born in Āryāvarta should cross the three rivers, Sindhu, Karmadā (i. e. Karmanāśā) or Karatoyā except on a pilgrimage' and that if he does so, he should perform the penance of cāndrāyaṇa.

All smṛti writers and commentators generally restrict themselves to the duties of varṇas and āśramas as practised in Āryāvarta or Bharatavarṣa, though in very rare cases (as in Yāj. II. 192) they provide for the observance of the usages of even heretics.

^{49.} काञ्चीकादयपसीराष्ट्रदेवराष्ट्रान्ध्रमत्स्यजाः । कावेरी कोङ्कणा हूणास्ते देशा निन्दिता भूशम् ॥ पञ्चनद्यो...वसेत् ॥ (same verse as in n. 42)...सीराष्ट्रसिन्धुसीवीरमावन्त्यं दक्षिणापथम् । गत्वैतान् कामते। देशान् कलिङ्गांश्व पतेद्द्विजः ॥ स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 9 quoting आदित्यपुराणः, आदिपुराणे-आर्यावर्तसमुत्यको द्विजो वा यदि वादद्विजः । कर्मवां सिन्धुपारं च करतोयां न लङ्क्येत् । आर्यावर्तमतिकम्य विना तीर्थक्रियां द्विजः । आज्ञां चैव तथा पित्रोरे विद्युष्ट्यति ॥ परिभाषामकाश p. 59.

CHAPTER II

VARNA

The number of works dealing with the origin characteristics of the caste system in India is legion. of them, however, concern themselves with the detailed description of the bewildering variety of castes and subdivisions of castes in modern times and their present religious and social customs and usages. The origin of caste has given rise to great speculation and several schools of thought have arisen. Generally individual authors lay undue emphasis on one element or attach far too much importance to one point in tracing the origin of the caste system and its ramifications, such as race (Risley), tribe (Ibbetson), occupation (Nesfield). The study of the origin and development of caste in India is one of deep and absorbing interest to all students of sociology. A complete and critical examination of the several theories of caste advanced by distinguished authors and a detailed description of the hundreds of castes and subcastes now found in India is far beyond the scope of the present work. those who want to make a thorough study of the important works on caste a modest list is given in the footnote below.50

50. J. N. Bhattacharya's 'Hindu castes and sects' (1896); E. A. II. Blunt's 'Caste system of Northern India' (1931); W. Crooke's 'Tribes and castes of N. W. Provinces and Oudh' 4 Vol. (1896); N. K. Dutt's 'Origin and growth of caste in India' (1931) and 'Aryanization of India' (1925); R. E. Enthoven's 'Tribes and eastes of Bombay' 3 Vol. (1920); R. Fick's 'Social Organisation in North-east India in Buddha's time,' translation by Dr. S. K. Maitra 1920 (deals only with the Buddhist Jātaka materials); Dr. Ghurye's 'Caste and race in India' (1932); Ibbetson's 'Punjab castes' (1881, reprint in 1916); S. V. Ketkar's 'History of caste in India, 2 Vol. (1909 and 1911); Kitt's 'Compendium of castes found in India ' (1885); Nestield's 'A brief review of the caste system of the North-west Provinces and Oudh' (1885); O'Malley's 'Indian caste customs' (1932) and 'India's social heritage' (1934); Hayavadan Rao's 'Indian Caste system' (1934); Risley's 'Tribes and castes of Bengal '1891 (mostly anthropometric data) and 'People of India' 2nd ed. 1915; R. V. Russell's 'Tribes and castes of Central

The caste system has been highly eulogised and also most severely condemned by Western writers. Sidney Low in his 'Vision of India' (pp. 262-263, 2nd ed. of 1907) speaks of the beneficent aspect of the caste system in the following eloquent passage 'There is no doubt that it is the main cause of the fundamental stability and contentment by which Indian society has been braced up for centuries against the shocks of politics and the cataclysms of Nature. It provides every man with his place, his career, his occupation, his circle of friends. It makes him at the outset a member of a corporate body, it protects him through life from the canker of social jealousy and unfulfilled aspirations; it ensures him companionship and a sense of community with others in like case with himself. The caste organization is to the Hindu his club, his trade union, his benefit society, his philanthropic society. There are no work-houses in India and none are as yet needed.' Abbe Dubois, who wrote about 130 years ago after being in close touch with Hindus of all castes for 15 years as a missionary, remarks (in his work on the character, manners and customs of the people of India, translated into English and published in London in 1817) 'I consider the institution of castes among the Hindu nations as the happiest effort of their legislation; and I am well convinced that, if the people of India never sunk into a state of barbarism, and if, when almost all Europe was plunged in that dreary gulf, India kept up her head, preserved and extended the sciences, the arts and civilization, it is wholly to the distinction of castes that she is indebted for that high celebrity' (p. 14) and he devotes several pages to the justification of this remark. Maine in his 'Ancient

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Provinces' 4 volumes (1916); Emile Senart's 'Les caste dans l'Inde' (1896) translated by Sir E. Ross (1936); M. A. Sherring's 'Hindu Tribes and Castes' 3 volumes (1872-1881); G. Slater's 'Dravidian element in Hindu culture' (1914); Steele's 'Law and customs of Hindu castes' (1868); Thurston and Rangachari's 'Caste and Tribes of South India' 7 volumes (1909); John Wilson's 'Indian castes' 2 vol. (1877); 'Mysore Tribes and castes' by S. V. Nanjundayya and Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, vol. I-IV with several hundred illustrations. Besides these there are numerous papers published in Journals such as Weber's in 'Indische Studien' vol. X pp. 1-160 (very exhaustive as to Vedic material); Dr. Ghurye's on 'Ethnic theory of caste' in 'Man in India' vol. IV (1924) pp. 209-271.

Law' (new edition of 1930 p. 17) characterises it as 'the most disastrous and blighting of all human institutions.' Sherring in 'Hindu tribes and castes' vol. III p. 293 says 'it is the most baneful, hard-hearted and cruel social system that could possibly be invented for damning the human race'. On the other hand Meredith Townsend in 'Europe and Asia' (edition of 1901 p. 72) wrote 'I firmly believe caste to be a marvellous discovery, a form of socialism which through ages protected Hindu Society from anarchy and from the worst evils of industrial and competitive life—it is an automatic poor law to begin with and the strongest form known of Trades Union'. There are others, 51 though their number is small, that believe

^{51.} E. g. Sherring in his ':Hindu Tribes and castes' vol. III p. 274 says 'It has been said with some truth that caste promotes cleanliness and order and is in a certain sense a bond of union among all classes of the Hindu community. Yet surely these ends might have been attained in a simpler manner and by a less antagonistic process. invention of a project so wonderfully elaborate and intricate - a project of bringing into absolute subjection two hundred millions of the human species by robbing them of their independence, the invention of a project like this, so prodigious and far-reaching was not needed to accomplish such useful and boneficent ends. That another and very different object was in view from the very first is abundantly manifest. This object was neither more nor less than to exalt the Brahman, to feed his pride and to minister to his self-will.' Equally sweeping condemnation can be and has been indulged in as regards feudalism and modern capitalism. Fick (p. 331) entirely scouts the idea that the theory of castes was invented by the priests. There are several fallacies lurking in the above quoted passage of Shorring. In the first place, there is nothing to show that the caste system was invented by any body of persons who could impose their will on a continent. system simply grew up in the lapse of ages. The population of Hindus when Sherring wrote may have been near two hundred millions, but it could not have been more than a small fraction of that colossal number during the thousands of years that the system has flourished. Besides writers like Sherring pass over the great achievements of Indians under the caste system in Literature, religion and philosophy, in handicrafts and in the fine arts and unduly exaggerate the defects of the system that have become glaring only in the machine-made civilization of the 19th and 20th centuries. These critics ignore the great adaptability of the system, whereby it preserved Indian society from social anarchy during ages of foreign invasions and internecine wars. While severely condemning the brahmanas the critics altogether forget that the vast and varied Sanskrit Literature owes its production and preservation mostly to the sacrifice of the brahmanas for ages. Under the caste

that the caste system was an invention, an artificial product, due to the machinations of crafty brahmanas. Every great institution has its extremes of good or evil. This work will endeavour to steer clear of downright and hypercritical condemnation of the caste system due to relying on modern standpoints and conditions of society and unthinking adulation thereof. It will try to present and balance facts and though it cannot help passing judgments it will leave the reader free to judge for himself as far as possible. In the present work the discussion will be mostly confined to the evidence of Sanskrit literary monuments, ancient and medieval. An attempt will be made to trace the origin of caste from Vedic times, to exhibit theories of the Dharmasūtrakāras, other smrtikāras and commentators on the subject and to describe the peculiar ceremonies. privileges, duties and responsibilities of Hindu castes as gathered from these works in Sanskrit. To discuss the feasibility or desirability of totally destroying the caste system or the ways and means of attaining that end is deemed to be outside the legitimate limits of this volume. It may, however, be expressly stated as the author's opinion, in order to avoid misunderstandings or fruitless speculations about his personal views, that he does not think that the caste system was an artificial product due to the intrigues, greed and cunning of brahmanas, nor does he hold that it is feasible to destroy the whole edifics of the caste system in the near future. In the cities we may find some people taking their food together but the real India is in the villages, where in spite of the loud denunciations of reformers for a hundred years, the restrictions on taking food and intercaste marriages are almost as rigid as they once were. Our efforts must be directed to wide and rapid spread of literacy among the village people, the diffusion of the idea of one people and one nationality and gradual fusion of small subcastes into larger-similar units. We in India have no doubt reached a critical stage in our history when old ideals, institutions and

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system, no man was allowed to be useless to the commonwealth and his conduct was a question of honour with his group. When all work was turned out with the hands, the caste system tended to preserve and augment the skill of artisans. Moreover what social organization is to be substituted and how is not made clear by these critics. Most of these critics have the western social system based on wealth and the industrial revolution in view; but that system also is as evil as or perhaps worse than the modern caste system.

habits are being shattered by the impact of new ideas and by the onrush of world forces. We have to decide whether we shall make or be able to make a clean sweep of all old ideals and institutions as so much debris and rubbish or whether while keeping the old ideals and some of the old institutions as foundations we shall build up a new social order and create and foster new habits of thought and action. It is beyond the scope of the present work to write more on this point.

A sort of caste system based on birth and occupation did prevail in many countries in ancient times as in Persia, Rome and Japan. But in all these countries it hardly ever made any near approach in rigour and complexity to the caste system that we have in India and instead of ramifying into divisions and subdivisions, it dwindled and disappeared in the course of time. No unanimity seems possible as to the several causes and circumstances which led in India alone to the evolution of the stupendous structure of caste. Not only is it impossible to hold that the origin of the modern complexity of the caste system is to be traced back to one single cause, but it is difficult to accept that even all the origins that have been postulated by the several authors can adequately and satisfactorily explain the modern caste system.

In most of the works on the castes in India a few features are pointed out as the characteristics of the caste system and as common to all castes and sub-castes. They are: (1) heredity i. e. in theory a man is assigned to a particular caste by birth in that caste; (2) endogamy and exogamy i. e. restriction as to marrying in the same caste and not marrying certain relatives or other persons, though of the same caste; (3) restrictions as to food (i. e. what food and water may be taken or not taken and from whom); (4) occupation (i. e. members of most castes follow certain occupations and no others); (5) gradation of castes, some being at the top in the social scale and others being deemed to be so low that they are untouchable. Some authors⁵⁸ like Senart add another characteristic, viz. the caste council with its chief having in meeting assembled among other matters the power to regulate the conduct of its members, to impose the penalties of fine or excommunication for lapses. It may be said at once that this last is a feature

^{52.} Vide Senart's 'caste in India' tr. by Ross pp. 66-73 (1930). Fick pp. 36-37 holds that there were no caste councils and no caste chiefs

that is not found among most of the brahmana and ksatriya castes even in modern times and is not dealt with by dharmasastra works. Endogamy is now the most prominent characteristic of caste and so is the theory that it is by birth. other three are more or less fluctuating from province to province and age to age. In this work the first five characteristics of the caste system set out above will be subjected to a close critical examination on the basis of the Vedic and dharmasastra material. We must also remember that the attributes of caste have not been the same throughout the ages. There difference between the popular conceptions modern caste and the conceptions about it embodied ancient and medieval dharmaśāstra works. twentieth century caste in India is a matter of marriage and to a much lesser extent of food and drink. As to avocations any one can at present follow any profession without fear of loss of caste excepting a few believed to be very impure and very degrading ones (like those of sweepers, butchers, tanners &c.). It is also not possible even now for any one to be generally accepted as a priest, unless he is or claims to be a brāhmana. The old barriers that separated one caste or subcaste from another have been greatly shaken by the influx of modern ideas and the exigencies of the times and one may hope that in a few decades more caste will remain as a purely social institution regulating marriages and to a lesser extent commensality (and not a religious one). Western scholars, in spite of their most commendable patience and industry, often present. through ignorance or lack of first-hand knowledge, the number of castes as larger than what it actually is. For example, Sherring (vol. II. Introduction pp. XXII-XLVI) gives an alphabetical list of brahmanical tribes and remarks (XLVII) 'Hundreds of these tribes, if not at enmity with one another, cherish mutual distrust and antipathy to such a degree that they are socially separated from one another as far as it is possible for them to be-as much as brahmanas are from the lowest outcastes-neither eating nor drinking together nor intermarrying'. The list he gives is most misleading. To take only a few examples, he enumerates Athavle, Achwal, Abhyankara, Apte, Agashe, Bhanu, Bivalkar, Badye, Bhide, Bhagvat, Bhuskute, Bhat, Bodas as separate tribes: but it is well-known to people in Western India that these are the surnames (not subcastes) of the Konkanastha or Citpāvana brāhmanas, who not only interdine, but also inter-marry among themselves,

25

provided there is no bar on the ground of sameness of gotra and pravara.

Ch. II]

The word varna means 'colour' or 'light' in most passages of the Rgveda (e. g. I. 73.7, II. 3.5, IX. 97.15, IX. 104.4, IX. 105.4, X. 124.7). But in some verses of the Rgveda⁵³ the word varna is associated with groups of people having a skin of a dark or fair colour. For example, we read in Rg. II. 12.4 '(Indra) who placed low the dasa colour in a cave (or darkness)'; in Rg. I. 179.6 'the fierce sage (Agastya) cherished both varnas'; in Rg. IX. 71.2 'like one (a fighter) who strikes the people he (Soma) who is powerful goes giving out frequent roars; he exposes the Asura colour'; in Rg. I. 130.8 'Indra helped in battles the Arya sacrificer..... Indra punished for the sake of Manu (the dasas) who do not observe the ordinances and subdued (or killed) the dark skin'; 'Indra having killed the dasyus protected the arya varna' (Rg. III, 34.9); 'You (Indra) subdued for Riisvan, the son of Vidathin, Pipru and powerful Mrgaya; you mowed down fifty thousand dark (men), you shattered cities as old age does shatter good looks' Rg. IV. 16.13; 'Somas, which strike away the dark skin' Rg. IX. 41.1. In Rg. I. 158.5 a certain dāsa is called Traitana which name has a Persian ring about it; In Rg. I. 104.2 varna seems to be placed in opposition to dāsa. These passages make it clear that the Āryas and dāsas were two opposing camps and both were designated 'varnas' on account of the colour of their skins. The Tai. Br. I 2.6 (with reference to the Mahavrata in which there was a mock fight between a brāhmana and a śūdra) says 'that the brāhmana is the divine varna, and sudra is the asurya varna .54 we can interpret the Rgveda verse by the help of the Tai, Br. then in Rg. IX. 71.2, the words 'asuryam varnam' mean 'śūdra tribe.'. There is no doubt that the word asura when applied to gods like Varuna has another meaning also in the Rg. In numerous places in the Rgveda the antagonism

^{53.} यो दासं वर्शमधरं ग्रहा कः । ऋ. 11.12.4; उभौ वर्णावृत्यसः पुरोष । ऋ. 1.179.6. Here Sayana interprets 'varnau' as 'kāma' and 'tapas,' but this is far-fetched and it appears better to take the passage as meaning that Agastya supported both Aryas and dasas. The words cannot reasonably be taken to refer to Brahmana and Kṣatriya since there was no difference of colour between the two and since varnas have been four and not two.

^{54.} ब्राह्मणश्च शूद्धः चर्मकर्ते ग्यायच्छेते । देग्यो वै वर्णो ब्राह्मणः असुर्यः शूद्धः । से ब्रा. 1. 2. 6.

between the $\bar{a}ryas$ and $d\bar{a}sas$ or dasyus is emphasized and prayers are offered to Indra and other gods for having subdued or for subduing the dasa in favour of the Arya. Rg. I. 51.8; I. 103.3; I. 117.21; II. 11.2, 4, 18, 19; III. 29.9; V. 70.3; VII. 5.6; IX. 88.4; VI. 18.3; VI. 25.2. In Rg. I. 51.8 Indra is requested to mark who are aryas and who are dasyus. This does not mean that there was difference between the two in bodily appearance only; on the contrary the antithesis between the arya who is referred to as 'barhismat' and the dasyu who is styled 'avrata' clearly shows that the emphasis was rather on the difference of their cults. That dasyu and dasa are identical in meaning follows from the same epithets being applied to both and from the fact that dasyn and dasa occur in the same verses as applying to the same enemy.55 In Rg. X. 22.8 dasyu and dasa are used in the same verse as applicable to the same enemy. In Rg. X. 99.6 and 8 Indra is represented as killing both dasa and dasyu respectively. The dasyus are described as 'airata' (not obeying the ordinances of the gods) in Rg. I. 51.8, I. 175.3, VI. 14.3, 'akratu' (who perform no sacrifice) in VII. 6.3,56 'mrdhravācah' (whose speech is indistinct or soft) in VII. 6.3 and V. 29.10, 'anāsah' (snub-nosed er dumb) in Rg. V. 29.10. It appears that dasa and dasyu are synonyms and were sometimes styled asuras. example, Sambara is called dasyu and dāsa in Rgveda VI. 31.4 dāsa in Rg. VI. 26.5 and is also associated with in VI. 18.8; asuras like Fioru Pipru is spoken of as a dása in Rg. VIII. 32.2 and as an asura in X. 138.3. Varcin is styled dasa in Rg. IV, 30.15 and VI. 47.21 and asura in VII. 99.5. In Tai. S. 57 (IV. 3.11.3) also it seems that they are held to be identical. The enmity between dasa and arya is breathed in such verses as the following: Rg. II. 11.4 'vanquish the tribe of dasas by the sun (i. e. by the help of a brilliant weapon); Rg. I. 174-7 'You made the earth a pillow for the dasa (i. e. you laid him low on the ground); Rg. III. 12.6 'Oh! Indra and Agni, by one effort together you shook ninety

^{55.} अकर्मा द्रस्युरिभ नो अमन्तुरन्यवतो अमानुषः । त्वं तस्यामित्रहन् वधद्रांसस्य इस्मय ॥ ऋ. X. 22.8.

^{56.} न्यकत्त् यथिनो सूध्रवाचः पणीरश्रद्धाँ अवृधाँ अयज्ञान्। प्रम तान्द्रस्पूँरिप्निविवाय पूर्वश्रकारापराँ अयज्यून ॥ इ. VII. 6.3. This verse applies seven epithets to dasyns. They are called panis (greedy traders), अश्रद्ध (without faith). In Nirukta VI. 31 Yaska paraphrases सूध्रवाचः as सृदुवाचः In Rg. V. 34. 6-7 the dasa is styled pani.

^{57.} तेन दस्यून व्यसदन्त देवा हन्तासुराणामभवच्छचीभिः । ते. सं. IV. 3.11.3.

cities that had dasas as overlords'. It is not possible to say that dasas or dasvus were some Aryan tribes that had fallen from the worship or culture of the Aryan singers of Vedic hymns. In many places the sage refers to the conquest for him by Indra and other gods of dasas as well as Arvan foes. For example, 'Protectors of the good! you (two) killed Aryan foes and dasa foes' Rg. VI. 60.6; 'Oh Indra and Varuna! you killed dasa foes and also Arya foes and helped Sudas with your protection' Rg. VII.83.1. Vide also Rg. VI. 22·10, X. 69·6, X. 83·1, X. 102·3. This shows that though the aryans had become divided and fought among themselves, they kept arvas and dasas quite distinct. The foregoing shows that in the times of the Rgveda there were two antagonistic camps, of the aryas and dasas or dasyus, they differred in the colour of their skins and also in worship, speech and bodily appearance. Therefore, in the earliest period we find the word varna associated only with dasa and with arya. Though the words brahmana and ksatriya occur frequently in the Rgyeda, the word varna is not used in connection with them. Even in the Purusasūkta (Rgveda X. 90) where the words brāhmans, rājanya, vaisya and sūdra occur the word varna is not used. Hence, one may reasonably say that the only watertight groups that are positively or expressly vouchsafed by the Rgveda are ārya and dāsa or dasyu. It is often argued that as the word brahmana denotes a caste in later literature, in the Rgveda also it must be presumed to have the same meaning. But this begs the whole question. No one denies that brahmana denotes a caste in later literature. But whether it has the same sense in the Rgveda must be determined on the materials furnished by the Rgveda itself. Some rely on the word 'brahmaputra' in Rg. II. 43, 2 as showing that a brāhmana became so only by birth in the Rgveda. But the verse begins by saying that 'you sing a Sāma like the Udgātr priest' and so 'brahmaputra' must mean a rtvij whose duty it was to recite śastras (the Brāhmanācchamsin as Sāyana explains). It is generally conceded that the Purusasūkta is a much later hymn than most of the hymns of the Rgveda. In the whole of the Rgveda the words vaisya and sūdra do not occur except in the Purusasukta, though both of them occur in the Atharvaveda (V. 17.9 for vaisya and IV. 20.4 and 8 for sudra and arya) and very frequently in the Tai. S. Besides we cannot forget that the final redaction of the Rayeda must be held to have been separated the composition of the individual hymns by several hundred years (if not more) and that even if it be conceded

that at the time when the Purusasūkta was composed, the four varnas had been constituted and had become castes, yet the same cannot be affirmed for the time of the original composition of the other hymns. The word brahmana occurs several times in the Rayeda: 58 'Oh brāhmanas, Oh pitrs fond of soma! May the sinless Dyavaprthivi (Heaven and Earth) tend to our welfare'; 'Like brahmanas in the Atiratra where soma is to be drunk, utterring (words) round a lake full of water you have, Oh frogs, gathered together on that day of the year on which the rains begin' (Rg. VII. 103. 7); 59 'The brahmanas, who drink soma, reciting prayers of the yearly sacrifice, have sent forth their speech' (Rg. VII, 103, 8). In this verse brāhmanas are expressly said to be getting 'brahma' ready. 'May Agni who devours everything make that (dead body) free from disease and (may) soma also (do the same) who entered into the brahmanas' (Rg. X. 16. 6). 'When the brāhmanas worship together as friends in hymns (lit. speed of the mind) that are fabricated from their hearts' (Rg. X. 71. 8). In Rg. VI. 75. 10 brāhmanas are invoked for welfare along with pitrs. This shows that the brāhmanas were highly venerated. The other verses establish that they were the reciters of hymns (brahma) and drank soma. In Rg. VIII. 35, 16-18 we read 'You (Asvins) urge on (or inspire) brahms, you urge on our thoughts (or actions), you kill the evil spirits and subdue diseases; (17) you urge ksatra (valour) and also men, you kill evil spirits (same as 16); (18) you urge on the cows and also the Vis (the rest is same as 16). Here it seems that the groups of people (viz. those who think and make songs, those who show valour and lead men, and those common people who tend cattle) are clearly meant. These verses may be conceded as pointing to the existence of three groups (brähmanas, ksatriyas and visah) but there is nothing in them to show that these three had crystallised into somewhat like the castes of later times. In Rg. VII. 33. 11 Vasistha is addressed as brahman, but that does not mean that he was a brahmana (by birth), as he is said to have been born of Urvasi from Mitra and Varuna. Similarly, in

^{58.} ब्राह्मणासः पितरः से।म्यासः ज्ञिवे नो द्यावाष्ट्राधिवी अनेहसा । ऋ. VI. 75.10.

^{59.} ब्राह्मणासो अतिरात्रे न सोमे सरो न पूर्णमभितो वदन्तः। संवत्सरस्य तद्दः परि ष्ठ यन्मण्डुकाः प्रावृषीणं वसूव॥ ऋ. 7. 103. 7; ब्राह्मणासः सोमिनो वाचमकत ब्रह्म छुण्यन्तः परिवत्तरीणम् । ऋ. 7. 103. 8; आग्रष्टद्विश्वावृगवं छुणोतु सोमश्च यो ब्राह्मणाँ आविवेश। ऋ. 10. 16. 6; हृद्ा तष्टेषु मनसो जवेषु यद्बाह्मणाः संयजन्ते सखायः। ऋ. X. 71. 8; च्यलारि वद्भपरिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्बाह्मणाः ये मनीषिणः॥ ऋ. I. 164. 45.

Rg. IX. 96. 6 (Brahmā devānām) the word brahmā 60 does not certainly mean 'brāhmaṇa by birth', nor does 'viprāṇām' mean 'brahmanas by birth'. In that verse one who is supereminent among a group is specified, just as the buffalo among animals, the hawk among carnivorous birds &c. In Rg. VIII. 33. 19 'look down and not up; bring your feet close together; may thy kasaplakas (legs?) be not seen, for though a brahmā, thou wert born a woman,' it is impossible to hold that the last words mean 'thou wert a brahmana woman'. If it is only intended to refer to the fact that she is a brahmana woman, there is no reason why the Perfect tense (babhūvitha) is used and not the present. Here 'brahmā' most probably means 'a priest of that name', as that is the meaning in Rg. II. I. 2 (brahmā cāsi grhapatiś-ca no dame). The word 'brahmajāyā' in Rg. X. 109. 2, 3, 6 and 7 does not mean the wife of a brahmana by birth but rather 'wife of Brhaspati'. The whole hymn is obscure and more or less enigmatic or allegorical. Aitareva-brāhmana 61 35, 2-4 it is said that soma is the food of brahmanas and that a ksatriya was to press the tendrils of the Nyagrodha tree and the fruits of Udumbara, Asvattha and Plaksa and drink the juice so pressed instead of soma. appears, therefore, that the brahmanas were a distinct group even in the earliest period of the Rgveda. Whether they were hereditary is certainly not clear; nor is there anything to show that there were restrictions as regards partaking of food from persons other than brāhmanas or as to marriage. That brāhmanas in the Rgveda were a class by themselves may be conceded, but whether they had become a caste by birth is a matter of opinion dependent on the connotation given to the word caste. Dr. Ghurye ('Caste and race in India' p. 42) thinks, probably following the Vedic Index (vol. I on Ksatriya), that the reference in Rg. X. 71. 9 to a false claim for being regarded as a brāhmana points to the conclusion that brāhmanas had become a caste. The verse literally translated means 'these (persons) who do not move below nor beyond, who are neither brahmanas, nor engaged in pressing soma-they

⁶⁰. ब्रह्मा देवानां पद्वीः कवीलामुणिर्विप्राणां महिषो मृगाणाम् । इयेनो गृथ्राणां स्वाधितिर्वनानां सोमः पवित्रमत्येति रेभन् । इत. 1X.96.6; अधः पर्यस्व मोपिर अंतरां पादुकौ हर । मा ते कशक्रको हशन् स्त्री हि ब्रह्मा बभूविथ ॥ इत. VIII. 33.19.

^{61.} ब्युद्धमेवाद्यापि क्षत्रं सोमपिथेन। ...स यदि सोमं ब्राह्मणानां भक्षः। अथास्यैष स्वो भक्षो न्यग्रोधस्यावरोधाश्च फळानि चौदुम्बराणि चाश्वस्थानि फ्राक्षाण्यभिषुण्यात् तानि भक्षयेरसोऽस्य स्वो भक्षः। ऐ. ब्रा. 35. 2-4; vide पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र III. 5. 22, III. 5. 47-51, III. 6. 36 and Sabara's bhāşya thereon for this subject.

being ignorant and having resorted to speech in sinful (or coarse) language take to ploughshares and engage in (agricultural) operations'. It is difficult to see how there is here any false claim to be regarded as a brāhmana. This verse means apparently that those who are not composers of prayers or drinkers of soma (because they are ignorant) are men of low speech and have to turn to agriculture. Even in the days of the dharma-sutras restrictions as to food and marriage for brāhmanas were not at all as rigid as they became in medieval and modern times: but even when these restrictions were not rigid it was clearly laid down that a brahmana is so by birth alone. The word 'brahma' generally means in the Rgveda 'prayer' or 'hymn'. Vide 62 Rg IV. 6.11, VI. 52.2, X. 105.8, X. 141.5 ('Oh Agni, make our prayer and sacrifice prosper by your flames'). Rg. III. 53.12 is 'this brahma (prayer or spiritual power) of Viśvāmitra protects the Bhārata people'. In the Atharvaveda II. 15.4 (as brahma and ksatra entertain no fear, nor are they harmed) brahma seems to mean 'the class of brahmanas'. The transition of meaning from 'brahma' (prayer) to 'brahma' meaning the class of those who composed or recited prayers is natural and easy. the Raveda I. 157.2 both brahma and ksatra occur⁶³ in the same verse where they probably mean 'prayer' and 'valour' respectively. In the Atharvaveda III. 19.1 both words occur and probably mean the same thing as in Rg. I. 157.2. In some Vedic works brahma and kṣatra stand collectively for brāhmanas 64 and ksatriyas (e. g. Tai. Br. II. 7.18, Br. Up. I. 4.11, Kathopanisad I. 2. 24). The word katriya is very frequently applied as an epithet to several gods; e.g. Rg. VII. 64. 2 and VIII, 25.8 (in both to Mitra and Varuna), Rg. VIII. 67. 1 (to Adityas), Rg. X. 66.8 (to gods in general). In some verses ksatriva means 'a king or a nobleman'; e. g. Rz. IV. 42.1 'the kingdom on both sides (heaven and earth) belongs to me, who am a ksatriya and who holds sway over all living persons, so that all the immortals (gods) are ours (on my side); 65 Rg. X. 109.3

^{62.} त्वं नो अग्ने अग्निभिर्नेह्म यज्ञं च वर्धय । ऋ. X. 141.5; विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति बह्मोदं भारतं जनम् । ऋ. III. 53. 12.

^{63.} ययुक्ताधे वृषणमश्चिना रथं घृतेन नी मधुना क्षत्रमुक्षतम्। अस्माकं ब्रह्म पृतनासु जिन्वतं वयं धना शुरसात, भजेनहि॥ ऋ. I. 157.2.

^{64.} ब्रह्म वे बाह्मणः क्षत्रं राजन्यः। ते. ब्रा. III. 9. 14.

^{65.} मम द्विता राज्यं क्षत्रियस्य विश्वायोविश्वे अमृता दशा नः। इत. IV. 42.1. Acc. to the Anukramani this is a hymn of king Trasadasyu son of Purukutsa.

(=Atharva V. 17.3) 'the domain of the ksatriya has been protected (from the sight of enemies)'. The word 'rājanya occurs in the Rgveda only in the Purusasūkta. It occurs in the sense of ksatriya in the Atharvaveda V. 17.9. The same remark applies to the word ksatriya as to brāhmana. It is difficult to say whether ksatriyas were so by birth in the times of the hymns of the Rg. or were only a class more or We find that the Rg. speaks of Devāpi as the purohita of Santanu who became a king. The story 66 is that both were sons of Rstisena and that Santanu, though a younger brother, became king as Devāpi was not willing to be a king. The result was a famine due to Santanu's transgression and so Devāpi performed a sacrifice to induce rainfall. that out of two brothers one became a king and the other a purchita. So kings and purchitas did not depend on birth. In Rg. IX, 112, 3 a poet exclaims 'I am a reciter of hymns father is a physician and my mother grinds (corn) with stones. We desire to obtain wealth in various actions. '67 In Rg. III. 44.5 the poet wistfully asks Indra 'O. Indra, fond of soma, would you make me the protector of people, or would you make me a king, would you make me a sage, that has drunk of soma, would you impart to me endless wealth?' This shows that the same man could be a rsi or a noble or a king. Dr. Ghurye (in 'Caste and race in India' p. 44) thinks that the ksatriyas had become a compact body and he particularly relies on Rg. VII. 104, 13 (= Atharvaveda VIII. 4. 13) which is cited in the Vedic Index (vol. 1, p. 207) for the same purpose. That verse literally means 'Soma does not urge on the crooked one, nor the ksatriya who bears false. He strikes the raksas, and strikes him who speaks falsely: both lie in the bonds of Indra'. The words 'kṣatriyam mithuyā dhārayantam' are explained by Sāyaṇa as 'Kṣatriya who bears false words'. The 2nd half is only an expansion of the first half and so 'vrjina' corresponds to 'rakṣas' and 'asad vadantam' is only a paraphrase of 'mithuyā dhārayantam'. They may mean this that one who is a ksatriya, but has no strength as a ksatriya should have, is at

^{66.} Vide Nirukta II. 10 for the story of Devapi and Santanu who were Kauravya brothers according to it.

^{67.} कार्रहं ततो भिषग्रवलप्रक्षिणी नना। नानाधियो वस्यवो अनु गा इव तस्थिम। इत. IX. 112.3. Karu means here 'composer of hymns'; Visvamitra is addressed as karu by the rivers in Rg. III. 33, 10 'आ ते कारो शृणवामा वर्षास'. Vide निरुक्त VI. 6 for कार्रहं.

the mercy of Indra. Unless we project our notions of the later state of society and the caste system when considering this verse, it is hardly possible to hold that this verse indicates that it refers to persons making a false claim for entrance into a compact body of kṣatriyas by birth. Dr. Ghurye also says (p. 44) The 2nd order in society, the kṣatriya, is known in the earlier portions of the Rgveda as rājanya. I have not been able to find the word rājanya in the Rgveda any where except in the Purusasūkta. In the Aitareya brāhmana (chap. 34. 2) the word 'rājanya' stands for a member of the 2nd class in society, while kṣatriya means a king of whom land (for sacrifice to gods) is asked for by brāhmaṇa, rājanya or vaisya.

Though the word vaisya occurs in the Rgveda only in the Purusasükta, the word 'vis' is very frequently employed in it. It generally means 'people or group of In a large number of cases we have the words mānusīr-višah or mānusīsu viksu or mānusīnām višam, e.g. Rg. III.5.3, III.6.3, III.11.5 (invincible Agni goes in front of human groups), IV. 6. 7 and 8, IV. 9. 2, V. 1, 9, V. 8, 3, VI. 48. 8, VI. 47, 16 (viśo mānasyān), X. I. 4, X. 69, 9. In some places we have 'dasīr visah' (the dasa hordes) e.g. IV. 28.4. VI. 25.2. In 68 Rg. III. 34.2 we have 'Oh Indra, you are the leader of human hordes as well as of divine hordes' (where we have daivīnām višām). Rg. 69 VIII. 63.7 (when loud invocations were sent towards Indra by the people consisting of five groups) shows that 'vis' means all the Aryan people. In Rg. V. 32. 11 Indra is styled 'pañcajanya' (favourable to the five people) and in IX. 66.20 Agni has the appellation 'pañcajanyah purchitah' (the purchita of the five peoples). Sometimes jana and vis seem to be contradistinguished as in Rg. II. 26. 3 (sa ij-janena sa višā sa janmanā sa putrair-vājam bharate dhanā nṛbhih). very fact that vis is qualified also as paneajanya shows that

^{68.} इन्द्र क्षितीनामासे मानुषीणां विकां देवीनासुत पूर्वयावा । ऋ. 111. 34.2.

^{69.} यत्पाञ्चलन्यया विशेन्द्र घोषा असुक्षत । ऋ. VIII. 63.7. Sanikara in his bhasya on Vedantasutra I. 4. 12 says that the word paneajana in Rg. VIII. 63 7 means 'praja' (people) and also notes that according to some 'panea januh' are devas, pitis, asuras, gandharvas and raksases; while according to others they are the four varnas and nisadas as the fifth. The Ait. Br. (13. 7) gives an explanation of panea januh similar to the first 'पाञ्चलन्यं वा एतदुक्यं यहेश्यदेवं सर्वेषां चा एतत्पञ्चलनामुक्यं देवमल्याणां गन्धवार्तसरसां सर्पाणां च पितृणां च'. The Nirukta (III. 8) in explaining Rg. X. 53. 4 remarks about panea januh. 'गन्धवा: पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसी-रयेके। चलारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चम इत्योपमन्यवः।'

there was hardly any distinction between jana and viś. In the Rgveda frequent reference is made to five people (pañca janāh); vide Rg. III. 37. 9, III. 59. 7, VI. 11. 4, VIII. 32. 22, X. 65. 23, X. 45.6. In the same way the words kṛṣṭi (II. 2. 10, IV. 38. 10), kṣiti (V. 35. 2, VI. 48. 7, VII. 75. 4), carṣaṇi (V. 86. 2, VII. 15. 2) are employed along with pañca. We have also 'pāñcajanyāsu kṛṣṭiṣu' in Rg. III. 53·16. So it is clear that viś cannot in almost all hymns of the Rg. mean 'vaiśya' but means the 'people' or 'āryan people' when no epithet like 'dāsīḥ' or 'daivīḥ' is prefixed. The Ait. Br. (I. 26) says that 'viṣaḥ' means 'rāṣṭrāṇi' (countries) when explaining Rg. IV. 50·8 (tasmai viṣaḥ svayam-evānamante).

The word 'dasa' in later literature means 'a serf or a slave.' It follows that the dasa tribes that we see opposed to the Aryas in the Rgveda were gradually vanquished and were then made to serve the Aryas. In the Manusmrti (VIII. 413) the śūdra is said to have been created by God for service (dāsya) of the brāhmana. 71 We find in the Tai. S., the Tai. Br. and other Brāhmana works that the śūdra occupies the same position that he does in the smrtis. Therefore it is reasonable to infer that the dasas or dasyus conquered by the Aryas were gradually transformed into the śūdras. From being enemies they were brought into friendly relations and given a very subordinate position. Traces are visible even in the Rgveda that friendly relations had begun to be established between certain dasas and the priests. For example in Rg. VIII. 46. 32 we read 'the singer took a hundred (cows or other gifts) from the dasa Balbūtha and from Taruksa.' In the Purusasūkta (X. 90. 12) the brāhmana, ksatriya, vaišya and śūdra are said to have sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the supreme In the very next verse the sun and the moon are said to have been born from the eye and mind of the Purusa. shows that the composer of the hymn regarded the division of society into four classes to be very ancient and to be as natural and God-ordained as the sun and the moon.

We shall now see what position was assigned to the sudra in the Vedic Samhitas and Brahmanas. In the Regueda the Arya is contradistinguished from the men 'of dark skin.' In the dharmasutras we find the sudras spoken of as 'dark varna.'

^{70.} Vide Rg. I. 25.1, I. 114 3, VI. 15.1, X. 173.4 for 'vis' by itself.

^{71.} शूदं तु कारयेद् दास्यं ऋतिमऋतिमेव वा। दास्यायेव हि सृष्टोसी बाह्मणस्य स्वयंभवा॥ मञ्ज VIII, 413

Vide Ap. Dh. S. I. 9. 27. 11 which is the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 59. 78 'The śūdra among men and the horse among beasts. Therefore those two, the horse and the śūdra, are the conveyances of beings; therefore the sudra is not fit (or ordained) for sacrifice' (Tai. S. VII. 1. 1. 6). 73 This shows that the sūdra could not perform the Vedic sacrifices and that he was employed for carrying persons in a palanquin or otherwise. In Tai. S. V. 7. 6. 3-4 we have 'put light (glory) in our brāhmaņas, put it in our chiefs (or kings), (put) light in vaisyas and sūdras, put light in me by your light.'74 This is a sure indication that the sūdra who took the place of the dasa is here placed on the same level with the other three classes in the matter of the receipt of light from God and that far from being looked upon as an enemy, he had come to be looked upon as a member of the society (though the lowest in the scale). 'The śūdra is a moving burial ground; therefore one should not study the Veda in the vicinity of a sūdra.'75 'He created the brāhmana with Gayatri, the rajanya with Tristubh and the vaisya with Jagati; but he did not create the sūdra with any metre. 76 The Tandyamahabrahmana says 77 'Therefore a śūdra, though he may have many beasts, is not entitled to perform sacrifice, he is godless as no deity was created after him (as in the case of the other varnas); therefore he does not go beyond washing the feet (of the three other varnas), since he was created from the feet' (this last being an allusion to the Purusasūkta X. 90. 12 padbhyām šūdro ajāyata). This shows that the sudra, however rich in cattle he might be, had to perform the menial duty of washing the feet of dvijas. The

^{72.} यदेकराचेण करेति पापं कुण्णं वर्णे ब्राह्मणः सेवमानः । चतुर्थकारु उद्काभ्यवायी विभिवेशैस्तद्पहन्ति पापम् ॥ आप. ध. सू. 1.9.27.11= ची. ध. सू. 11.1.59= ज्ञान्तिपर्वं 165.29.

^{73.} शुद्दो मनुष्याणामश्यः पश्चमां तस्मात्तौ भूतसंक्रामिणावश्यश्च शूद्दश्च तस्मा=लूद्दो यज्ञेऽनवक्रुप्तः । ते. सं. VII. 1. 1,6.

^{74.} रचं नो धेहि बाह्मणेषु रचं राजसु नस्कृथि। रचं विश्येषु शूदेषु मिय धेहि रचा रचम्॥ते. सं. V. 7. 6. 3-4.

^{75.} पद्युवा एतच्छूजानं यच्छूदः। तस्माच्छुद्रसमीपे नाध्येयम्। This is quoted by Sabara on Jaimini VI. 1. 38 as a sruti. वसिष्ट ध. स्. 18. 11-12 echoes these words 'एक वा एतच्छूजानं ये सूद्धाः। तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाध्येतव्यम्। , पद्यु ...च्छूदः is cited as Satapatha Sruti by the Sūdrakamalākara (p. 3).

^{76.} This is quoted by Vas. Dh. S. IV. 3. Vide Ait. Br. 5. 12 ' गायत्रो वे जाह्मणः बेब्द्भो वे राजन्यः जागतो वे वेदेयः '.

^{77.} तस्माच्छूद उत बुष्झुरयज्ञियो विदेवो नहि तं काचन देवतान्वसुञ्यत तस्मा-त्यादावनेज्यं नातिवर्धते पत्तो हि सृष्टः । ताण्ड्य VI. 1. 11.

Satapatha Br. says that 'the śūdra is untruth' (S. B. E. vol. 44. p. 446), that 'the sūdra is toil' (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 410), and that a diksita (one who was initiated for a Vedic sacrifice) was not to speak with a śūdra (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 4). The Aitareya Brāhmana remarks that 'the śūdra⁷⁸ is at the beck and call of others (the three varnas), he can be made to rise at will, he can be beaten at will.' When the father of Sunahsepa79 (who had sold Sunahsepa for 100 coins and had shown himself ready to kill him as a pasu for another hundred coins) urged his son to come back to him after the boy had been taken into favour by Varuna and Visvamitra, he contemptuously discards his father's proposal with the words one who commits an evil deed once may commit another sinful deed thereafter: vou did not leave aside the śūdra's line of conduct: you did what leaves no door for reconciliation.' These passages show that the śūdra, though he had ceased to be an enemy of the arya and had been allowed to be within the pale of society, was looked down upon, was assigned a very low position, had to perform work of toil as a menial and was not allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices. A clear line of demarcation was kept between the Arva and the Südra in the times of the Brāhmana works and even in the dharmasūtras. The Tandya Brahmana⁸⁰ speaks of a mock fight 'the sudra and arya fight on a hide, out of the two they so arrange that the ārva colour becomes the victor'. The Ap. Dh. S. (I. 1.3.40-41 says⁸¹ that a brāhmacārin, if he cannot himself eat all the food he has brought by begging, may keep it near an arya (for his use) or he may give it to a śūdra who is a dāsa (of his teacher)'. The same Dharmasütra88 (II. 2.3. 1 and 4) says 'Aryas who are pure (by bath) should prepare the food for Vaiśvadeva;.....or śūdras supervised by āryas should prepare it'. Similarly Gautama X. 69 uses the word 'anarya for sūdra and Gautama 12.3 prescribes heavy punishment for a

^{78. (}शुद्धः) अन्यस्य प्रेष्यः कामोत्थाप्यो यथाकामवध्यः। ऐ. जा. 35.3

⁷⁹ यः सक्कत्यापकं कुर्यात्कुर्यादेनस्ततोऽपरम् । नापागाः शौद्रान्त्यायाद्सन्धेयं त्वया कृतम् ॥ ऐ. जा. 33. 5. The legend of Sunahsepa is referred to even in Rg. I. 24.12-13 and V. 2.7 (where it is expressly said that Sunahsepa was released by Varuna from the sacrificial post to which he had been tied).

^{80.} शूदार्थी चर्मणि व्यायच्छेते तयोरार्यवर्णमुज्जापयन्ति । ताण्ड्य V. 5. 14.

^{81.} आर्याय वा पर्यवद्वध्यात्। अन्तिधिने वा शूद्धाय। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 40-41

^{82.} आर्याः प्रयता वैश्वदेवेऽक्रसंस्कर्तारः स्युः । आर्याधिष्ठिता वा झूदाः संस्कर्तारः स्युः आप. ध, सू, II, 2, 3, 1 and 4.

śūdra having sexual intercourse with an ārya woman. Jaimini in his Pūrvamīmānsā sūtra (VI. 1.25-38) establishes after elaborate discussion that the sudra has no adhikara for the performance of Agnihotra and Vedic sacrifices. It is, however. somewhat gratifying to find that at least one ācārya. Bādari, espoused the cause of the sūdra and propounded the view that all (including śūdras) were entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices In the Vedanta-sutras also (I. 3.34-38) it is established that the śūdra has no adhikūra for brahmavidyā based on Veda study, though some śūdras like Vidura might have been endowed with the knowledge of brahma owing to samskaras of former births. In the smrti literature, however, a few passages are found allowing marriages of aryas with sudra women (which will be discussed later on). Similarly sexual relations (illicit) between a śūdra woman and a man of higher varna are alluded to even in the Sambitas e. g. Tai. S.88 VII. 4.19.3 'when a śūdra woman has an $\bar{a}rua$ as her paramour she does not seek wealth for the prosperity (of her relations). In Ait. Br. (8.1) there is the story of Kavasa Ailūsa, who was driven out from the sacrifice on the Sarasvati with the words 'Oh, son of a female slave, you are a rogue and not a brāhmana; how did you take the diksa (initiation) as one of us' and they carried him off to a sandy desert with the idea that he might die of thirst there. He when tormented by thirst 'saw' the hymn Rg. X. 30 and Sarasvati came rushing to him. 84 Further discussion about the sudra and his disabilities will follow in another section later.

The position of the three varnas inter se (called collectively arya) now requires consideration. It is clear that the Samhitas other than the Rgveda and Brāhmaṇa works show that the three classes of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaisyas had become differentiated and their privileges, duties and liabilities had become more or less fixed in those times.

^{83.} श्रद्धा यद्येजारा न पोषाय धनायति।ते. सं. VII. 4. 19.3 and Vajasaneya Samhita 23. 30. 'Arya' may mean an Arya, or simply 'master' or 'vaisya' (as in later literature). The words न...यति may mean 'He (the father of the sūdra woman) does not desire wealth for his own prosperity' (as he is pained by the event).

^{84.} A similar story is told in the Sankhayana Brahmana XII. 3. The words 'dasyah putrah' may be only terms of abuse or they may mean that, though he posed to be a brahmana, he was the son of a brahmana from a dast.

In Rg. IV. 50.8 we read that king alone who places brahmā first (i. e. honours him) dwells happy in his house, for him the earth always remains prosperous and to him all the people (or kingdoms) bow down of their own accord'. 'Brāhmanas's are gods that are directly seen '(Tai. S. I. 7. 3. 1); 'there are two kinds of gods; for indeed the gods are gods and the brahmanas who have studied and teach the sacred lore are the human gods' Sat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 309, vol. 26 p. 341). Atharvaveds V. 17. 19 there is an assertion of the pre-eminence of brahmanas and the consequences of harming them or their cows. 'Therefore the brahmana is the foremost' (Tai. S. II. 6. 2. 5. V. 2. 7. 1). Therefore the brāhmana shows his might by his mouth, since he was created from the mouth' (Tandya Br. XI. 1. 2).86 In the Ait. Br. (33. 4) Varuna, when he was told that a brahmana boy would be offered in place of the son of the king Hariscandra, is made to say 'a brāhmana is indeed preferable to a ksatriya'. The mere fact of birth as brahmana's son is represented here as giving to the boy pre-eminence over a king's son. On the other hand the Sat. Br. says (V. 1, 1. 12) 'a brāhmana 87 is not adequate to (competent to manage) a kingdom'. In the Tai, Br. it is said that playing on the vinā (in the Asvamedha) is to be done by a brāhmana and a rājanya (and not by two brahmanas), since wealth does not find delight in the brahmana. The Satapatha Brahmana 88 (XI. 5. 7.1) lays emphasis on the four peculiar attributes of brahmanas viz. brāhmanya (purity of parentage as a brāhmana), pratirūpacaryā (befitting deportment or conduct), yasas (glory) and lokapakti (the teaching or perfecting of people). 'When the people are being perfected or taught by him, people endow him with four privileges viz. arcă (honeur), dana (gifts), ajyeyată (freedom

^{85.} एते वे देवा: प्रत्यक्षं यह बाह्मणाः । ते. तं. 1. 7. 3. 1; यावतीर्वे देवतास्ताः सर्वा वेद्विदि बाह्मणे वसन्ति तस्माद बाह्मणेम्यो वेद्विद्रम्यो दिवे दिवे नमस्कुर्यात् । नाइलीलं कीर्तियेदेता एव देवताः पीणाति । ते. आ. II. 15 and 'बाह्मणो वा आर्षेयः सर्वा देवताः ।' इतपथ XII. 4. 4. 6; तस्माद्बाह्मणो सुखेन वीर्य करोति सुखतो हि सुष्टः । ताण्ड्यमहा-बा. VI. 1. 6. The same idea is expressed in the उत्तररामचरित V. 'वाचि वीर्य हिजानाम्,'

⁸⁶. ब्रह्म हि पूर्वे क्षत्रात् । ताण्ड्यमहा ब्रा. $XI.\ 1.\ 2$; भूयार्न्ते ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियादिति वरुण उवास्त्र । ऐ. ब्रा. $33.\ 4$.

^{87. &#}x27;न वै बाह्मणो राज्यायालम् १ ज्ञातपथ V. 1. 1.12; S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 4. न वै बाह्मणे श्री रमते इति बाह्मणेत्यो गायेदा अन्योत्यः । तै. बा. III. 9. 14.

^{88.} प्रज्ञा वर्धमाना चतुरो धर्मान् बाह्मणमिभिनिष्पाद्वयति बाह्मण्यं प्रतिरूपचर्यो यज्ञी लोकपिक्ति लोकः पच्यमानश्चतुर्भिर्धर्मैः बाह्मणं अनक्त्यर्चया च दानन चाज्येयतया चावध्यत-या च । शतप्रथ XI.5. 7. 1.

from being harassed) and avadhyatā (freedom from being beaten). The Śatapatha (V. 4. 6. 9) expressly mentions that brāhmaṇa, rājanya, vaisya and śūdra are the four varṇas. Teaching had become so much associated with the brāhmaṇas that when the brāhmaṇa Gārgya approached king Ajātaśatru for the knowledge of brahma, the latter replied "this is contrary to the natural order that a brāhmaṇa should approach a kṣatriya with the idea 'he (kṣatriya) will propound to me brahma'. "In a separate section below all the privileges enjoyed by the brāhmaṇas will be set out at one place. ""

89. स होवाचाजातराञ्चः प्रतिलोमं चैतद्यद् बाह्मणः क्षत्रियसुपेयाद् बह्म मे वश्य-तीति । बृह, उ. II. 1.15; तं होवाचाजातशत्रः प्रतिलोमरूपमेव स्याद्यक्षत्रियो बाह्मणसुपन-यीत । कीषीतिकजा, उ. IV. 18. In the Tai. S. IV. 5. 11. 9 we read यह जाह्मण-बाह्मणायाधिवयादाद् बाह्मणायाध्याहातमनेध्याह प्रश्नमेयातां श्चाबाह्यणश्च व्याह्मणी न बाह्मणं पराहात्मानं पराह तस्माद्र परोच्यः । This literally means 'if a brahmana and a non-brahmana come (to a man) asking him a question, then he should speak to the brahmana first; that he speaks to the brahmana first is really tantamount to speaking first to one-self; when he speaks away from the brahmana (i. e. he speaks to the non-brahmana first and then to the brahmana) that is really speaking away to oneself; therefore a brahmana should not be spoken away (i. e postponed to non-brahmanas).' Manu VIII. 24 says that a king should take up the causes of litigants in the order of the varnas (i. e. if there are two plaintiffs coming with complaints at the same time the brahmana's complaint should be first attended to). Brhaspati says the same thing. Therefore the Tai. S. should be interpreted in the same way. Another meaning is possible viz. if a brahmana and a non-brahmana come to a person and ask him who is superior, the person should declare that the brahmana is the superior of the two (on account of his birth as brahmana probably or of his being a learned man). This sense of 'adhi' as meaning 'superior' is found in Manu I. 99 'since brahmana when born becomes (or is born) superior (to all) on this wide earth.' Prof. Keith in his translation of Tai. S. (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 18 p. 203) says in a footnote "it is not absolutely certain that adhibru means 'decide in favour of' rather than 'speak in favour of." Vide also Vedic Index (II. p. 83). Dr. Ghurye (in 'Caste and race in India' p. 43) says 'in a logal dispute between a brahmana or non-brahmana an arbitrator or witness must speak in favour of the former.' It appears that Dr. Ghurye simply follows the rather guardedly expressed view of the famous Professor, but makes the sense more emphatic than Prof. Keith puts it and does not think for himself whether any other meaning is possible or more appropriate. Any stick is good for beating the brahmana with. The brahmanas were never ashamed in the smrti texts of declaring the privileges they

The position of ksatriyas and their relation to the brahmanas falls to be considered now. First of all with reference to the king several important passages may be cited. In some cases 'rājan' means only 'a noble' or 'chief', as in Rg. X. 42. 10. X. 97. 6. In many passages 'rajan' means 'king'. The government often seems to have been tribal, such tribes as Yadus, Turvasas, Druhyus, Anus and Pūrus (Rg. I. 108, 8) being frequently mentioned (vide Rg. VII. 18. 6 for Bhrgus and Druhyus and VII. 18. 7 for Trisus, VIII. 6. 46 for Yadyas). Whether kingship was by election it is not necessary here to discuss. The king was regarded as keeping the people within bounds.90 When a king was crowned, it was thought that 'a ksatriya was produced, a lord of all beings, the defender of brāhmanas (or of holy texts) and of dharma.'91 Sat. Br. says 'for these two (śrotriya and king) are the upholders of the sacred law among men' (S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 106). That the co-operation between brahmana and ksatriva results in glory and success is frequently emphasized e.g. 'therefore a brāhmaņa must certainly be approached by a ksatriva who is about to perform some act, for indeed that act of a ksatriya which is sped on by brāhmaņa succeeds. (Satapatha, S. B. E. vol. 26 pp. 270-271)93. The purchita of a

(Continued from last page)

claimed. But they never claimed to be treated in a court of law as above truth and justice. If they had taken the Tai. S. passage in the sense in which Dr. Ghurye takes it they would never have scrupled to say so in smiti works and would have quoted the Tai. S. in support. Hence the meaning is different. There is no question here of an arbitration or judicial decision. In Rg. I. 100. 19 there is a similar expression 'May Indra speak in our favour on all days' (विश्वहिन्द्रो अधिवक्ता नो अस्तु). Vide Rg. X. 63. 11 and Vaj. S. 16. 5 for the verb 'vac' with 'adhi' in the sense of 'speak in favour of 'or 'bless.'

- 90. तस्माद्राज्ञा मछण्या विधृताः। ते. सं. II. 6. 2.2.
- 91. क्षत्रियोऽजनि विश्वस्य भूतस्यःधिपतिरजनि विशामत्ताजनि ... ब्रह्मणो गोप्ताजनि। धर्मस्य गोप्ताजनि । ऐ. ब्रा. 38 and 39. 3.
- 92. Varuna is frequently called धृतवत (e.g. ऋ. I. 25. 8 and 10 and once even the yajamana is so called (ऋ. I. 25. 6); the शतप्य V. 4. 4. 5 explains ऋ. I. 25. 10 as 'निषसाद धृतवत इति। धृतवतो ने राजा एष च ओत्रियश्च तो ह वे द्वो मनुष्येषु धृतवतो।'. In गोतम VIII. 1 practically the same words occur 'द्वो लोके धृतवतो राजा बाह्मणश्च बहुश्चनः'. Manu IX. 322 and Nārada (prakīrņaka 42) express the same idea.

⁹³ तस्मादु क्षत्रियेण कर्म करिष्यमाणेनोपसर्तव्य एव बाह्मणः । स हैवास्मै तव् बह्मप्रस्तं कर्मध्यते । क्षतपथ जा. IV. 1. 4. 6; the words ब्रह्म ... ध्यते occur in गौतम XI. 14.

ksatriya came to occupy a very high position. The Satapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 270) lays emphasis on the importance of the purchita and cautions a brahmana against being the purchita of any king he meets with and adds that a brahmana may remain without a king, but a king should not be without a brāhmana. Even the gods required a purchita, as the Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 1. says 'Visvarupa son of Tvastr was the purchita of gods.'94 Sanda and Amarka were the purchitas of the Asuras (Kāthaka S. IV. 4). Agni is often called purchita (Rg. I. 1. 1., I. 44. 10, III. 2. 8). 'May we, purchitas, be awake in the kingdom (for its welfare)' says the Tai. S. (I. 7, 10, 1). The Ait. Br. (chap. 34.8) says 95 'the purchita is half the soul of the ksatriya' and contains an eulogy of purchita in the following words (40, 1)" for indeed the gods do not eat the food of a king who has no purchita; therefore a king when about to offer a sacrifice should have a brahmana as his purchita with the idea 'may the gods eat my food.'" The combination of the brāhmana and the rājanya is said to be most desirable and that it is conducive to the eminence of both is declared in the Tai. S. (V. 1. 10. 3)96 'Therefore a brāhmana who is supported by a rājanya is superior to another brāhmana (not so supported). hence a rajanva who has a brahmana (to help him) is superior to another rajanya'. The Satapatha (V. 4. 4. 15) declares 'that king indeed who is not powerful to the brahmanss (i. e. who is humble before the brāhmanas) becomes more powerful than his foes.' 97 It is not to be supposed that this attainment of the supreme position by brahmanas was an affair of plain sailing. Sometimes ksatriyas claimed higher position and also paid scant respect to brāhmanas. In the Satapatha we read 'whence the brāhmana is an object of respect after the king '(S. B. E. vol. 41, p. 96): hence the people here serve, from a lower po ition, the ksatriya seated above them 'Satapatha (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 94); hence when a nobleman approaches, all these people, the subjects crouch down by him on the ground 'Satapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 228); 'therefore there is nothing higher than the ksatra;

^{94.} विश्वरूपो वे स्वाष्ट्रः प्रशेहितो देवानामासीत स्वस्रीयोऽसराणास् । तै. सं. II. 5.1.1.

^{95.} अर्धात्मो ह वा एव क्षत्रियस्य यत्पुरोहितः। ऐ. जा. 34. 8; न ह वा अपुरोहितस्य राज्ञो देवा अन्नमदन्ति तस्माद्राजा यक्ष्यमाणी जाह्मणं पुरोद्धीत देवा मेऽन्नमदानिति। ऐ. जा. 40. 1.

^{96.} तस्माद्बाह्मणो राजन्यवानत्यन्यं त्राह्मणं तस्माद्वाजन्यो ब्राह्मणवानत्यन्यं राज-न्यम् । ते. सं. V. 1. 10. 3.

^{97.} यो वै राजा बाह्मणाद्ववलीयानमित्रेम्यो वै स वर्लायान् भवति। शतपथ V. 4.4. 15.

therefore the brāhmaṇa sits down below the kṣatriya in the Rājasūya' (Śatapatha 14. 4. 1. 23=Br. Up. I. 4. 11). In the Atharvaveda several verses occur which declare the harm that results from disrespecting or injuring a brāhmaṇa or from robbing him of his cow. 'He who regards brāhmaṇa as food drinks of the poison of Taimāta; he who injures a brāhmaṇa, the relative of the gods, does not attain to the world of pitṛs' (Atharvaveda V. 18. 4 and 13). 'Those who spat on a brāhmaṇa or those who sent to him mucus remain biting the hair in the midst of a stream by their mouth; that kingdom sinks as water sinks a shattered vessel, where' they injure a brāhmaṇa; that wicked act strikes that kingdom ⁹⁸ (Atharvaveda V. 19. 3 and 8).

The stories of king Kārtavīrya and Viśvā mitra who respectively carried off the cows of Jamadagni and Vasistha narrated in the Mahābhārata (Śānti 49 for Kārtavīrya; Ādi. 175 for Viśvāmitra) and the Purāṇas show how several kings were high-handed and treated brāhmaṇas with no respect whatever. It appears that even the wives of brāhmaṇas were not quite safe at the hands of kings. 'The chamberlain (kṣatṛ) of that king in whose kingdom the wife of a brāhmaṇa is thoughtlessly put under restraint does not march in front of cooking vessels with a golden ornament on his neck '99 (Atharva V. 17. 14). The somewhat mystical hymn (Rg. X. 109) where 'brahmajāyā' figures prominently probably hints at the same fact (viz. the kidnapping of the wives of brāhmanas).

The Tai. S. says that 'the vaisya indeed sacrifices, being desirous of cattle' and that the gods having been defeated were reduced to the condition of being the vaisyas or 'vis of asuras'; 100 'the vaisya among men, cows among beasts, therefore they are to be enjoyed (to be eaten, to be subsisted upon) by others; they were produced from the receptacle of food; therefore they exceed others in numbers'. 101 The Tai. Br. says 'the vaisya class is

^{98.} ये बाह्मणं प्रत्यष्ठीवन् ये वास्मित्र् शुक्कमीषिरे। अस्नस्ते मध्ये कुल्यायाः केशान् खादन्त आसते॥ तद्वे राष्ट्रमास्रवति नावं भिक्षमियोदकम्। बाह्मणं यत्र हिंसन्ति तदाष्ट्रं हन्ति दुच्छुना॥ अधर्व V. 19. 3 and 8.

^{99.} नास्य क्षत्ता निष्कग्रीवः स्नानामेत्यग्रतः । यस्मिन् राष्ट्रे निरुध्यते अह्मजायाऽ-चित्या ॥ अधर्ववेद् V. 17. 14.

^{100.} पशुकामः खळु वैश्यो यजते । ते सं. II. 5. 10.2: ते देवाः पराजिग्याना असु-राणां वैश्यसुपायन् । ते. सं. II. 3. 7. 1.

^{101.} वैदयो मनुष्याणां गावः पश्चनां तस्मात्त आद्या असधानादृष्यसुज्यन्त तस्माद्भूयां-सोऽन्येभ्यः । तै. सं. VII. 1. 1, 5

said to have been born from rk verses, they declare the Yajurveda as the origin of the ksatriya, the Samaveda is indeed the source of brāhmaṇas'. 108 The same Brāhmaṇa further says' the vis go away from (reside separately from) the brahmanas and keatriyas'. The Tandya Br. says108 'Hence the vaisya, though being eaten (i. e. subsisted upon) by others is not exhausted, since he was created from the prajanana (from the sexual parts of Prajapati); therefore he has numerous cattle, he has all the gods (as his patrons) and was produced with the Jagati metre, his season is the rains, therefore he is to be eaten by the brahmana and the rajanya, since he was created as lower (than those two classes)'. The Sat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 335) says 'He thus assigns to the Maruts a share therein after Indra, whereby he makes the people (vis) subservient and obedient to the nobility '.104 According to the Ait. Br. 35. 3 the vaisya is one who is the food of others, who pays taxes to others. These passages show that vaisyas were entitled to sacrifice, reared cattle, were far more numerous than the other two classes, they had to bear the brunt of taxation. they lived apart from brahmanas and ksatriyas and were obedient to them.

The system of the four varias had taken such deep roots in the period when the Brāhmana works were composed, that we often meet with Vedic passages saying that it extended even to the gods, Agni and Brhaspati being the brāhmanas among gods; Indra, Varuna, Soma, Yama being the kṣatriyas; Vasus, Rudras, the Visve Devas and Maruts being the vis, and Pūṣan being the sūdra. Similarly it is said 'the brāhmana is really spring, the kṣatriya summer, and the vis are the rainy season.'

^{102.} ऋग्म्यो जातं वैश्यं वर्णमाहुः । यज्जर्वेदं क्षत्रियस्याहुर्योनिम् । सामवेदो बाह्मणानां प्रस्तिः । तै. बा. III. 12. 9 ; तस्माद् ब्रह्मणश्च क्षत्राञ्च विशोन्यतोऽपक्रमिणीः । तै. बा. 1. 6. 5.

^{103.} तस्माद्वैश्योऽद्यमानो न क्षीयते प्रजननाद्धि सष्टस्तरमादु बहुपशुर्वैश्वदेवो हि जागतो वर्षा हास्यतुंस्तरमाद् ब्राह्मणस्य च राजन्यस्य चाद्योऽधरो हि सुष्टः । ताण्ड्यमहाबा VI. 1. 10.

^{104.} अर्थेतदिन्द्रमेवातु मरुत आभजान्ति । तत्क्षत्रायैवैतद्विशं कृतातुकरामतुक्तानं करोति । शतप्थ IV. 3, 3, 10,

^{105.} Vide Maitrayanī Sam. I. 10. 13, Śatapatha 14. 4. 2. 23-25 which is the same as Br. Up. I. 4. 11-13, Kausītaki Br. 9. 5 and Ait. Br. (34. 5). Compare आंक्रियमें 208. 23-25 for Adityas being keatriyas, Maruts as vaidyas, Aśvins as śūdras.

That there were other professions and crafts with specific names (which in later times at least became castes) even in the times of the Samhitas is quite clear. The Rg. speaks of vapta (barber) in X. 142.4, tastā (a carpenter or maker of chariots) in Rg. I. 61.4, VII. 32.20, IX. 112.1, X, 119.5; tvastā (a carpenter) in VIII. 102.8; bhisak (medicine man) in IX. 112.1 and 3, karmara or karmara (iron-smith) in X. 72.2 and IX. 112.2, carmamna (tanner) in Rg. VIII. 5.38.

The Atharvaveda mentions rathakāra (III. 5.6), karmāra (III, 5.6) and sūta (III. 5.7). In the Tai. S. (IV. 5.4.2)106 mention is made of ksatr (royal chamberlain or doorkeeper). samgrahitr (treasurer), taksan (carpenter) and rathakāra (maker of chariots), kulāla (potter), karmāra, punjista (fowler), niśāda, isukrt (maker of arrows), dhanvakrt (maker of bows), mrgayu (hunter) and śvani (those who lead packs of hounds). These also occur in the Vaissaneva-sambita 16, 26-28 and these and a few more in Vāj. S. 30,5-13 and in Kāthaka Samhitā 17.13. In the Tai. Br. (III. 4.1 and the following anuvakas that deal with Purusamedha) we have ayogū, māgadha (bard), sūta. śailūsa (actor), rebha, bhīmala, rathakāra, takṣan, kaulāla, karmāra, manikāra, vapa (sower or barber), isukāra, dhanvakāra, jyākāra (maker of bow-string), rajjusarga, mrgayu, śvani surākāra (vintner), ayastāpa (heater of iron or copper), kitava (gambler), bidalakāra (worker in wicker-work), kantakakāra. The Satapatha Br. XI, 8.1. speaks of kaulala-cakra (the potter's wheel). The Tai, Br. III, 8.5, mentions also rajaputra ugra. The Satapatha (S. B. E. Vol. 44 p. 397) speaks of Marutta Āviksita as an āyogava king. This latter is a pratiloma caste according to the dharmasūtras (vide below). Whether in the Satapatha that word has the same sense is doubtful. The Tai. S. I. 8.9.1-2 mentions among the 'ratnas' (the jewels). the suta, gramani, ksatr, samgrahitr, bhagadugha (collector of taxes), aksāvāpa (superintendent of gambling). Vide also Tai. Br. I. 7.3. In the Tandya Brahmana (19.1.4) it is said that 'eight brave persons hold up the kingdom viz. the king's brother, the king's son, the purchita, the crowned queen, the sūta, the grāmani, ksatr and samgrahitr'. Therefore it looks likely that ksatr and samgrabitr were high officers of state and not castes. In the Sat. Br. XIII. 4.1.5 among the

^{106.} नमः क्षतुभ्यः संग्रहीतुभ्यश्च वो नमो नमस्तक्षभ्यो रथकारेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः कुलालेम्यः कर्मारेग्यश्च वो नमी नमः प्रश्निष्टेम्यो निषादेग्यश्च वो नमो नम इषुकुद्रम्यो धन्व-क्रवृम्यश्च वो नमी नमी सुगुप्रयः श्वनिम्यश्च वो नमः। ते. सं. IV. 5. 4. 2.

guards of the horse let loose in the Asyamedha there were 'a hundred sons of kṣātra-samgrahītṛs carrying clubs'. As the word 'ksātra' is prefixed to 'samgrahītr' it follows that 'samgrahitrs' were officers who may have belonged to any varna. In the same passage mention is made of a hundred guardians who were the sons of sūtagrāmanīs. In another passage of the same brahmana (XIII. 2, 2, 18) the sutas and grāmaņīs are said to be no kings and yet are rājakṛt (i.e. king-makers).107 This means probably that they are the principal persons on whose support the king depends. The Sat. Br. V. 4. 4. 15-19 arranges brāhmana, king, king's brother, sūta or sthapati, grāmani, sajāta in a descending scale of powerfulness. So the suta appears to have been originally an important officer. It is hardly possible to say with assurance that all these had become petrified into castes in the modern sense, particularly when several persons associated with these in the Vaj. S. and elsewhere were not castes such as the thief (taskara), the impotent (kliba), humpbacked (kubja), dwarf (vāmana); but most of the avocations and crafts referred to above have corresponding castes and subcastes for hundreds of years. It is therefore possible to say that in the times of the Samhitas and Brahmanas these were groups founded on occupations that had become castes or were in process of developing into castes. The Tandya Br. speaks of Kirātas (who were and are non-Āryan and were aboriginal tribes). 108 The Vaj. S. (30, 17) speaks of Paulkasa in connection with bibhatsa (nauseating filth) and of candala (in 30.21) in connection with vayu (wind). The paulkasa and candala occur in Tai. Br. (III. 4. 14 and III. 4. 17 (respectively). In the Chandogya Up. (V. 10.7) 109 the candala is ranked with the dog and the boar. 'Therefore even if one knowing thus were to give the leavings of his food to a candala that would in his case be an offering made into the

^{107.} यथा वै राज्ञोऽराजानो राजकृतः स्त्यामण्यः । ज्ञतपथ XIII. 2. 2. 18.

^{108.} Vide ताण्ड्य जा. 13. 12. 5, बाज. सं. 30. 16, अधर्षवेद X. 4. 14, ते. जा. III. 4. 12 for किरात.

^{109.} अभ्याशी ह यत्ते कपूरां योनिमापद्येरन श्वयोनि वा स्करपोनि वा चण्डाल-योनि वा। द्धा. V. 10. 7. There were strict rules about giving one's ucchişta to another. Ap. Dh. S. (I. 11. 31. 25-26) did not allow a brahmana to give his ucchişta to one not a brahmana, unless certain rather obnoxious things were done to it. Manu IV. 80 forbids the giving of ucchişta to a śūdra (who is not a dependant) while Manu X. 125 allows it to be given to a śūdra who is a dependant.

Self as Fire'—Chāndogya V. 24. 4. This shows that the cāndāla was the lowest in the social scale. 'Just as a pāṣya or vaideha, or the son of an ugra, after having made his bow strung &c.'—Br. Up. III. 8.2. In the Br. Up. IV. 3.22 mention is made of both cāndāla and paulkasa and in IV. 3.37 it is said¹¹⁰ that 'just as when a king pays a visit, the ugras, pratyenasas (thief catchers), the sūtas and headmen of the village make arrangements for him with food and drink and with pavilions.' Here ugras seem to be a group of nobles subordinate to the king. In later literature ugra is the offspring of a kṣatriya from a śūdra woman (Yāj. I. 91). In the Rg. X. 97. 12 the word ugra occurs 'You destroy disease just as an ugra who is a mediator or arbitrator (removes dispute).' What ugra means here cannot be said with certainty. It may only mean a 'formidable chief or king.'

The rathakāra and nisāda deserve a passing notice. The Tai. Br. I. 1. 4 after stating that the brahmana should consecrate sacred fires in the spring, the ksatriya in summer, the vaisya in autumn, ordains that the rathakāra should consecrate sacred fires in the rainy season. The question arises whether the rathakāra is a member of the three higher castes who has taken in economic distress to the profession of making chariots or is a person belonging to a caste other than the three higher varnas. Jaimini in his Pūrvamīmānsā-sūtra (VI. 1. 44-50) discusses this question and establishes 111 that the rathakara is a member of a caste other than the three higher varnas, that he has on account of the express words in the sruti the privilege to consecrate sacred fires with vedic mantras, that the mantra for the consecration of rathakāras is 'rbhūnām tvā' (Tai. Br. 1. 1. 4) and that the rathakāras are the caste called Saudhanvana which is neither sudra nor one of the three higher ones, but is slightly inferior to the three higher varnas. Viśvarūpa 118 (on

^{110.} Pāṇini VI. 2. 60 teaches the accent of the word पत्येनस् when compounded with राजन. According to Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 29) ugra is an anuloma caste sprung from a brahmaṇa father and sūdra wife.

^{111.} वचनाज्ञ्थकारस्याधानेऽस्य सर्वशेषत्वात् । सौधन्वनास्तु हीनत्वान्मन्त्र-वर्णात्प्रतियेरत् । पूर्वमी, VI. 1. 44 and 50.

^{112.} यनु स्मृत्यन्तरे रथकारस्योपनयनस्मरणं तदाधानाधिकृतत्वाद् भ्रान्तेरित्यवसेयम् । विश्वस्य on या. I. 10. The जी. ग्रु. II. 5. 6. has वसन्ते ब्राह्मणसुपनयीत भ्रीक्षे राजन्यं शरिद वैदेयं वर्षासु रथकारमिति ।. Vide भारद्वाजगृद्धा I. 1 for the same rule. क्षित्रय-वैदेयात्वलोमानन्तरजोत्पक्षो रथकारस्तस्य चेद्रयादानोपनयनसंस्कारिकया अश्वप्रतिष्ठा रथ-स्ववास्तुविद्याध्ययनवर्तिता च । शङ्क quoted in संस्कारमकाञ p. 399 which says that this रथकार is different.

Yāj. 1. 10) notices that in some surti the rathakāra though not belonging to the three higher varṇas, was allowed the privilege of upanayana, but adds that this dictum of the smṛti is due to mistake, it being misled by the fact that he is allowed the privilege of ādhāna 113 (consecration of sacred fires). In modern times the members of the carpenter caste in certain parts of the Deccan at least are in the habit of performing the upanayana and wearing the sacred thread.

With reference to an isti offered to Rudra a Vedic text says 'one should make a nisādasthapati perform this isti.' The Pūrvamimāñsā sūtra 114 (VI. 1. 51-52) discusses the question whether this authorises a nisāda who is himself a chieftain or a chieftain (who is a member of the three higher varnas) of nisādas. The established conclusion is that the isti is to be performed by a nisāda who is a chieftain though he be beyond the pale of the three varnas, as the Karmadharaya compound is the proper way of dissolving the compound and not the genitive Tatpurusa. The Ait. Br. (37, 7) says 115 'just as the nisadas, or selagas (thieves) or evil-doers seize a wealthy man in a forest and throwing him in a well run away with his wealth.' The Sankhayana Br. (25. 15) allows one who had performed the Visvajit sacrifice (in which everything is given away) to stay in a settlement of nisadas whose food is the lowest that he is allowed to take. The Kātyāyanaśrauta-sūtra (I. 1. 12-14) says 116 that 'the chieftain who is a nisāda can offer a caru of Gavedhukā corn to Rudra, but this offering is to be made in ordinary fire (and not in the fires consecrated with Vedic mantras) i. e. the permission to offer Raudra isti does not entitle him to perform Vedic consecration of fire (ādhāna). But according to Satyāsādha 117-kalpa III. 1 both the nisada and the rathakara are entitled to perform Agnihotra and Darśa-pūrnamāsa.

^{113.} वसन्तो ब्राह्मणस्य ग्रीष्मो राजन्यस्य हेमन्तो वा शर्द्र वेश्यस्य वर्षा रथकारस्य । आप. भ्रो. सू. V. 3, 18; vide कात्यायनश्रीत I. 1. 9-10 also.

^{114.} स्थपतिार्नेषादः स्याच्छव्द्यसामर्थ्यात् । पूर्वमी. VI. 1. 51.

^{115.} यथा ह वा इदं निषादा वा सेलगा वा पापकृती वा वित्तवन्तं पुरुषं गृहीत्वा कर्तमन्वस्य वित्तमादाय द्ववन्ति । ऐ. बा. 37. 7. The com. on Āśv. Śr. (Uttara- १६ ka IV. 7. 6 explains सेलगा: as सर्पेणोन्मत्ता: (?).

^{116.} निषादः स्थपतिर्गावेधुकेधिकृतः । वावकीर्णिनो गर्द्भेज्या । लौकिको । कात्या० भ्री. I. 1. 12-14.

¹¹⁷. निषादश्यकारयोराधानाद्यग्रिष्टात्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ च नियम्येते । सत्या-षास्कल्प $\mathrm{III.}~\mathbf{1}_{\circ}$

The Aitareya Brāhmana 118 narrates that Visyāmitra cursed his senior fifty sons, when they did not agree to his proposal to treat Sunahsepa (Devarāta) as his son, that they would associate with the lowest castes and that they became the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas who are among the lowest of society and are mostly composed of dasyus. It is probably owing to this legend that the Manusmrti 119 (X. 43-45) is prepared to regard the Paundrakas, the Odras, Dravidas, Kāmbojas, Yayanas, Sakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas. Daradas and Khasas as being originally ksatriya castes, but later on reduced to the position of sudras by the nonperformance of Vedic samskāras (like upanayana) and by the absence of contact with brahmanas. Manu further adds that the various castes that are outside the (influence of the) four varnas are all known as dasyus whether they speak the language of Mlecchas or of Aryas.

One very important question is whether the theory of the four varnas with their peculiar privileges and duties described in the dharmasutras and other smrtis was merely a theory even When the Purusasūkta of the in the most ancient times. Rgveda speaks of Brāhmana, Rājanya, Vaisya and Sūdra or when the Satapatha Brāhmana expressly says that they are four varnas, it appears to me that they speak of facts existing in their times and not merely of a theory which was to be striven for as an ideal. Smrti writers try to place all their dicta in the frame-work of the varnas because the four varnas and their duties and privileges had been more or less clearly defined in the times of the Vedas and Brāhmanas, which according to the authors of the smrtis were śruti, eternal and infallible. They tried to approximate the state of society existing in their times to the varnas which they held were of hoary antiquity. there is nothing to show that the same difficulties were felt by the authors of the Vedic hymns and the Brāhmanas. manner in which they refer to the privileges and disabilities of the several varnas have such a deep ring of actuality that one must concede that the varnas spoken of in them represented the

^{118.} ताननुष्याजहारान्तान्तः प्रजा भक्षष्टिति । त एतेन्ध्राः पुण्डूाः शबराः पुनिन्दा मृतिवा इत्युदन्त्या बहुषो वैश्वामत्रा दस्यूनां भूयिष्टाः । ऐ. जा. 33.6.

^{119.} शनकैस्तु क्रियालापोदिमाः क्षात्रयजातयः। वृष्ठत्व गता लाक ब्राह्मणादशनन च ॥ पौण्ड्रकाश्चीहॅन्नविद्याः काम्योजा यवनाः शकाः। पारदा पह्नवाश्चीनाः किराताः दरदा. खशाः॥ मुखबाहूरुपज्जानां या लोके जातयो वहिः। म्लेच्छवाचश्चार्यवाचः सर्वे ते दस्यवः स्मृताः॥ मन्नु X. 43-45.

real divisions of society at least to a very great extent, if not cent percent.

The preceding discussion renders the following propositions most probable;

- (1) that in the earliest times about which we have literary records there were only two varias, the aryas and their opponents the dasyus or $d\bar{u}sas$; that the difference between the two was based on difference of colour and culture and was thus more or less racial and cultural:
- (2) that centuries before the samhitā period closed the dasyus had been conquered and were given a position subservient to the āryas;
- (3) that the śūdras were the dasyus so subjugated and made subservient;
- (4) that the spirit of exclusiveness and pride of superiority existing among the āryas with reference to dasyus soon extended to groups among the āryas themselves;
- (5) that by the time of the Brāhmaṇa Literature, brāhmaṇas (men supposed to be devoted to learning and priesthood), kṣatriyas (kings, noblemen and some warriors) and vaisyas (the artisans and common people) had become separated into groups more or less dependent on birth and that the brāhmaṇa 120 had come to be regarded as superior to the kṣatriya by the fact of birth;
- (6) that even such low castes as cāndālas and paulkasas had been evolved long before the end of the Vedic period;
- (7) that owing to cultural advance, division of labour arose and numerous arts and crafts had been developed and they were in process of contributing to the complexity of the system by creating numerous sub-castes based upon occupations;
- (8) that besides the four varnas intermediate castes like the rathakārs had been evolved;
- (9) that there were certain non-Aryan tribes which were supposed to have been originally katriyas but fallen later on.

^{120.} That this theory of four varnas was well-known to Buddhist literary works is shown by Fick chap. II. p. 17 (the only difference being that in the Buddhist works the keatriya is put first and the brahmana after him).

Ajānāla (goatherd)

H. D. 7

The close of the Vedic period is here taken as being not later than about 1000 B. C. How much earlier it may be placed it is not possible to say.

The following is a list of persons engaged in professions and crafts, which had probably become castes or were in the process of becoming castes, before the close of the Vedic period, as seen from the Vāj. S., Tai. S. and Tai. Br., Kāthaka Sam. (17.13), the Atharva-veda, the Tāṇdya Br. (III. 4.), the Ait. Br., the Chāndogya and the Br. Up. The meaning of some of the words is not quite clear and it is possible that some in the list were not at all castes or professions. They are arranged in the alphabetical order of Sanskrit (though transliterated). The meanings of most of them have been given above. Where the meaning is doubtful a question mark has been made.

Dāśa

Ajapaia (goatnerd)	Dasa
Andhra	Dhanuskāra
Ayastāpa	or
Ayogū or Āyogū	Dhanvakāra
Avipāla (keeper of ewes)	or
Ānda (?)	Dhanvakṛt
Iṣukāra	Dhaivara
Ugra	Niṣāda
Kantakakāra or Kantaki-	or
kārī (in Vāj. S.)	Naiṣāda
Karmāra	Puṁścalu
Kāri (dancer ?)	Puñjiṣṭa
Kitava	or
Kirāta	Pauñjistha
Kīnāśa (cultivator ?)	Puṇḍra
Kulāla or Kaulāla	Pulinda
Kevarta	Paulkasa
Kośakāri (blower of bellows)	Bainda (catching fish in nets)
Kṣatṛ	Bhisak
Gopāla	Bhlmala (timid?)
Carmamna	Maņikāra
Cāṇḍāla	Māgadh a
Jambhaka (?)	Mārgāra
Jyākāra	Mūtib a
Takṣan	Mrgayu

Maināla (catcher of fish?) Vidalakārī or Bidala-

Rajayitrī (dyer) Vrātya
Rajjusarga or-sarja Śabara
Rathakāra Śābalya (?)

Rājaputra Śailūsa

Rebha (?) Śvanin (or Śvanita)

VamsanartinSamgrahītrVapa (barber)SurākāraVāṇijaSūta

Vāsaḥ-palpūli (a washer- Selaga

woman) Hiranyakāra

Several centuries before the Christian era there were several castes. This follows not only from the dharmasutras but also from the ancient Buddhist works and from the meagre existing fragments of the work of Megasthenes on India. Though Megasthenes was confused in his statements about the caste system as prevalent in his day, some propositions are clearly deducible therefrom. He states (pp. 40 ff) that the whole population of India was divided into seven castes. (1) philosophers, (2) husbandmen, (3) neatherds and shepherds. (4) artisans, (5) military, (6) overseers, (7) councillors and assessors. Out of these 1 and 5 correspond to brahmanas and ksatriyas, 2-3 to vaisyas, 4 to sūdras; 6th and 7th correspond to adhyaksas and amātyas (as in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra) and are not really castes but occupations. He probably regards them as castes because the offices of the adhyaksas and amatyas were generally hereditary or at least he gathered that they were so. Megasthenes' further statement (pp. 43-44) that 'no one is allowed to marry out of his own caste or to exercise any calling or art except his own' shows that the prevailing tendency was that caste had become exclusive and mostly occupational in his day, though there must have been exceptions of which he was not informed.

The ancient writers on dharmasastra strive very hard to account for the bewildering ramifications of the caste system from the four varnas that were spoken of in the *śruti* (revelation). There is unanimity on the theory that the numerous castes actually found in the country arose from the unions of males of different varnas with women belonging to varnas differing from their own. The divergences (and they are

many) among the several smrtikaras relate only to details. The smrti writers had before them the hoary theory of four varnas vouched for by infallible Vedic authority, but they were at the same time quite cognisant of the realities in society viz. the separate existence of numerous castes and sub-castes that had varying claims as regards social status and that were based in popular estimation on birth alone. Therefore, when one criticizes the smrti view of the derivation of numerous castes from the mixture or confusion (sainkara) of the four varnas as purely hypothetical and imaginary, the criticism is true only partially. The smrtis were composed in different parts of India at different times and they were meant to supply a popular want, to guide the people and to reflect the prevailing state of society and popular feeling. Therefore, it must be admitted that the numerous castes mentioned in the smrtis did exist at the time of the smrtis, that the social status of the several castes might have varied from country to country or from epoch to epoch, that the peculiar avocations and means of livelihood assigned to the various castes reflected the real state of things. The element of hypothesis and speculation lies only in the theory of a particular sub-caste having sprung from the union of two persons belonging to two particular varnas or castes. 121 This description of the origin of the several castes was only indicative of the author's view or of the accepted view about the social status of those castes in particular localities. There is here, as a matter of fact, great divergence of views among the several authors.

In the first place all writers on dharmaśāstra start with the propositions viz. (1) that the four varnas, brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra, are arranged in a descending scale of social status; and (2) that marriage is or was permissible between a male of a higher varṇa with a woman of a lower varṇa, but the union of a woman of a higher varṇa with a male of varṇa lower than her own is reprehensible and not permitted. There is a third proposition advanced by many writers that a man belongs to a particular varṇa or jūti by birth only i. e. if born in lawful wedlock of parents both of whom belong to that varṇa

^{121.} Śantiparva (297. 7-9) says 'चतुर्णामेत्र नर्णानामागमः पुरुषर्थभ । अतोन्ये त्वतिरिक्ता ये ते वै संकरजाः स्मृताः ॥ क्षत्रियातिरधाम्बद्धा उग्रा वैदेहकास्तथा । अयोगाः प्रत्माः प्रतमागधाः । अयोगाः करणा व्रात्याश्वाण्डालाश्च नराधिप । एते चतुर्थो वर्णस्यो जायन्ते वै परस्परात् ॥ ।

or jati. 128 This is the view held by all medieval writers and digests and it is expressly said that a man belongs to a caste by birth and no actions of his can alter that fact, that several castes are like the species of animals and that caste attaches to the body and not to the soul (vide Sütasamhitā). When a male of a higher varna marries a woman of a lower varna, the marriage is said to be anuloma (lit. with the hair, in the natural order) and the offspring is said to be anuloma; when there is a union of a woman of a higher varna with a male of a lower varna, it is said to be pratiloma (against the hair, i. e. against the natural or proper order) and the children of the union are said to be pratiloma. These two words anuloma and pratiloma (as applied to marriage or progeny) hardly ever occur in the vedic literature. In the Br. Up. (II. 1. 15) and Kausitaki Br. Up. IV. 18 (quoted in note 89 above) the word 'pratiloma' is applied to the procedure adopted by a brahmana of going to a ksatriya for knowledge about brahman. this it may possibly be inferred that pratiloma and anuloma might have been employed with reference to marriages also (in the days of the Upanisad). Pānini (IV. 4.28) teaches the formation of words from anuloma and pratiloma. They occur in Gautama (IV. 14-15), Baud. Dh. S. (I. 8.8), Vasistha (18.7), Manu (X. 13), Yāj. (I. 95) and other smrti works.

One important question is whether the theory of anuloma or pratiloma castes presupposes a marriage or only a union (outside marriage) of a man and a woman. The Ap. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 1. 3-4) lays down 123 that a man must marry a virgin of his own varna with the rites prescribed by the sastras and only the son born of such a marriage is entitled to the privileges and occupation of his father, that sexual intercourse with a woman who has been married by another or on whom the proper ceremonies of marriage are not performed or who

^{122.} मन, X. 5, विष्णुधर्मसूर्व 16. 1; या. I. 90. The mimansaka position is stated by the तन्त्रवातिक (on जै. I. 2. 1) 'न त्वाचारनिमित्तवर्णविभागे प्रमाण किंचित्। न तपआदीनां ससुदायो बाह्मण्यं न तज्जनितः संस्कारः न तदिभिग्यंग्या जातिः, कि तर्हि मातापितजातिज्ञानाभिन्यंग्या प्रत्यक्षसमधिगम्या । , the स्तसहिता (शिवमाहात्म्यखण्ड 12. 51-52) says सर्वेषां जन्मना जातिर्नान्यथा कर्मकोटिभिः पश्चादीनां यथा जातिर्जनमनेव न चान्यथा। सापि स्थूलस्य देहस्य भौतिकस्य न चात्मनः॥, जन्मनेव महाभागो ब्राह्मणो नाम जायते । ज्ञातातप quoted in आहिकप. p. 452.

सवर्णापूर्वशास्त्रविहितायां यथर्तु गच्छतः प्रजास्तेषां कर्मभिः सम्बन्धः । पूर्ववत्याम-संस्कृतायां वर्णान्तरे च मैथुने द्वीषः । तत्रापि दोषवान् पुत्र एव । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 1, 3 and 4.

belongs to another caste is condemned and that the son (and not the daughter) born of such an union is condemned (through the sin of the parents). So Apastamba looked with disfavour even on marriages called anuloma. He is entirely silent about anuloma and pratiloma castes. It is no doubt true that most ancient writers like Gautama (IV. 1), Vasistha (I. 24), Manu (III. 12-13), Yāj. (I. 55 and 57) prescribe that a person should by preference marry a girl of his own varna but also allow the marriage of a person with a girl of another varna lower than his own. Yāi. (I. 92) expressly says that the six anuloma castes, mūrdhāvasikta, ambastha, nisāda, māhisya, ugra, and karana are so called only when they are the offspring of women married by men of higher varnas. Manu (X.41) says that the six anuloma castes are entitled to the rites (samskāras like upanayana) performed for dvijas, but that the pratiloma castes are like śūdras (i. e. even when a pratiloma caste springs from a brāhmana woman and a ksatriya or vaisya male they cannot have upanayana and other rites of dvijas performed for them, though both parents are dvijas). Kautilya¹²⁴ (III. 7) also says that all pratilomas except candalas are like śūdras; Visnu says that they are condemned by all Aryas. Devala125 (quoted by Parasaramādhavīva I. 2. p. 122) says that pratilomas are outside the pale of the system of varnas and are patita. Smrtyarthasāra p. 13 says that anuloma sons and those born of the murdhavasikta and other anuloma castes are dvijātis and are entitled to samskāras as dvijātis. Commentators like Kullūka (on Manu X. 11) say that, as no marriage is legally possible between a woman of a higher varna and a male of a lower varna, all the pratilomas are born outside lawful wedlock. Gautama (IV. 20) says that all pratilomas are dharmahina, which is interpreted by the Mit. on Yaj. III, 262 as meaning that they cannot have upanayana and similar samskāras of dvijas performed for them, though they are amenable to the rules of morality and entitled to perform vratas and prayascittas. Vasistha. Baudhāyana and several others do not make it clear whether. when they speak of vratilomas, they contemplate offspring of legal

^{124.} भूदसधर्माणो वा अन्यत्र चण्डालेभ्यः । कौटिल्य III. 7; प्रतिलोमास्त्वार्य-विगार्हितः । विष्णु 16. 3.

^{125.} तेषां सवर्णजाः श्रेष्ठास्तेम्योऽन्वगद्यलोमजाः । अन्तराला बहिर्वर्णाः पतिताः पतिलो-मजाः ॥ देवल quoted in परा. मा. I part 2 p. 122; एतेऽद्युलोमजाः पुत्राः संस्कार्याः रखिजातयः । तथा मूर्धाविसकादिजातिजाश्च द्विजातयः ॥ स्यूत्यर्थसार p. 13.

marriages or only of illegitimate and adulterous unions. But it will be seen from the list appended below that Usanas and Vaikhānasa almost always make a distinction between the caste assigned to the offspring of the union of parents of different varnas, according as there is a marriage between the two or it is only a clandestine, illegitimate or adulterous union. For example, Usanas says 126 that when there is a marriage between a ksatriya male and a brahmana female, the offspring is called suta, while the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmana woman and a ksatriya male was called rathakāra. So these two authors held that there could be a legal marriage when a woman of a higher varna married a male of a lower varna. 127 There were several other works like the Sütasamhitā (Sivamāhātmyakhanda chap. 12. 12-48) where a similar distinction is made between the children of marriages and clandestine unions. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 90 says that such progeny as kunda and golaka (Manu III. 174), kanina, sahodhaja (who are all not due to intercourse in wedlock) are different from savarna, anuloma and pratiloma and are to be treated as sūdras and that the ksetraja son is to be treated as in a different category (since niyoga is allowed by the smrtis and by the usage of sistas) and belongs to the caste of his mother. Apararka (on Yāj. I. 92 p. 118) does not accept this view and holds that even kanina and sahodha may be held to be brahmanas (if the begetter can be proved to have been a brāhmana); while Viśvarūpa on Yāj, II. 133 says that kānīna and gudhaja must be deemed to belong to the mother's caste as the begetter may not be known and that sahodhaja (II. 135) is also to be so treated. These several kinds of secondary sons will be treated under inheritance.

A few words must be said about the word jāti. The idea of varņa was as we have seen based originally on race, culture, character and profession. It takes account mainly of the moral and intellectual worth of man and is a system of classes which appears more or less natural. The ideal of varņa even in the smṛtis lays far more emphasis on duties, on a high standard of effort for the community or society rather than on the rights and privileges of birth. The system of jātis (castes) lays all emphasis on

^{126.} चुपार् ब्राह्मणकन्यायायां विवाहेषु समन्वयात् । जातः स्तोऽत्र निर्विष्टः प्रतिलोम-विधिक्कं ॥ ब्राह्मण्यां क्षत्रियाञ्चौर्याद्यथकारः प्रकीर्तितः । उज्ञनस् vv. 2-5.

^{127.} Vide YEJ, I. 95 which says that pratilomajas are asat condemned) and anulomajas are sat (good) i. e. entitled to the samskers.

birth and heredity and tends to create the mentality of clinging to privileges without trying to fulfil the obligations corresponding to such privileges. The word ' $j\bar{a}ti$ ' in the sense of caste hardly ever occurs in the vedic literature. In the Nirukta 128 13) it is said 'after agnicayana (the building (XII. a man should not approach a rāmā of the fire altar). (for sexual intercourse); $r\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ is so called because she is approached only for pleasure and not for (accumulation of) merit; she is of a dark caste'. Here the word kṛṣṇajātīyā occurs with reference to a woman of the sudra caste. Almost these very words occur in Vasistha (18.17-18)129 where for krsnajātīvā the word krsnavarnā is substituted. Visvarūpa on Yāi. I. 56 (yad-ucvate etc.) 130 quotes these words as a brāhmana text, but there the word is kṛṣṇavarṇīyā. Therefore, the use of the word jāti in the sense of caste can be traced back at least to the times of the Nirukta. Pānini (V. 4. 9)131 teaches the formation of words like 'brahmanajātīya' derived from words ending in 'jāti' (in the sense of caste). The expression 'jātidharma' (rules of castes) occurs in Gautama XI. 20, Vasistha I. 17 and XIX. 7, Manu I. 118 and VIII. 41 and the word jati (caste) occurs also in Ap. Dh. S. II. 3. 6. 1, II. 1. 2. 3, Manu (IV. 141, X. 11, 18, 40, 97), Yāj. (I. 95, 361, II. 69, 206, III. 213), Nārada (rnādāna 288) and in the vārtika on Pānini IV. 1. 137. Varna and jäti are sometimes clearly distinguished as in Yāj II. 69 and 206. But very often they are confounded. In Manu X. 27, 31 the word varna is used in the sense of mixed castes (jūtis). Conversely the word jāti often appears to be used to indicate 'varna'. Vide Manu III. 15, VIII. 177, IX. 86 and 335, X. 41 and Yaj. I. 89 (in which latter sajati appears to mean 'savarna').

Even when anuloma marriages were allowed there is no unanimity among the sages and the smrtis as to the status of the progeny of such unions. Three different views are found. The first view is that if a male of one varna married a female of the varna immediately after it, the progeny belonged to the varna

^{128.} अग्निं चित्वा न रामासुपेयात्। रामा रमणायोपेयते न धर्माय कृष्णजातीया। निरुक्त XII. 13; the words 'अग्निं चित्वा ... पेयात् occur in काठकसंहिता 21. 7.

^{129.} नाग्निं चित्वा रामासुपेयात् । कुष्णवर्णा या रामा रमणायैव न धर्माय । वसिष्ठ 18. 17-18.

^{130.} कुण्जवर्णीया रामा रमणायैवोपेयत इति ब्राह्मणवादः । विश्वरूप on या. 1. 56.

^{131.} जात्यस्ताच्छ बन्धानि । पाणिनि V. 4. 9.

of the father; e. g. Baud. Dh. S. 132 (I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3) says that sons born to a person of a savarna wife or a wife of the varna next to his own are savarna i. e. the son of a brahmana from a wife of the ksatriya varna is a brāhmana. The Anuśāsanaparva 48. 4. Nārada (strīpumsa 106) and Kautilya (III. 7) say the same. Gautama IV. 15 as interpreted by Haradatta appears to say that the off-spring of a brāhmana from a ksatriya wife is called savarna, but not the offspring of a ksatriya male from a vaisya wife or of a vaisya male from a śūdra wife. Fick (pp. 54-57) shows that even according to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka 'the family of the mother does not matter: the family of the father alone is important'. The second view is that the progeny of anuloma unions is in status lower than the father, but higher than the mother: e.g. Manu X.6 'sages declare the sons begotten by dvijas on wives of varnas immediately next to theirs as similar (to the fathers, but not of the same varpa with the fathers) but tainted by the inferiority of their mothers.' The third view (and this is the common view) is that the progeny of anuloma marriages is of the same varna as regards its privileges and obligations as the mother's; e.g. vide Visnu Dh. S. 16. 2 133 and Sankha (prose) quoted by the Mit. on Yaj I. 91 and Aparārka (p. 118). A classical echo of this view is found in the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa 134 where king Dusvanta exclaims aside to himself 'would that this girl were born of the sage from a wife who was not savarna'. Medhātithi on Manu X. 6 savs that Pāndu. Dhrtarāstra and Vidura being ksetraja sons took the caste of their mothers. The Mit. explains the words of Sankha by saying that the offspring of anuloma marriages such as mūrdhāvasikta are not really different from ksatriyas, that they have the same sainskāras but they do not become ksatrivas etc. and are dubbed by these names to indicate their mixed origin and come to form separate sub-castes. The pratilomas, as said above, are lower in status than any of the two parents.

¹³². तासु पुत्राः सवर्णानन्तरासु सवर्णाः । ब्राह्मणात्क्षात्रियायां ब्राह्मणः बौ. ध. I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3; भार्याश्रचतस्रो विषस्य द्वयोरात्मास्य जायते । अनुशासन् 48.4; सवणा ब्राह्मणीपुत्रः क्षत्रियायामनन्तरः । नारद् (स्त्रीपुंस 106); ब्राह्मणक्षत्रिययारनन्तरापुत्राः सवर्णा एकान्तरा असवर्णाः । कौटिल्य III. 7.

^{133.} अनुलोमास्तु मातृसवर्णाः । विष्णु 16. 2; 'ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायामुत्यादितः क्षत्रिय एव भवति । क्षेत्रियेण वैदयायामुत्यादितो चैदय एव भवति । वैदयेन सूद्रायामुत्या-दितः सूद्र एव भवति । वैदयेन सूद्रायामुत्या-दितः सूद्र एव भवति । क्षेत्रेये स्

^{134.} अपि नाम कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षेत्रसंभवा स्यात । शाकन्तल I.

The ancient dharmasūtras mention only a few mixed castes. Ap. Dh. S. mentions only cāṇḍāla, paulkasa and vaiṇa. Gautama names five anuloma castes, six pratiloma, one and eight others according to the view of some. Baudhāyana adds to those mentioned by Gautama a few more viz. rathakāra, śvapāka, vaiṇa and kukkuṭa. Vasiṣṭha names even a smaller number than Gautama and Baudhāyana. It is Manu (X) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (XVI) that for the first time dilate upon the avocations of the mixed castes. Manu refers to 6 anuloma, 6 pratiloma and 20 doubly mixed castes and states the avocations of about 23; Yāj. names only 13 castes (other than the four varṇas). Usanas names about 40 and gives their peculiar avocations. All the smṛtis taken together hardly mention more than about one hundred castes.

The number of primary anulomas is only six (vide Manu X. 10, Yāj I. 91-92), but Manu names only three of them, viz. ambastha, niṣāda and ugra. The primary pratilomas also are six (vide Manu X. 11-12 and 16-17 and Yaj. I. 93-94) viz. sūta, vaidehaka, cāndāla, māgadha, ksatr, and āyogava. Further sub-castes are said to arise from the unions of the anulomas and pratilomas with the four varnas and of the male of one anuloma and the female of another, from the union of pratilomas among themselves and from the union of a male or female of an anuloma caste and the female or male of a pratiloma caste. For example, Yāj. I. 95 defines rathakāra as the offspring of a mahisva male and a karana female, i. e. it is a further mixture between two anuloma castes. The Mit. on Yai. I. 95 says that upanayana and other sainskāras are performed for the offspring of anuloma persons marrying among themselves. The Smrtyarthasāra (p. 13) says the same 135. Similarly Manu X. 15 says that avrta and abhira spring from the union of a brahmana with an ugra girl and an ambastha girl respectively (i. e. from the union of a brahmana with anuloma caste girls). Manu X. 19 says that śvapāka is the offspring of a kṣatr male (a pratiloma) with an ugra female (an anuloma). Manu X. 33 defines maitreyaka as the offspring of a vaidehaka male and an ayogava female (i.e. from parents who are both pratiloma).

^{135.} एवं ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियोत्पन्न-सूर्धावसिक्तमाहिष्याद्वुलोमसङ्करे जात्यन्तरता उप-मयनादिपापिश्च वेदितच्या तयोद्विजातित्वात् । मिता. on या. I. 95; एतेन्जलोमजाः पुत्राः संस्कार्याः स्युद्धिजातिजाः । तथा सूर्धावसिक्तादिजातिजाश्च द्विजातयः ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 13.

smrti verse quoted 135 by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 95 says that there are six anulomas, 24 doubly mixed castes (due to the union of the six anulomas with the four varnas), 6 pratilomas and 24 doubly mixed castes (due to the unions of 6 pratilomas with four varnas) i. e. in all 60 and further mixtures of these among themselves give rise to innumerable sub-castes. Similarly Visnu Dh. S. 16.7 137 says that the further mixed castes arising from the unions of mixed castes are numberless. This shows that before the time of the Visnudharmasūtra (i. e. at least about 2000 years ago) numberless castes and sub-castes had been formed and the writers on dharmasastra practically gave up in despair the task of deriving them, even though mediately, from the primary varnas. The same state of things was continued and was rather aggravated by the time of the nibandhakāras. Medhātithi on Manu X. 31 speaks of 60 mixed castes along with the four varnas and adds that by the intermingling of these endless sub castes are formed. Mitāksarā 138 on Yāj. I. 95 observes that since the castes springing from the double intermingling of varnas are innumerable, it is impossible to describe or enumerate them. Similarly the Krtyakalpataru in its prakirnaka topic of vyavahūra section, when dealing with castes, merely quotes several passages from the smrtis and does not add a word of its own about the castes. their names or avocations in its own day (first half of 12th century). The Mit. on Yaj. I. 94139 expressly says that the avocations of the pratilomas (about which Yāi, is silent) should be understood from the smrtis of Usanas and Manu. Medieval writers on dharmasastra usually ignore the treatment in detail of the numerous sub-castes and content themselves with dilating upon the duties of the four varnas.

There was great diversity of opinion among the smṛtikāras about the derivation and status of the several subcastes. We find that the same sub-caste is known under five or six different names oven so early as the present Manusmrti.

^{136.} प्रातिलोम्यानुलोम्येन वर्णस्तज्जैश्च वर्णतः । पष्टचेवान्ये प्रजायन्ते तरपस्तेस्त्व-नन्तता ॥ quoted by विश्वस्प on या. I. 95. It is quoted also by परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 125 and both say that these are वर्णामासङ; the परा. मा. says that further sankaras are जात्यामासङ.

^{137.} संकरसंकराश्चासंख्येयाः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 16. 7.

^{138.} संकीर्णसंकरजीतानामानन्त्याद्वकुमशक्यत्वात् । मिता॰ on या. I. 95

^{139.} एतेषां च वृत्तय औशनसे मानेव च दृष्टन्याः । मिता॰ on या. I. 94.

Manu X. 22 gives seven names for the same caste and Manu X. 23 gives five for another. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 92 explains that these different names are due to difference of locality. 140 There is another difficulty. The same name given to a caste is differently derived by different writers (vide under niṣāda and pāraśava below). For the same sub-caste different names are given in different smrtis (vide under kṛta and rāmaka). It became difficult to assign any peculiar derivation for groups of people and so Manu (X. 40), Vasiṣṭha¹⁴¹ (18.7) and Anuśāsanaparva 148. 29 laid down that men's sub-caste was to be known from their actions and occupations. This shows that according to most writers castes in the times of the smrtis were predominantly occupational.

One word that frequently occurs in connection with castes and sub-castes is varyasamkura (or only samkara). In Manu X. 12 and 24 the word varyasamkara is used in the plural in the sense of mixed castes, while in Manu X. 40 (and in V. 89) the word samkara seems to be used in the sense of 'mixture or intermingling of varyas'. Gautama (VIII. 3) employs the word samkara and says 'on the two (the brāhmaṇa and the king) depends the prosperity (of men), protection, the prevention of mixture (of varyas) and the (accumulation of) merit (or the observance of dharma). Nārada (strīpumsa 102) 143 says 'to be born from a union in the inverse order of varyas amounts to varyasamkara; 'while Brhaspati quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru appears to apply the word varyasamkara to both anuloma and pratiloma castes. Baud. 144 Dh. S. (I. 9. 16) says that those who are born of

^{140.} अत एव समृत्यन्तरेष्वेकस्यैवार्थस्यानेकसंज्ञाद्रश्निपि देशभेदेन तथाविधप्रयोग-सत्तानुमानम्। न पुनः पारिभाषिकत्वकल्पना वेदेश्वप्यनेकविधसंज्ञोपरुब्धेः। विश्वस्य on या. I. 92-93; vide also प्राज्ञसमध्यीय I. part 2 p. 120 'एकस्यामेव जातौ मूर्धाविक्ति-सवर्णसंज्ञयोविकल्पेन प्रवृत्तत्वात्। न चेकत्र संज्ञाविकल्पे दृष्टान्ताभावः। एकत्र निषाद्-पारश्चविकल्पस्य मनुदेवस्याज्ञचल्प्रयैश्वदाद्वतत्वात्।

^{141.} छन्नोत्यन्नाश्च ये केचित्यातिलोम्यग्रणाश्रिताः । ग्रणाचारपरिश्रंशास्कर्मभिस्तात् विज्ञानीयुरिति । वसिष्ठ 18.7.

^{142.} प्रसुतिरक्षणमसंकरो धर्मः । गौ. VIII. 3.

^{143.} प्रातिलोम्येन यज्जन्य स ज्ञेयो वर्णसंकरः । नारद (स्त्रीपुंस 102); बाह्मणक्षत्र-विद्रशुद्धा वर्णाश्र्यान्त्याश्चयो द्विजाः । प्रतिलोमाखलोमाश्र्य ते ज्ञान्ता (ज्ञेया ?) वर्णसंकराः ॥ शृहस्पति in कृत्यकलपतर (क्ष).

^{144.} वर्णसंकराद्रत्य नार्ने वात्याना हुर्भनीषिणः । बो. ध. सू. I. 9. 16.

varnasamkara are called vrātyas. The Mit. on Yāj I. 96 applies the word varnasamkara to both anuloma and pratiloma progeny. Medhātithi 145 on Manu V. 88 says that the word 'samkarajāta' indicates pratilomas like ayogava and that even though as regards anulomas there is intermingling (of varnas), yet as they have the privileges of the caste of their mothers, even Manu himself does not apply the word samkirnayoni to them as seen above (Manu X. 25). Yama146 quoted in the Krtyakalpataru says 'Varnasamkara arises by the violation of the restrictions (about marriage); if the proper order of varnas (i.e. male of higher varna marrying a woman of a lower varna) is followed, (the offspring) is entitled to be regarded as belonging to the system of varnas, but if the reverse order is followed it is sin.' Manu (X. 24) says 'mixed castes arise by members of one varna having sexual intercourse with women of another varna, by marrying women who ought not to have been married (such as a sagotra girl) and by neglect of the duties peculiar to one's varna'. The Anuśasanaparva 48. 1147 remarks that 'varnasainkara arises from wealth, greed, desires, uncertainty about the varna (of a person) or ignerance about varna'. Even in such a philosophical treatise as the Bhagavad-gitā (I. 41-43), it is said 'when women become corrupt (or demoralised), intermingling of varnas arises; sainkara necessarily leads the whole family and the destroyer of the family to hell. By reason of these transgressions of the destroyers of families which bring about varnasankara, the ancient caste observances and family observances are subverted.'

On account of the great emphasis laid on the prevention of varnasamkara the smrtis ordain that it is one of the principal duties of the king to punish people if they transgress the rules prescribed for varnas and to punish men and women if guilty of varnasamkara. Gautama (XI. 9-10) says 'the king should protect the varnas and āśramas according to the śāstras and he should make them conform to their duties when they swerve

^{145.} सकरजाता इतरेतरजातिन्यतिकरेण प्रतिलोमा आयोगवादयः । अनुलोमास्तु सत्यिप संकीर्णयोनित्वे मातृजातीयत्वादिधकारित्वाच नेह गृह्यन्ते । न चानुलोमेषु संकीर्ण-योनिक्यवहारः संकीर्णयोनयस्त्वेताः प्रतिलोमानुलोमजा इति । मेधा॰ on मनु. V. 88.

^{146.} मर्यादाया विलोपेन जायते वर्णसंकरः। आद्यलोम्येन वर्णस्वं प्रतिलोम्येन पातकम् ॥ यम quoted in MS. of कृत्यकल्पतक् (व्यवहार, प्रकीर्णक).

^{147.} अर्थालोभात्कामाद्वा वर्णानां चाप्यनिश्चयात्। अज्ञानाद्वापि वर्णानां जायते वर्णः संकरः॥ अनुशासन 48. 1.

from them; 'Vasistha (19. 7-8) 'the king paying attention to all these viz. the observances of countries, castes and families should make the four varnas conform to their duties and should punish them when they go astray'; Visnu Dh. S. III. 3 and Yāj. I. 361, Mārkandeyapuārņa 27, Matsyapurāna 215. 63 say the same. Nārada (strīpumsa 113)148 says 'when a brāhmaṇa woman goes astray a caṇdala is born from a sudra male (and the brahmana woman); therefore the king should specially protect women from samkara'. It is on account of this that so early as in the first centuries of the Christian era we see that king Vasithīputa Siri Pulumāyi is extolled as having prevented the mixture of the four varnas (E. I. vol. VIII pp. 60-61, 'vinivatitacātuvana-sakarasa).' That varnasamkara had gone too far in the opinion of the author of the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 180. 31-33) follows from the following words which are despairingly put in the mouth of Yudhisthira 149 "It appears to me that it is very difficult to ascertain the caste of human beings on account of the confusion of all varnas; all sorts of men are always begetting offspring from all sorts of women; speech, sexual intercourse, being born and death-these are common to all human beings; and there is scriptural authority (for this view) in the words 'We, whoever we are, offer the sacrifice'. Hence those who have seen the truth regard character as the principal thing desired." Śamkarācārya in his bhāsya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 33 remarks that, though in his day varnas and asramas had become disorganised and unstable as to their dharmas, that was not the case in other ages, since otherwise the śāstras laying down regulations for them would have to be deemed purposeless or futile. 150

Gautama (IV. 18-19), Manu (X. 64-65) and Yāj. (I. 96) speak of a peculiar doctrine called $J\bar{a}tyutkarşa$ and $J\bar{a}tyapakarşa$. These passages have given rise to some divergence of interpreta-

^{148.} चाण्डालो जायते शूदाद् बाह्मणी यत्र सुद्याति । तस्मादाज्ञा विशेषेण स्त्रियो रक्ष्यास्तु संकरात्॥ नारद् स्त्रीपुंस 113; vide also नारद् (प्रकीर्णक 2-6).

^{149.} जातिरत्र महासर्प मनुष्यत्वे महामते । संकरात्सर्ववर्णानां दुष्परीक्ष्येति मे मितः॥ सव सर्वास्त्यप्तानि जनयन्ति सदा नराः । वाद्ध्येथनमधो जन्म मरणं च समं नृणाम् ॥ इदमार्षे भमाणं च य यजामह इत्यपि । तस्माच्छीलं प्रधानेष्टं विदुर्ये तत्त्वद्शिनः ॥ वनपर्व 180. 31-33.

^{150.} इदानीमिव च कालान्तरेषि अन्यवस्थितप्रायानवर्णधर्मान् प्रतिजानीत । स्रतश्च व्यवस्थाविधायि शास्त्रमनर्थकं स्यात् । शाङ्करभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. ३, ३३,

tion, but their general sense is clear. Gautama (IV. 18)151 says that according to the acaryas the anulomas when they marry in such a way that the bridegroom in each stage is higher or lower than the bride they rise to a higher or go down to a lower varna in the 7th or 5th generation (respectively). This is explained by Haradatta as follows: When a brahmana marries a ksatriva woman the daughter born of this marriage is called savarnā: if this latter is married to a brāhmana and a daughter is born and this latter is again married by a brāhmana and if this continues in the same way for seven generations, then when the 7th girl in descent marries a brāhmana, whatever child is born of that union belongs to the brahmana varna (though in the preceding generations only the fathers were brahmanas and the mothers were all not strictly brahmanas, but only savarnas if at all). This is called jūtuutkarsa (rise in status as a caste). On the other hand, when a brāhmana marries a ksatriya girl and a son is born who is called savarna, then that son marries a ksatriya girl and has a son and this is continued for five generations, then when the fifth son (in descent) marries a ksatriya girl, the child born belongs to the ksatriya varna (though in all the preceding generations the father was higher than keatrive and the mother only was a ksatriya). This is $j\bar{a}tyapakarsa$ (fall in status as a The same rule holds good as regards a ksatriya marrying a vaisya female and a vaisya marrying a sūdra The same rule applies among anulomas female. e. g. if a savarna (as defined by Gautama) marries ambastha girl and a daughter is born who again marries savarna and this continues for seven generations, then the child of the 7th girl (in descent) from a savarna male becomes a savarna (rises in status); on the other hand if a savarna (offspring of brāhmana male and ksatriya female) marries an ambastha girl and a son is born and that son marries an ambastha girl and their son marries an ambastha girl and this goes on for seven generations, then the child of

^{151.} वर्णान्तरगमनस्त्वर्षापकर्षाभ्यां सप्तमे पञ्चमे वाचार्याः। सृष्ट्यन्तरजातानां च। गौतम IV. 18-19. In S. B. E. vol. II. pp. 196-197 the sutras are arranged differently i. c. the first ends at 'saptame' and pancame...ryāḥ is another sutra. Though this method makes a good sense it is opposed to the explanation of Haradatta, who explains that the option allowed by the use of 'vā' in the sutra applies only where there is pre-eminence of character and learning (i. e. in such a case rise is possible even in the 5th generation).

the 7th male (in descent) born of an ambastha wife becomes an ambastha (i. e. there is jātyapakarsa as to anulomas).

According to Manu 152 X. 64 when a brāhmaņa marries a śūdra woman, the daughter born is pāraśava, and if this pārašava daughter marries a brāhmana and the daughter of this latter union marries a brahmana and this continues for seven generations, then the seventh generation will be a brāhmana (i. e. there will be jātyutkarsa). Conversely, if a brāhmana marries a śūdra woman and a son is born, he is a pāraśava and that son marries a śūdra woman and their son again marries a śūdra woman and this goes on for 7 generations, the 7th generation becomes a mere śūdra (there is jātyapakarsa). It will be seen that this differs from Gautama in several respects. In the first place for both jātyutkarsa and jātyapakarsa seven generations are prescribed, while in Gautama they are 7 and 5 respectively (according to Haradatta). In the second place according to Gautama the 8th in descent from the first anuloma marriage secures jātyutkarsa, while according to Manu, the 7th secures it. Further Manu is silent about jātyutkarsa when the original parents are anulomas. Besides, the commentators of Manu shorten the period for rise or fall in $j\bar{u}li$ as stated below. Manu X. 65 extends the same rules to the offspring of the marriage of a ksatriya with a vaišya woman and of a vaišya with a śūdra woman. Medhātithi and Kullūka extend these express words of Manu further by explaining that if a brāhmana marries a vaisya female and a daughter is born and she again marries a brāhmana then in the fifth generation there will be jātyutkarsa; conversely if a son is born from a brāhmana and a vaisya wife, and he marries

152. The word 'yuga' is understood by Medhātithi (on Manu X. 64) and Kullūka to mean 'janma'; Sarvajña-nārāyana understands it to mean 'yugma' (pair of spouses). The meaning (yugma) is attached to 'yuga' by Aparārka on Yāj. I. 96 (p. 119). In the S. B. E. vol. II p. 196 Dr. Bühler compares Āp. Dh. S. II. 5.10. 10-11 with Gautama IV. 22. But the great scholar is not accurate here. Āp. does not speak of progeny of mixed marriages rising to higher status or being degraded to lower status after several generations; he rather speaks of a sūdra rising higher and higher in successive births. In the Anusāsanaparva (chap. 27. 5-6, 28. 6-13) it is said that after numberless births sūdras and others become vaisyas and so on. Vanaparva (212. 11-12) gives expression to the same idea उन्नयोनो हि जातस्य सहुणानुपतिष्ठतः। वैश्वरतं लभने बह्यन अत्रियरवं तथेव या आजिय वर्तमानस्य बाह्यण्यमभिजायते। वनपर्व 212. 11-12.

a vaišya female and this goes on, then in the fifth generation the son will be a vaišya (i. e. there will be jātyapakarṣa). Similarly if a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman then there is jātyutkarṣa or jātyapakarṣa in three generations.

Yājñavalkya (I. 96) 153 speaks of two kinds of jūtyutkarşa or jūtyapakarsa viz. one due to marriage (as in Manu and Gautama) and another due to the avocation followed. 'It should be understood that there is rise in caste in the 7th or even in the 5th generation; if there is inversion as to the avocations, then there is corresponding similarity (of varna in the 7th or even 5th generation).' This is elaborated by the Mitaksara as follows:-If a brāhmana marries a śūdra woman and a daughter is born she is a nisādī; if this latter marries a brāhmana and a daughter is born and she in turn marries a brāhmana and this goes on for six generations, then the child of the 6th girl (in descent) becomes a brāhmana (he being 7th in descent); similarly if a brāhmaņa marries a vaisya woman and a girl is born, she is an ambastha; if the latter marries a brahmana and a daughter is born and this goes on in the same way, then the fifth girl in descent has a child (from a brahmana husband) which is the 6th in descent from the original anuloma marriage and which then becomes a brāhmaņa. If a brāhmaņa marries a ksatriya woman and a daughter is born who is called mūrdhāvasiktā (Yāj. I. 91) and she marries a brāhmana, then the fourth in descent marrying a brahmana has a child (5th in descent), then that child becomes a brāhmana. Similarly, if a ksatriya married a sūdra female and a daughter was born, she was called ugra, then jātyutkarsa by marrying a higher male took place in the 6th generation. If a ksatriya married a vaisya woman, the daughter born was a māhisyā and jātyutkarsa took place in the 5th generation. If a vaisya married a śūdra woman, the daughter of the marriage is a karani and if she marries a vaisya, then in the fifth generation there would be jātyutkarsa. Certain peculiar avocations and activities are prescribed for the four varnas. Each varna may in times of difficulty follow the occupation peculiar to the caste immediately below it, but should not follow the avocations peculiar to the higher varnas; 154 he must however revert to his proper avocation when the difficulty is

^{153.} जात्युत्कवर्षे युगे झेयः सप्तमे पञ्चमेपि वा । व्यत्यये कर्मणां साम्यं पूर्ववचाधरो-त्तरम् ॥ या. I. 96.

^{154.} अजीवन्तः स्वधर्मेणानन्तरां यबीयसीं वृत्तिमातिष्ठेरन् । न तु कदाचिज्ज्यायसीम् । विसिष्ठ 11. 22-23.

over (vide Vasistha II. 13-23, Visnu Dh. S. II. 15, Yāj. I. 118-120, Gautama X. 1-7 &c.). If a brāhmaņa begins to follow the avocations peculiar to a śūdra and has a son, who does the same and this goes on continuously for seven generations, the 7th becomes a śūdra (by caste). If a brāhmaṇa begins to follow the avocations peculiar to a vaiśya or a kṣatriya then in the 5th or 6th generation respectively there is fall in caste (i.e. the 5th or 6th becomes respectively a vaiśya or kṣatriya). Similarly if a kṣatriya follows the avocation of a vaiśya or śūdra and this goes on continuously, then the 5th or 6th (respectively) becomes a śūdra or vaiśya. Similarly if a vaiśya takes to the work peculiar to śūdras, then the fifth generation becomes śūdra.

Baud. 155 Dh. S. (I. 8. 13-14) gives another illustration of jātyutkarṣa. He says 'if a niṣāda (the son of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra wife) marries a niṣādī (and this goes on continuously), then the fifth generation becomes free of the taint of a śūdra status, he can have upanayana performed for him and his son (6th from the original niṣāda pair) can have a vedic sacrifice performed for him.'

These provisions would considerably lessen the rigour of the caste system based purely on birth. But one feels grave doubts whether such a method of jātyutkarsa or jātyapakarsa (particularly the one based on occupation) was or could be ever enforced in actual life. It would have been impossible to remember descent in a particular way for five or seven generations. The want of unanimity among the original smrtikaras and the commentators also points in the direction that the method advocated, though it might have originally some slight basis in fact, was only a hypothesis and an ideal. Hardly any examples of jātyutkarsa in the way set out by Manu or Yāj. occur in the literature on dharma-śāstra or in inscriptions. the inscriptions we have authentic cases of intercaste marriages only, but hardly anything further 156. From the Talgunda pillar inscription of king Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba family we learn that the Kadambas were originally of brahmana lineage, that the founder of the family was a brahmana

^{155.} निषादेन निषाद्यामापञ्चमाज्जातोऽपहन्ति ज्ञूदताम् । तसुपनयेत्षष्टं याजयेत् । यो. ध. सू. I. 8. 13-14.

^{156.} Vide my paper published in the Journal portion of 38 Bombay Law Reporter on ⁴ Inter-caste marriages in modern India, in the smrtis and epigraphic records,' where several instances of inter-caste marriages are cited.

Mayurasarman, who became exasperated with the Pallavas of Kāncīpura and took up the sword to conquer the earth, that his descendants applied the affix 'varman' to their names (as if they were ksatriyas, according to Manu II. 32) and Kākusthavarman (4th in descent from Mayūrasarman) married his daughters to Gupta and other kings 137. This shows that an originally brāhmana family came to look upon itself as ksatriya by virtue of pursuing the profession of arms and governing the people. In the Mahābhārata we meet with stories of kings who became brāhmanas. For example, Anusasana 30 speaks of Vitahavya, a king, as having become a brāhmaņa; similarly Śalva (39, 36-37) speaks of Ārstiseņa, Sindhudvīpa, Devāpi and Viśvāmitra as having become brāhmanas at a sacred spot on the Sarasvati. In the Puranas also there are stories 158 of kings like Viśvāmitra, Māndhātā, Samkṛti, Kapi, Vadhryaśva, Purukutsa, Ārstisena, Ajamidha and others as having risen to the status of brāhmanas. These are mythical sages and their rise is not stated to have been due to the principle of jātyutkarsa 159. Ibbetson (Report on the census of the Punjab 1881, pp. 174-176) notes that brahmanas following certain professions became degraded and that the caste was changed.

That the professional castes were wealthy and well organized follows from the dharmasastra works and epigraphic records. In this connection the words sreni, puga, gana, vrata and sangha deserve to be carefully studied. All these were called samuha (group) or varga according to Katyayana. These

^{157.} E. I. vol. 8 p. 24.

^{158.} Vide Vāyupurāņa (B. I. Ed.) vol. II chap. 29. 111-114.

^{159.} Compare the following lucid note of the प्राश्तमाधवीय I. part 2 p. 122 क्रूटस्थक्कीपुंसयुगमारम्य परिगणनायां पद्धमे षष्ठे सप्तमे वानुलोम्येन युग्मे जातिरु- क्रूटस्थकीपुंसयुगमारम्य परिगणनायां पद्धमे षष्ठे सप्तमे वानुलोम्येन युग्मे जातिरु- क्रूटस्थम् । स्मादुत्यका निषादी सापि विभेणोढा तयोर्युग्मं द्वितीयम् । एवं तदुत्यकायां वस्तां विभेणोढायां नृतीयादियुग्मपरंपरा भवति । तत्र सप्तमे युगे जातमपत्यं ब्राह्मण्योपेतं भवति । एवं वेश्याविष्रयुगलं क्रूटस्थम् । तस्मादुत्यका अम्बष्ठा तस्याध्व विश्वस्य च युग्मं द्वितीयम् । एवं......षष्ठं यद्युग्मं तस्मादुत्पकस्य ब्राह्मण्यं भवति । तथा क्षत्रियाविष्रयोर्युग्मं क्रूटस्थं तदुत्यका मूर्धाविसक्ता तस्याध्व विश्वस्य च युग्मं द्वितीयम् । तत्यरंपरायां पद्धमाद्यग्मादुत्यकस्य ब्राह्मण्यं भवति । एतदुक्तं भवति पद्धमे षष्ठे सप्तमे वेति व्यवस्थितविकल्पाः क्रूटस्थत्म्यत्योः समनन्तरेकान्तरद्वश्वन्तरज्ञातियोगे पद्धमाद्योऽत्रगन्तव्या इति । तथा च सिते सूद्वावेश्ययोः वेश्याक्षत्रिययोध्य समनन्तरस्थात्यक्रमे, सूद्वाक्षत्रययोस्त षष्ठे जातिरुक्कथते । यथा वर्णसांकर्ये प्रातिलोग्यमधममानुलोम्यसुक्तमं तथा वृत्तिसांकर्येपि । तथा क्षत्रियस्यापद्यपि याजनादिब्राह्मणवृत्युपजीवनमधमम् ।

^{160.} गणाः पाषण्डपूगाश्च वाताश्च श्रेगयस्तथा । समूहस्थाश्च ये चान्ये वर्गारुयास्ते बृहस्पतिः । कात्या॰ quoted in स्मृतिचः (on त्यतः p. 18), वि. र. p. 669.

words occur in the Vedic literature, but the sense is generally 'a group and there is no special meaning attached. 'Sreni' occurs in the Rg. I. 163. 10 161 (like flamingoes the horses press forward in rows or groups); both vrāta and gaņa occur in Rg. III. 26. 6, V. 53. 11 and in numerous other places. The Kausitaki Br. 16. 7162 speaks of Rudra as puga (as he is the head of the band of Maruts). Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 26168 quotes a Brāhmana passage about a group (sangha) of brahmacarins going about for alms. Pāṇini teaches 164 the formation of derivatives from puga, gana, sangha (V. 2. 52), from vrāta (V. 2. 21). In his time it appears the words had acquired specific meanings. The Mahābhāsya explains (on Pānini V. 2. 21) that vrātas are groups formed by men of various castes with no fixed means of livelihood but subsisting by the might (or strength) of their bodies (by bodily labour of various kinds). Kāśika¹⁶⁵ explains pūgas as associations of men of different castes with no fixed professions, who are solely bent on making money or seeking pleasure. Kautilya in one place distinguishes between soldiers and śrenis (guilds) and in another place says that the guilds of kṣatriyas in Kāmbhoja and Surāstra subsist by the profession of arms and varta (agriculture). 166 Vas. Dh. S. XVI. 15 says that boundary disputes are to be settled by the evidence of the old men in the village or town or of guilds (śreni) when there is conflict of documentary evidence. Visnu Dh. S. V. 167 prescribes banishment for him who embezzles the wealth of associations (gana) and who transgresses the conventions made by them. Manu (VIII. 219) has a similar rule about village and local associations (sangha). above words are variously explained by the several commen-

^{161.} इंसा इव श्रेणिशो यतन्ते यदाक्षिषुर्दिष्यमज्ममश्वाः । ऋ. 1. 163. 10.

^{162.} पूर्गा वै रुद्धः। तदेनं स्वेन पूर्गन समर्धयति। कौषीः बा. 16. 7.

^{163.} तस्मादु ह वे ब्रह्मचाश्सिङ्ग्धं, चरन्तं न प्रत्याचक्षीतापि हेतेष्वेवंविध एवंब्रतः स्याविति हि ब्राह्मणम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 26.

^{164.} ब्रातेन जीवति । पा. V. 2. 21 (ब्रातीन); बहुपूगगणसङ्क्ष्यस्य तिथुक्। पा. V. 2. 52.

^{165.} नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तय उत्सेधजीविनः सङ्घा बाताः तेषां कर्म बातं तेन बातकर्मणा जीवतीति बातीनः। महाभाष्य vol. 11. p. 374 (on पा. V. 2. 21); नाना-जातीया अनियतवृत्तयोऽर्थकामप्रधानाः सङ्घाः पूगाः। काशिका on पा. V. 2. 21.

^{166.} आयुधीयप्रायः श्रेणीप्रायो ना मे जनपदः । अर्थशास्त्र VII. 1. p. 265; काम्भोज-सराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेण्याद्यो वार्ताशस्त्रीपजीविनः । अर्थशास्त्र XI. 1. p. 378; प्रत्यभिलेख्यविरोध मामनगरवृद्धश्रेणीप्रत्ययः । वसिष्ठ 16. 15.

tators (vide my notes to the translation of Kātyāyana verses167 678-682 of that reconstructed smrti). Kātyāyana says 'Naigama is an association of citizens of the same city, vrāta is a company of soldiers carrying various arms, puga is an association of traders and the like, gana is a group of brahmanas, sangha is a body of Bauddhas or Jainas; and bands of candalas and śvapacas are called gulma.' Yāj. (I. 361) directs the king to punish kulas, castes, śrenis, ganas, if they transgress their rules (of conduct or business) and the Mit. explains sreni as a guild of sellers of betel leaves and the like and gana as of 'helābukas' (horse-dealers); while Yāi, II, 192 and Nārada 168 (samayasyānapākarma 2) require the king to prevent the breach of the conventions of śreni, naigama, pūga, vrāta, gana and to confirm them in their traditional occupations. Yaj. II. 30 says that pugas and srenis had authority to investigate disputes and that the puga was a higher tribunal than the śreni. The Mit. on this explains that puga is an association of people of different castes and different occupations that stay in one locality, while a śreni is a group of people of different castes, that subsist by the occupation of one caste and gives 'hedabukas' 'tambūlikas' (betel sellers), 'kuvindas' (weavers) and 'carmakāras' (shoe-makers) as examples of śrenis. In the Harsa stone of Chāhamāna Vigraharāja (E. I. vol. II. p. 124) there is a reference to one dramma for each horse given to 'hedavikas.' In the Nasik Inscription No. 15 (E. I. vol. VIII p. 88) we are told that in the reign of the Abhīra king Īsvarasena 1000 kārsāpanas were deposited with an association of potters as a permanent donation yielding interest, 500 with a guild of oilmen and 2000 with a guild of watermen (udaka-yantra-śreni) for medicines to be given to sick bhiksus. No. 9 and No. 12 of the inscriptions at Nasik also contain reference to deposits of money with the guild of weavers. The Mathura Brahmi inscription of Huviska's reign mentions a guild of flour-makers (samitakara, vide E. I. vol. 21 p. 55 at p. 61). The Junnar Buddhist cave Inscription (A. S. W. I. vol. IV p. 97) refers to an investment of monies with the guild (sreni) of bamboo-workers and of braziers (kāsakāra). The Indore copperplate of Skandagupta (of the Gupta samvat 146) speaks of the deposit with the guilds of the

^{167.} These verses are quoted in the विवादरताकर pp. 618-669, रमुतिच॰, वीरमित्रोदय p. 426., परा. मा. (on व्यव.) p. 352 &c.

^{168.} पाषण्डनेगमश्रेणीपूगवातगणादिषु । संरक्षेत्समयं राजा दुर्गे जनवदे तथा ॥ नारद्

oilmen of Indrapura for permanently securing a supply of two palas of oil (C. I. I. vol. III p. 70). Similarly it is said that a guild of silk weavers from Lāṭa (southern Gujerat) came to Daśapura (Dasor in Malwa) and built a temple of the sun in the Mālava year 494 i. e. 437-38 A. D. (C. I. I. vol. III p. 81 = I. A. vol. 15 p. 194). These examples show that about the first centuries of the Christian era such castes as woodworkers, oilmen, betel sellers and weavers that are at present very low in the hierarchy of castes had very efficient caste guilds, so famous for their organization, integrity and stability that people deposited with them thousands for permanent services to objects of charity. 169

We shall now append a list of several castes enumerated or mentioned in smrti and other dharmasastra works from about 500 B. C. to 1000 A. D. in alphabetical (Sanskrit) order. They are not given in a tabular form owing to numerous contradictory statements in the smrtis themselves. References are given only to a few smrtis, the principal ones drawn upon being the Dharmasatras, Manu, Yāj, Vaik. smārta-satra X. 11-15, Uśanas, the Satasamhitā (Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa chap. 12). It is hoped that the list is fairly exhaustive for the smrti period. It will be noticed that many of the caste names collected here still occur under the same forms or under slightly modified forms of the names.

Andhra. Vide above note 118 quoting the Ait. Br. Manu X. 36 says it was a low subcaste sprung from Vaidehaka father and Kārāvara mother and that Audhras were to live outside the village and to subsist (X. 48) by killing wild beasts. In the edicts of Aśoka the Andhras are associated with Pulindas (vide Rock Edict No. 13). The Udyogaparva (160. 103) mentions Andhras (probably as people of Andhradeśa) along with Dravidas and Kāñcyas. In the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva (E. I. vol. 17 p. 321) meda, andhraka and cāṇḍāla are spoken of as the lowest castes. In Orissa one scheduled caste is noted as Ādi-Andhra (vide Sch. C. O. 1936).

Antya. According to Vas. Dh. S. 16.30, Manu IV. 79, VIII. 68, Yāj. I. 148, 197, Atri 251, Likhita 92, verse Āpastamba (III. 1) this word is a generic appellation for all lowest castes

¹⁶⁹ Vide 'Local Government in Ancient India' by Dr. Radha-kumud Mukerji pp. 29-34, 44 for pūga, śreni, gana and sangha. Unfortunately some of the references (as printed) are wrong and not in point.

like the cāṇḍāla. Vide the chapter on 'untouchables'. The word 'bāhya' has the same sense. Ap. Dh. S. I. 3. 9. 18 says that there is a cessation of Vedic study on the day on which bāhya senter a village; vide also Nārada (ṛṇādāna 155), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16.14.

Antyaja. This word is applied to all lowest castes like the candala in Manu IV. 61, Visnu Dh. S. 36.7, Yaj. I. 273, Brhadyama (quoted in Mit. on Yāj. III. 260). In Manu VIII. 279 the word is used in the sense of 'sūdra'. Various enumerations of the subdivisions of antvaias are found in the smrtis. Atri 199 enumerates 170 seven antyajas viz. rajaka (washerman), carmakāra (worker in hides), nata (dancer caste, represented in the Deccan by Kolhātis), buruda (worker in bamboos), kaivarta (fisherman), meda, bhilla. This verse is quoted as Apastamba's by the Mit, on Yāj, III. 265, while Apararka p. 1123 ascribes it to Atri. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 260 distinguishes between two groups of antvajas, viz. the one quoted above which it says is not so low as another group of seven, which are called antyāvasāyins, 171 viz. cāndāla, śvapaca (eater of dog flesh), kṣatṛ, sūta, vaidehika, māgadha and āyogava. In the Mahābhārata (Śānti 101, 19) reference is made to antyaja soldiers and Nilakantha explains that they were the kaivartas and bhillas of the border regions. According to the Sarasyativilāsa (p. 74) Pitāmaha speaks of the seven castes of rajaka and others as prakrtis. 172 Is it possible that the Prakrta languages were originally so called because they were spoken by these castes called prakrtis? In the Sangamner plate of Bhillama II dated sake 922 (E. I. vol. II. p. 220) a village is granted with eighteen prakrtis (meaning probably the eighteen guilds of washermen and others). The Viramitrodaya (vyavahāra p. 12) explains that śrenis mean the eighteen low castes such as the rajaka. This shows that these low castes had risen in social status in the medieval ages by their organization and

^{170.} रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च। कैवर्तमेव्भिछाश्च सप्तैते चान्त्यजाः स्मृताः ॥ अत्रि 199, अङ्गिरस् (Jiv. I. p. 554), यम 33 (Anand. ed.). Some mss. read म्लेच्छ for मेव; vide note 202 below.

^{171.} चाण्डातः श्वपचः क्षत्ता स्तो वैदेहिकस्तथा। मागधायोगवौ चैव ससैतेऽन्त्याव-सायिनः ॥ मध्यमाङ्गिरस् acc. to मिता॰ on या. III. 265; quoted by हरदन्त on गौ. 20. 1 and परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 116.

^{172.} शास्त्राणि वर्णधर्मास्तु प्रकृतीनां च भूपतिः। व्यवहारस्वरूपं च ज्ञात्वा कार्ये समा-चरेत् ॥ प्रकृतयस्तु पितामहेन वृशिता रजक-चर्मकार-नट बुरुड-कैवर्तक-म्लेच्छाभिल्लाद्यः। सरस्वतीविशास p. 74.

wealth. The Veda-Vyāsa smṛti (I. 12-13) enumerates twelve castes by name as antyajas and adds that all those who eat cow's flesh are also antyajas. 178

Antāvasāyin or Antyāvasāyin. Manu IV. 79 separately mentions 'antyas' and 'antyavasayins' and Manu X. 39 says that the antyavasayin is the offspring of a candala male from a nisāda female, that he is condemned even by all 'bāhyas' (untouchables) and stays in a cemetery. Gautama 20. 1 and 23. 32 mentions 'antyāvasāyin (and -yinī). Vas. Dh. S. 18. 3 holds that the antyavasayin is the offspring of a śudra from a woman. The Bhāradvāja-śrauta sūtra (XI, 22, 12) forbids the study of the Veda in the presence of the antyavasāyin. The Anuśāsana-parva (22, 22) speaks of Medas, Pulkasas and Antavasayins (the printed text is corrupt). Santi (141. 29-32) gives a graphic description of a hamlet of candalas and calls them 'antyāvasāya' (in verse 41). Nārada (rnādāna 182) says that an antyavasayin is not eligible as a witness. Some modern works like the Jativiveka (D.C. Ms. No. 347 of 1887-91) say that Dom in modern times is the antyavasayin of the smrtis.

Abhişikta — See under Mürdhävasikta.

Ambaṣṭha — (same as Bhṛjjakaṇṭha).

In Ait. Br. (chap. 39. 7) king Āmbaṣṭhya is said to have performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. In Pāṇ. VIII. 3. 97 the word Ambaṣṭha is derived and on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 170 Āmbaṣṭhya (king?) is cited by Pat. as an example derived from Ambaṣṭha (a country). It is a question whether the caste of Ambaṣṭhas derived its name from a country. Karṇaparva (6. 11) mentions a king Ambaṣṭha. In Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 3, Manu X. 8, Yāj. I. 91, Uśanas 31, Nārada (strīpuṃsa v. 107) Ambaṣṭha is an anuloma sprung from the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a vaiśya woman, while according to Gautama 4. 14 as interpreted by Haradatta he is the offspring of a kṣatriya from a vaiśya woman. Manu X. 47 prescribes the profession of medicine for him and Uśanas 174 (31-32) says that he may subsist by agriculture or may be a fire-dancer or he may be a herald (? banner proclaimer)

^{173.} चर्मकारो भटो भिल्लो रजकः एष्करो नटः । विरादो मेव्चाण्डाली दाशः श्वपच-कोलिकाः ॥ एतेन्स्यजाः समाख्याता ये चान्ये च गवाशनाः । एषां संभाषणात्स्नानं दर्शनाद्की-विक्षणम् ॥ वेव्व्यास I. 12-13. 'श्रेण्यो रजकाद्यष्टादशहीनजातयः' वीरमित्रोद्य (ध्यवहार p. 12).

^{174.} कुटयाजीवो भवेत्तस्य तथैवाग्नेयनर्तकः । ध्वजविश्रावका वापि अम्बष्टाः शस्त्र-जीविनः (शल्यजीविनः ?)। उज्ञानस् 31-32.

and live by surgery. Vaik. 10. 12 has almost the same words; the Sahyādri-khaṇḍa (26. 40-41) says the same. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 19. 14 says that ambaṣṭha and śalyakṛnta are synonymous. The Baidyas of Bengal came to be the ambaṣṭhas of Manu (vide Risley's 'People of India' p. 114).

Ayaskāra (blacksmith). In the Vedic literature we have ayastāpa (heater of ayas, probably any metal). Vide under karmakāra and karmāra. Patañjali on Pān. II. 4. 10 mentions him as a śūdra along with takṣan (Mahābhāṣya, vol. I. p. 475).

Avarīţa. Devala quoted by Aparārka (p. 118 on Yāj. I. 92) says that he is born of the illegitimate connection between a married woman and a male of the same caste and he becomes a śūdra. The Śūdra-kamalākara 175 (p. 247) cites from the Smṛti-kaumudī a verse of the Ādityapurāṇa to the same effect.

Avira. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaisya female.

 $\bar{A}p\bar{\imath}ta$. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of brāhmaņa from a Dausyanti.

Abhira. According to Manu X. 15 he is the child of the union of a brāhmaṇa with an ambaṣtha girl. The Mahābhārata (Mausalaparva 7. 46-63 and 8. 16-17) states that the ābhīras were dasyus and mlecchus who attacked Arjuna after the great war in the land of the five rivers and carried away Vṛṣṇi women. The Sabhāparva (51. 12) mentions ābhīras with Pāradas and the Āśvamedhika (29. 15-16) says (just as Manu X. 43-44 do) that the Ābhīras, the Dravidas and others became śūdras by non-contact with brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhāṣya expressly states that the ābhīras are not a subcaste included under the genus śūdra but that they are a caste distinct from śūdras. The Kāmasūtra (V. 5. 30) names an ābhīra king Kotṭarāja. Dandin in his Kāvyādarśa (I. 36) says that Apabhramśa is the appellation of the speech of ābhīras and the like

^{175.} द्वितीयेन तु यः पित्रा सनर्णायां प्रजायते । अवरीट इति स्थातः शूद्रधर्मा स जातितः । देवल in अपरार्क p. 118 and in कुलूक on मनु X. 5 (अववाद इति). सवर्णासु सवर्णेस्तु ये जायन्ते परैरपि । अवरादकसंज्ञास्ते व्रतसंस्कारवर्जिताः ॥ शूद्र-कमलाकर p. 247.

^{176.} यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोईन्द्वो न भवतीत्युच्यते शूद्धाभीरं गोवलीवर्दे नृणोल-पमिति न सिध्यति। नैष दोषः। इह तावच्छुद्धाभीरमिति। आभीरा जात्यन्तराणि। महाभाष्य ▼०¹. I. p. 251 (on पा. I. 2. 72.).

in poetry. The Amarakośa says that they are cow-herds and that the ābhīra wife of a Mahāśūdra is called Ābhīrī. The Abhīras became absorbed in Hindu society and we find that an Ābhīra senāpati Rudrabhūti in the year 103 (181-82 A. D.) under king Rudrasimha, son of Rudradāman, built a well (E. I. vol. 16 p. 235) and in the Nasik cave No. 15 there is an inscription of king Īśvarasena, a son of Ābhīra Śivadatta and Māḍharī (i. e. the mother was of the Māṭhara gotra). Vide E. I. vol. 8. p. 88. Ābhīras are called ahirs in modern times. Vide J. B. R. A. S. vol. 21 pp. 430-433, Enthoven's 'Tribes and castes of Bombay' vol. I. p. 17 ff.

Auogava. Vide Ayogū above (p. 43) from Vedic literature. According to Gaut. IV. 15, Visnu Dh. S. 16. 4, Manu X, 12, Kaut. III. 7, Anusasana 48. 13, Yaj. I. 94 this is a pratiloma caste sprung from the union of a sudra male and a vaisya female; while Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 7), Usanas 12, Vaik. X. 14 say that it springs from the union of a vaisya male and a ksatriva female. Vas. Dh. S. (18.3) gives antvāvasāvin as the name of the caste sprung from a śūdra male and a vaiśva female and pulkasa as the name of one sprung from a vaisva male and a ksatriya female. His avocation (Manu X. 48) is to pare wood. while Usanas (verse 13) says he is a weaver or subsists by making vessels of bronze or by cultivating paddy or by dealing in cloth. According to Visuu Dh. S. 16. 8 and Agnipurana (151.15) he is to make his living by going to the stage. Sahvādrikhanda says (26. 68-69) that he works in stones and bricks, makes pavements and whitewashes walls i. e. he is the modern Pātharvata (in the Deccan).

Avantya. Same as Bhūrjakantha (Manu X. 21).

Aświka. According to Vaik. X. 12 he is the child of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female and deals in horses.

Ahindika. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from a vaidehl female i. e. he is a double pratiloma caste. Kullūka says that his avocation according to Usanas is to prevent strangers from trespassing on places where offenders are kept imprisoned. Manu X. 36 shows that the same caste is called Kārāvara when it follows the craft of a carmakāra.

Ugra. For Vedic reference see above (p. 45). According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9.5), Manu X.9, Kaut. III.7, Yāj. I. 92, Anuśāsana 48. 7 he is an anuloma offspring of a ksatriya male from a śūdra

woman, while according to Usanas (verse 41) he is the offspring of the union of a brahmana with a sūdra woman. The Ap. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 20) allows a pupil to bring wealth from a śūdra or an ugra when the teacher is in distress or difficulties. Gaut. 4. 14 (as explained by Haradatta) says that ugra is the offspring of a vaisva from a śūdra female. The Ap. Dh. S. (I. 6, 18.1) says that a brahmana may accept the gift of money, corn like paddy, flesh of deer, house, field, hay for oxen from an ugra. 49 says that the ugra should subsist by catching and killing animals that hide in holes, while Usanas (verse 41) states that he is to be the staff-bearer of the king and to carry out the punishments inflicted on offenders. Vide Vaik, 10, 13. According to the Sahvādrikhanda and Sūdrakamalākara (p. 255) he is called 'Rajpūta'. In the Jātiviveka (the D. C. collection of 1887–1891 No. 347) he is called $R\bar{a}vut$.

Udbandhaka. According to Usanas (verse 15) he is the offspring of the union of a sūnika and a kṣatriya woman, subsists by washing clothes and is an untouchable. Vaik. 10. 15 says he is the offspring of a khanaka and a kṣatriya woman.

Upakrusta. According to Āśv. śr. sūtra (II. 1) he does not belong to the dvijātis, but is authorised to perform the vedic rite of agnyādheya and the commentary explains that he is a vaisya following the profession of a carpenter.

Odra. Vide Manu X. 43-44. Odra is a country corresponding more or less to modern Orissa. Most of the names of people mentioned in Manu X. 44 are derived from countries. Vide note on Khasa (p. 79) and see Sabhāparva 51, 23.

Kaṭakāra. According to Usanas (45) and Vaik. 10, 13 he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a vaisya and a sūdra female.

Karana. According to Gaut. (IV. 17 the view of some ācāryas) and Yāj. I. 92, he is the child of the marriage of a vaisya and a sūdra woman (i. e. he is an anuloma). Manu (X. 22) says that a kṣatriya who is a vrātya (i. e. for whom no upanayana has been performed) has from a similar woman a child variously called Jhalla, Malla, Niccivi (Licchivi?), Naṭa, Karaṇa, Khaśa, Draviḍa. Ādiparva 115. 43 tells us that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had from a vaiśya female a karaṇa son named Yuyutsu. Kṣīrasvāmī on Amara says that karaṇa also denotes a group of officers like kāyasthas and adhyakṣas (superintendents). The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 49-51) says he is the same as

cāraņa or vaitālika and his business is to sing the praises of kings and brāhmaņas and study the science of erotics.

Karmakāra. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 14) mentions this caste. It is most probably the same as karmāra. But Śaṅkha (prose) quoted by Aparārka p. 115 separately mentions in the same passage karmakāra and karmāra.

Karmāra. For vedic references vide (p. 43) above. This caste appears in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Manu IV. 215 mentions it. In Bengal the Lohar is a scheduled caste (vide Sch. C. O. 1936).

Kāmsyakāra. (modern kāmsāra in Marathi) Mentioned by Nārada (mādāna 274) and Viṣnu Dh. S. X. 4 in connection with the balance ordeal.

 $K\bar{a}kavaca$. Mentioned in Usanas (50) as doing the work of bringing grass for horses.

Kāmboja. Vide Manu X. 43-44. The country of Kamboja was known to Yāska (Nirukta II. 2) and Pānini (IV. 1. 175). Udyogaparva 160. 103, Drona 121. 13 mention Kambojas with Sakas. Vide under Yayana.

Kāyastha.¹⁷⁷ Heated controversies have raged in medieval and modern times about the origin and status of kāyasthas and the bitterness is reflected in the decisions of the Indian courts also. In Bholanath v. Emperor¹⁷⁸ the Calcutta High Court held that the kāyasthas of Bengal were śūdras and went so far as to hold that a kāyastha could marry a Dom female. But in Asita Mohan v. Nirode Mohan¹⁷⁹ the Privy Council left open the question whether the kāyasthas of Bengal were śūdras. On the other hand in Tulsi Ram v. Bihari Lal¹⁸⁰ and in Ishwari Prasad v. Rai Hari Prasad¹⁸¹ the Allahabad and Patna High Courts respectively held that the kāyasthas were dvijas and not śūdras. In Subrao v. Radha 52 Bom. 497 at p. 504-506 this conflict of decisions is referred to.

The word kāyastha does not occur in the ancient dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, or Vasiṣṭha nor

¹⁷⁷ Vide for further details my paper on 'the Kayasthas' in the New Indian Antiquary for 1939 vol. I. pp. 739-743.

¹⁷⁸ I. L. R. 51 Cal. 488.

¹⁷⁹ L. R. 47 I. A. 140,145.

^{180 12} All. 328.

^{181 6} Patna 506.

in the Manusmrti. The Visnu Dh. S. VII. 3 defines a public document (rājasāksika) as one written in the royal court or office by a kayastha appointed by the king and attested by the hand of the superintendent of the office. 188 These words suggest that the kāvastha was an officer and that there is nothing about a caste here. Yāj. I. 322 calls upon the king to protect the subjects from the harassment of catas (rogues), thieves, bad characters, desperadoes and the like and particularly of kayasthas. Mit. explains that $k\bar{a}yasthas$ are accountants and scribes, are favourities of the king and very cunning. Usanas 183 (35) holds the kayasthas to be a caste and gives an uncomplimentary derivation of the name by saying that it is compounded of the first letters of kaka (crow), Yama and sthapati to convey the three attributes of greed, cruelty and the spoliation (or paring). characteristic of the three. The Veda-Vyasa smrti¹⁸⁴ (1, 10-11) includes the kayastha among sudras along with barbers, potters and others. Sumantu quoted in the Par. M. II part Ip. 383 makes the food of a lekhaka along with that of oilmen and others unfit for a brahmana 185. Lekhaka is obviously a caste here, but whether it is the kayastha caste is doubtful. Brhaspati as quoted in the Smrticandrika (vyavahāra) speaks of the ganaka and lekhaka as two persons to be associated with a judge in a court of justice and says they were to be dvijas. Vide also Apararka p. 600. Therefore both these were only officers and not members of a particular caste. In the Mrcchakatika (Act IX) a śresthin and kāyastha are associated with the judge. So the käyastha seems to be the same as the lekhaka of Brhaspati and as a mere official. In the first centuries of the Christian era the kāyastha was merely an officer and the word was possibly derived from or is a Sanskrit approximation of some foreign word for an officer, though in some parts of the country (as shown by Usanas and Veda-Vyāsa) the kāvasthas also had come to form a caste in medieval times.

^{182.} राजाधिकरणे तिश्वयुक्तकायस्थक्षतं तद्वध्यक्षकरिविद्वितं राजसाक्षिकम् । विष्णु-धर्मसूत्र VII. 3.

^{183.} काकाङ्कील्यं यमात् क्रीयें स्थपतेरथ कृन्तनम् । आद्यक्षराणि संग्रह्म कार्यस्थ इति निर्दिशेत् ॥ उज्ञनस् ॥ 35.

^{184.} वर्धकी नापिता गोप आशापः कुम्भकारकः । विणक्र्-किरात-कायस्थमालाकार-শুন্তুন্দিন: ॥ एते चान्ये च बहवः মূদ্রা भिक्ता स्वकर्मभिः ॥ वेदृण्यासस्युति I. 10-11

^{185.} अभिशस्तपतित पौनर्भव पुंश्वस्यश्चाचिशस्त्रकारतैलिक चाक्रिकश्वाजि सुवर्णकार लेखक-लेक्किकथण्डकचन्धक गणकगणिकासानि चाभोज्यानि । सुमन्तु in प्रा. आ. 11. 1. p. 383.

Though numerous officers are mentioned in the inscriptions of the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, the kayastha hardly ever figures among them. One of the earliest inscriptions where the word $k\bar{a}yastha$ occurs is the Kanaswa Inscription of Sivagana dated in the Malava era 795 (i. e. 738-39 A. D.). Vide I. A. vol. 19 pp. 56 and 59. See also E. I. vol. X. p. 79 for Kāyastha Kāñcana in Balera plates in 994-95 A.D., E. I. vol. XI. p. 149 for Śāsanika kāyastha in Naraspatam plates of 1045-46 A. D., E. I. vol. XI. p. 20, 25 for kāyastha Surāditya who was 'Sarvaśāstravit' in Govindacandra's plate dated 1129-30 A. D., E. I. 19 pp. 209, 213 Amodā plate dated 1161 A. D. (for Vāstavya kāyastha), E. I. vol. 19 p. 45 Inscription of Hammira (dated 1288-89 A. D.), E. I. XII. p. 46 (dated 1328-29 A. D. for Māthura kāyastha), E. I. 20 Appendix No. 442 p. 64 (for Gauda kāyastha). In the Rājatarangini (VIII. 131) kāyasthas and diviras are mentioned separately and in VIII. 2383 it is stated that the brāhmana Sivaratha, who was a roguish kāyastha, was strangulated in the reign of Jayasimha. So in the 12th century kāyasthas were only officers in Cashmir and brähmanas held such offices. Vide Rajatarangini V. 180-184 for a bitter diatribe against kāyasthas.

The Śūdrakamalākara (pp. 279-280) speaks of three subcastes of kāyasthas.

Kārāvara. According to Manu X. 36 he is a doubly mixed caste sprung from the union of a niṣāda with a vaidehi and his craft is that of a carmakāra. According to later digests like the Śūdrakamalākara he is called 'kahāra' or 'bhoi' and holds torches and carries umbrellas for others.

Kāruṣa. According to Manu X. 23 this caste springs from the union of a vrātya vaiśya and a similar female. This caste is also called Sudhanvācārya, Vijanman, Maitra and Sātvata (according to Manu).

Kirāta. Vide above (p.44) for vedic references. Veda-Vyāsa speaks of him as a subdivision of śūdra (note 184). According to Manu (X. 43-44) he is a kṣatriya reduced to the status of a śūdra. Anuśāsana (35.17-18) says the same about Mekalas, Dravidas, Lāṭas, Pauṇḍras, Yavanas and others. Karṇaparva 73. 20 speaks of kirātas as men of fiery valour. Āśvamedhika 73. 25 shows that Arjuna met kirātas, yavanas and Mlecchas when proceeding to the north with the Aśvamedha horse. The Amarakośa says that kirāta, śabara and pulinda are subdivisions of Mleccha castes.

Kukkuta. According to Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 8 he is a pratiloma caste, but I. 9. 15 says that he is the child of the union of a sūdra with a niṣāda woman, while I. 8. 12 states that he is the offspring of a vaisya from a niṣāda woman. ¹⁸⁸ Manu X. 18 agrees with Baud. Dh. I. 9. 15. According to Kaut. III. 7 he is the offspring of an ugra male from a niṣāda female. According to Ādityapurāna quoted in the Sūdrakamalākara he manufactures swords and other weapons and engages in cockfights for the king.

Kunda. According to Manu III. 174 he is the offspring of a clandestine intercourse between a married brāhmaṇa woman whose husband is living and a brāhmaṇa male.

Kukunda. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a māgadha from a śūdra female.

Kumbhakūra. This word occurs in the gana kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Ušanas (32-33) says that he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa with a vaišya female. Vaik. (X. 12) agrees with Ušanas and adds that the offspring becomes either a kumbhakāra or a barber who shaves parts of the body above the navel. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 10-11) and Devala (quoted in Par. M. II. 1. p. 431 and Gr. R. p. 337) include the potter among śūdras. In the Central Provinces the Kumbhāra is a scheduled caste.

 $Kul\bar{u}la$. For Vedic references see above (p.43). Pāṇ IV. 3.118 explains the formation of kaulālakam (made by a potter). The \bar{A} sv. Gr. IV. 3.18 says that all earthen vessels (kaulālam) of a deceased agnihotrin should be kept by his son. Why two names arose for the caste of potters it is difficult to explain.

Kulika. This caste is mentioned in Śankha quoted by Aparārka p. 1175 (where Aparārka explains it as devalaka).

Kuśilava. According to Baudhāyana as quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru he is the offspring of an ambastha from a vaidehaka female. According to Amara he is the same as a cāraṇa (a bard). According to Kaut. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambastha female (i. e. exactly the reverse of Baudhāyana's view) and he gives the name vaina to the offspring of an ambastha male from a vaidehaka female.

^{186.} प्रतिलोमास्त्वायोगवमागधवैणक्षत्रपुरुकसकुक्कुटवैदेहकचण्डालाः । निषादासु वृतीयायां पुरुकसः। विषयेये कुक्कुटः। बौ.ध.स्. I.8.8, 11-12; शूदाक्रिषायां कुक्कुटः। बौ.ध.स्. I.9.15.

^{187.} स्वदासी नापिती गीपः कुम्भकारः कृषीवलः । ब्राह्मणैरपि भोक्तग्याः पञ्चैते शूद्ध-योनयः । देवल in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 431.

Krta. According to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a vaisya from a brāhmaņa woman. Yāj. I. 93 and others call this caste vaidehaka.

Kaivarta. In the Assam valley kaibartta is a scheduled caste. Vide under antyaja (p. 70) above. Medhātithi on Manu X. 4 says that this is a mixed caste. Manu X. 34 tells us that the inhabitants of Āryāvarta employ the name kaivarta to denote the offspring of a niṣāda from an āyogava woman, who is also called mārgava and dāsa (dāsa?) and who subsists by plying boats. Śamkara on Vedāntasūtra II. 3. 43 says that dāśa and kaivarta are the same. Fick p. 302 notes that fishermen who work with nets and baskets were called in the Jātakas kevatta.

Kolika. Mentioned as one of the antyajas by Veda-Vyāsa. Vide note 173 under antyaja. Koli is a scheduled caste in the Central Provinces and Kol in United Provinces.

Kṣaiṛ. For vedic references see above. According to Baud. Dh. S. I. 9.7, Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 12, 13 and 16, Yāj. I. 94, Nārada (strīpumsa 112), this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a śūdra father and kṣatriya mother. Manu (X. 49-50) prescribes for him the same avocation as for ugra and pulkasa. Vas. Dh. S. 18. 2 calls him vaina. In the Amarakośa kṣatr is given three meanings, a charioteer, doorkeeper and the caste described above. In Chāndogya Up. IV. 1. 5, 7, 8 the word seems to mean only door-keeper. Pān. notices the word (VI. 4. 11). The Sahyādrikhanda (26. 63-66) says that kṣatr is also called niṣāda and that he is an expert in catching deer by means of nets, is a forester and kills wild animals, also rings a bell at night to remind people of the hour.

Khanaka. According to Vaik. (X. 15) he is the offspring of an ayogava male and kṣatriya female and lives by digging.

Khaśa or khasa. According to Manu X. 22 this is another name for karana; while in X. 43-44 he makes the khaśas a ksatriya caste originally but reduced to the status of śūdras by the absence of samskāras and the absence of contact with brāhmanas. Vide Sabhā. 52. 3, Udyoga 160. 103.

Guhaka. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a svapaca from a brāhmaņa female.

Goja (or Goda). According to Usanas (28-29) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a ksatriya male and female.

Gopa. Vide note 184. He is the modern Gavli and a sūdra subcaste. Yāj. II. 48 says that debts contracted by gopa wives must be paid by their husbands as the latter's profession and earnings depend upon them. The Kāmasūtra (I. 5. 37) mentions a caste called Gopālaka.

Golaka. He is the offspring of a clandestine intercourse between a brāhmaṇa widow and a brāhmaṇa male. Vide Manu III. 174, Laghu-Śātātapa 105, Sūtasamhitā (Śiva. 12. 12).

Cakrī. According to Usanas (22-23) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a sūdra male and a vaisya female and subsists by (selling) oil and oilcakes or salt. He seems to be the same as tailika. Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279) mentions him. According to Brahmapurāna quoted by Aparārka p. 1177 he is one who presses sesame. According to Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a secret love affair between a vaisya male and a brāhmaṇa female and engages in the sale of salt and oil.

Carmakāra. Vide under antyaja (p. 70) above. He is mentioned in many smrtis like Visnu Dh. S. (51.8), Apastamba (in verse 9.32), Parāśara (VI.44). According to Uśanas (4), he is the offspring of a śūdra from a ksatriya girl, while verse 21 says that those sprung from a vaidehaka and a brahmana girl subsist by working on hides. Vaik. (X, 15) agrees with this latter. Manu IV. 218 speaks of him as carmavakartin (cutter of hides). According to several smrtis he is one of the seven antyajas. According to the Sūtasamhita he is the offspring of an ayogava from a brahmana female. This name persists to this day as cambhar (in Western India) or camar in all other Indian provinces. This caste is often spoken of as Mochi (shoe-maker). Often the mochis are Moslems. untouchable caste and the population of carmakāras in India is very large. In the Bombay Presidency alone they are about two hundred and ninety thousand (in 1931).

Cākrika. According to Amara he is a person who rings a bell. Kṣīrasvāmī says that he announces the king's arrival by ringing bells and that some regard him as the same as vaitālika. According to Śankha (prose) and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175-76) cākrika and tailika are separate subcastes. According to Vaik. (X. 14) he is the offspring of a love affair between a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and his avocation is the sale of salt, oil and oil cakes.

 $C\bar{a}nd\bar{a}la$ (or $c\bar{a}nd\bar{a}la$). For Vedic references see above pp. 44-45. Acc. to Gaut. IV. 15-16, Vas. Dh. S. 18, 1, Baud. Dh. S. I. 9.7, Manu X.12, Yāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 11 he is a pratiloma caste sprung of a śūdra from a brāhmaņa woman. He is the lowest among men (Manu X. 12), beyond the pale of religious observances prescribed for the four varnas (sarvadharma-bahiskrta, as Yāj. I. 93 says) and often spoken of in the same breath with dogs and crows (e.g. Ap. Dh. S. II. 4.9.5, Gaut. 15. 25. Yāj. I. 103).188 The word occurs in the kulālādi gana (Pān, IV. 3. 118). Veda-Vyāsa-smrti (I. 9-10) says that there are three kinds of candalas, viz. the offspring of a sudra from a brahmana woman, the offspring of an unmarried woman, the offspring of a union with a sagotra girl. Yama quoted in Par. M. vol. II. part 1 p. 306 says that one born of a person who after becoming an ascetic turns back to the householder's life, one born of a sagotra woman and one who is the offspring of a śūdra from a brāhmana woman are all candalas. Laghu-Śatatapa (59) has a similar verse. Manu (X.51-56) says that candalas and svapacas should have their houses outside the village, vessels used by them cannot be used by others (even after putting them in fire). their wealth consists of dogs and asses, their clothes should be the garments on corpses, they should take their food in broken vessels, their ornaments were to be made of iron, they should incessantly roam, they are not to enter towns and villages at night, they have to carry the corpses of persons who have no relatives, they are to be hangmen when the king so orders, they may take the clothes, ornaments and beds of persons that are to be hanged. Usanas (9-10) says that their ornaments are to be of lead or iron, they should have a leather thong round their necks or a cymbal under their armpits, they should remove the dirt of the village in the first part of the day. According to Visnu Dh. S. 16.11 and 14 their avocation is to be hangmen or to kill those offenders who are condemned to death and candalas have to stay outside the village and to wear the clothes on corpses. Santi 141. 29-32 gives a graphic description of their hamlet. The classical description of a candala hamlet is in the Kadambari In Anuśāsana (29.17) Matanga is called a cāndāla because he was born of a brahmana woman from a barber.

Fa Hien (405-411 A. D.) describes how candalas had to live apart and give notice of their approach when entering a

^{188.} व्यङ्गेः पतितचण्डालग्राम्यस्करकुक्कुटैः । श्वा च नित्यं विवर्ज्याः स्युः पडेते धर्मतः समाः ॥ देवल quoted in परा. मा. vol. II. part 1, p. 366.

town or market place by striking a piece of wood to make themselves known so that a man may avoid them and not come in contact with them (vide 'Record of Buddhist kingdoms' tr. by Legge, p. 43). In modern times cāndālas are returned as a scheduled caste in Madras and Orissa.

Cina. According to Manu X. 43-44 the Cinas were a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of śūdras. They are frequently named in the Mahābhārata e. g. Sabhā 51. 23, Vanaparva 177. 12, Udyoga 19. 15.

Cuñcu. According to Manu X. 48 the avocation of Meda, Andhra, Cuñcu and Madgu is to kill forest (or wild) animals. Kullūka says that he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a vaidehaka woman.

Cucuka. According to Vaik. (X.13) he is the offspring of the marriage of a vaisya with a sudra woman and his avocation is the sale and purchase of betelnut, betelnut leaves and sugar.

Cailanirnejaka (or only nirpejaka)-washerman. This occurs in Visnu Dh. S. 51. 15 and Manu IV. 216. It appears that Visnu who separately mentions 'rajaka' (in 51. 13) distinguishes between the two. Hārīta (quoted in Aparārka p. 279) also distinguishes between 'rajaka' (one who dyes clothes) from 'nirpejaka' (one who washes clothes). Very often 'rajaka' means only 'a washerman' (as Amara says).

Jālopajīvin—(subsisting by eatching animals in a net) probably the same as a kaivarta. He is mentioned in Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 279.

Jhalla. Manu X. 22 says that it is another name for Karana and Khasa. In Bengal Jhalo Malo or Malo is returned as a scheduled caste.

Domba (or Doma) is the same as śvapaca according to Kṣīrasvāmi on Amara. Parāšara quoted by Aparārka (p. 1197) puts švapāka, domba and cāṇḍāla on the same level. In the Rājatarangiṇi (V. 354, VI. 182, VI. 192) dombas are spoken of as untouchables on the same level with cāṇḍālas and as following the profession of singers. In Rājatarangiṇi V. 389-394 dombas are spoken of as śvapacas. This caste is returned as a scheduled caste in Madras as Dombo, as Dom in Bengal, Bihar and U. P.

Takṣan or Takṣaka (carpenter). For vedic references see above (p. 43). He is the same as vardhaki quoted above, under kāyastha. He is mentioned by Manu IV. 210, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51, 8. According to the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10

the takṣan is a śūdra and on the same level with an ayas-kāra (ironsmith) and excluded from sacrificial rites. Even so early as the Śat. Br. the takṣan was an unholy person (amedhya) and his touch made yajñapātras impure (I. 1. 3. 12). Uśanas 43 says that takṣaka is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa female from a sūcaka (i. e. he is a pratiloma). He must be supposed to be originally different from the rathakāra (vide Tai. S. quoted above p. 43) who was allowed the vedic rite of ādhāna or probably in the time of the smṛtis the carpenter lost his former status. According to Vaik. (X. 14) 189 the offspring of a brāhmaṇa girl from a cūcuka (sūcaka?) is a takṣaka who is untouchable or a goldsmith or blacksmith or worker in bell-metal. Bṛhaspati names the takṣaka as one whose food a brāhmaṇa could not cat.

Tantuväyi (a weaver), also called kuvinda. He is mentioned in Visau Dh. S. (51.13) and Śańkha quoted by Aparārka p. 1175. He is regarded as a südra by the Mahābhāsya on Pāņ. II. 4. 10 and as excluded from sacrificial rites.

Tāmbūlika—seems to have been a caste. Vide Kāmasūtra I. 5. 37. Bāna refers to his house as stored with spices and betel.

Tämropajīvin (coppersmith). According to Ušanas (14) he is the offspring of an āyogava from a brāhmaņa woman. Vaik. (X. 15) says the same and calls him tāmrs. The Jātiviveka (D. C. No. 347 of 1887-91) gives the name as tāmra-kuttaka.

Tunnavāya (a tailor). He occurs in Manu IV. 214. According to the Brahmapurāņa quoted by Aparārka p. 1178 he is the same as sūci (or saucika).

Tailika (oilman)-occurs in Visna Dh. S. (51, 15), Sankha and Sumantu quoted by Aparärka (pp. 1175 and 1176).

Darada. Manu X. 44 names him. Vide note on khasa above p. 79. Vide Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva 4. 15.

 $D\bar{a} \dot{s} a$ (a fisherman). This occurs in an Upaniṣad passage according to Vedānta sūtra II. 3. 43. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12-13) includes him among antyajas (vide footnote 173). Manu X. 34 says that mārgava, dāsa (dāsa?) and kaivarta are the same and that he subsists by plying boats. Pāņ. (III. 4. 73) derives the word. Vide under kaivarta.

^{189.} चूचुकाद्दिपायां तक्षकोऽस्पृश्यो झहरीएस्तो दासकारः सुवर्णकारोऽयस्कारः कांस्यकारी वा। वेखा. X. 14; नटनर्तकतकाणश्चर्मकारः सुवर्णकृत्। स्थाणुपाषण्डगणिका अभोज्याकाः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ बृहस्पति in परा. मा. Il. 1. p. 380.

Divākīriya—occurs in Mānavagrhya II. 14. 11. According to Amara both cāṇḍāla and nāpita are called divākīrti.

Dauşmanta. According to Gaut. 4. 14 this is an anuloma caste sprung from the union of a kṣatriya male and a sūdra female. According to the Sūtasamhitā the name is Dauşyanta.

Dravida. The same as karana, according to Manu X. 22. According to Manu X. 43-44, this is a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of a śūdra. Vide under khaśa, and Mahābhārata, Udyoga 160, 103, Drona 93, 43.

Dhigvana. According to Manu X. 15 he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male from an āyogava female and according to Manu X. 49 he subsists by working on (and sale of) hides. Kullūka on Manu X. 49 quotes a text of Usanas that Dhigvaṇas subsist by working on hides and selling them and distinguishes them from kārāvaras. This passage is not found in the printed text of Usanas. In the Jātiviveka he is styled $Mocīk\bar{a}ra$.

Dhīvara. Same as kaivarta and dāśa. Gaut. (IV. 17) indicates that this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female (according to the view of some teachers). In the Tai. Br. III. 4. 12 Dhaivara, Dāśa and Kaivarta are separately mentioned, but how they were distinguished it is difficult to say. All caught fish in different ways. Dhimar is a scheduled caste in the Bhandara District of C. P.

Dhvajî (seller of wines)—mentioned by Sumantu and Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 1176. The Brahmapurāņa quoted by Aparārka (p. 1177) says he is the same as śauņdika.

Naţa. He is one of the seven antyajas (vide note 170 above). Naţa is a scheduled caste in Bengal, Bihar, U. P. and Punjab. Hārīta quoted by Aparārka (p. 279) distinguishes between naţa and śailūṣa and Aparārka remarks that naṭa is a specific caste, while śailūṣa is one who though not a naṭa by caste makes a living by going on the stage. Manu X. 22 says that he is the same as karaṇa, khasa (vide note on khasa p. 79). Pāṇini knew of a Naṭasūtra composed by Śilālin and another by Kṛśāśva (IV. 3. 110 and 111), but whether the naṭas he meant were so by caste or whether he meant only actors in general is not clear. Vide under raṅgāvatārin for a quotation from Maitrī Up. Probably this caste is the same as the Kolhāṭis or Bahurūpīs of modern times (in the Deccan) who are dancers, acrobats and jugglers by profession. Fick's work p. 299 speaks

of naṭakakulas mentioned in Buddhist $J\bar{a}takas$ and at p. 294 he shows that in the Suruci Jātaka the naṭa is described as throwing up a ball of rope and climbing it and performing other tricks of jugglery.

Nartaka. According to Usanas (19) he is the offspring of a rañjaka from a vaisya woman and his profession is that of a singer. Brhaspati quoted in Par. M. (II. part I p. 380) separately mentions in the same verse nata and nartaka (both being abhojyānna to a brāhmaṇa). Atri VII. 2 also mentions the two separately. See note 189.

Nāpita (barber). The Śānkhāyana grhya I. 25 refers to him (in cūdākarma). Uśanas (32-34) and Vaik. (X. 12) say that he is the offspring of a clandestine affair between a brähmana male and a vaisya female and Usanas derives the word by saying that he shaves the body above the navel of a person. 190 Vaik. (X.15) says that the offspring of an ambastha male from a kṣatriya female is a nāpita, but he shaves the hair on the body below the navel. Parāśara (XI. 21) 191 says that the offspring of a brāhmaņa from a śūdra girl is called dāsa if samskāras are performed on him, but if they are not performed he becomes a napita. Pan. (VI. 2. 62) specially provides for the accentuation of words meaning artisan (silpin, like napita or kulāla) when compounded with the word grāma. The Sūtasamhitā (Siva-chap. XII. 15) says that the offspring of the clandestine union of a brahmana male and a vaisya female is called kumbhakāra or ūrdhva-nāpita, while verse 32 says that the offspring of a ksatriya female from a nisada is called 'adho-nāpita'.

Nicchivi. Manu X. 22 says that this is another name for karana or khasa. Probably this is a misreading for Licchavi or Licchivi. Kaut. (Arthasāstra XI. 1) speaks of the oligarchies or corporations of Licchivika, Vrjika, Mallaka¹⁹⁸ etc. Vaisāli was the seat of this oligarchy in the 6th century B. C. (Rapson's 'Ancient India' p. 169). Vide Indian Antiquary vol. 32 p. 233 for their Tibetan affinities and I. A. vol. 9 p. 178 and vol. 14 p. 98 for inscriptions of this tribe and 'Indian Historical

^{190.} नाभेरूध्वे तु वपनं तस्मानापित उच्यते । उज्ञनस् 34.

^{191.} शूद्रकन्याससुत्पन्नो ब्राह्मणेन तु संस्कृतः । संस्कृतस्तु भवेदासी ह्यसंस्कारस्तु नापितः ॥ पराशर XI. 21.

^{192.} लिच्छिविक-दृजिक-महक-मदक-कुकुर-कुरुपञ्चालाद्यो राजशब्दोपजीषिनः अर्थशास्त्र XI. 1.

Quarterly,' 1933, vol. 18 p. 439 ff. Fa Hien (in 'Records of Buddhist Kingdoms' translated by Legge, 1886, p. 71) says that the Licchavis of Vaiśāli were attached to Buddha and also speaks of Ananda (pupil of Buddha) and the Licchavis.

Niāsda. For vedic references see above (pp. 43 and 46). The Nirukta¹⁹³ III. 8 while explaining the words 'pañcajanā mama hotram jusadhvam 'iu Rg. X. 53. 4 remarks that according to Aupamanyava the 'five people' are the four varnas with nisāda as the fifth. This shows that Aupamanyava regarded them as distinct from the four varnas (including the śūdras). The Nirukta further says that according to the Nairuktas the nisāda is so called because 'sin (or evil) sits down in him': from this it follows that in the times of Yaska the nisadas had come to be looked down upon with scorn as evil people and were probably some aborigines like the modern Bhils. According to Baud, Dh. S. (I. 9.3 and II. 2.33), Vas. 18.8, Manu X. 8, Anuśāsana 48.5, Yāj. I. 91 the Nisāda is an anuloma caste. offspring of the marriage of a brahmana with a śūdra woman. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2.34), Kaut. (III. 7), Manu (X, 8) and Yāj. (I. 91) say that pārasava is another name for nisāda. (IX. 178) derives pārašava from the root $p\bar{a}ray$ (to go across) and the word sava (a corpse) meaning 'though living he is like one dead'. In a corrupt passage of Vas. Dh. S. 194 (18, 9-10) the same derivation is accepted. Gaut. (IV. 14) distinguishes between nisada and parasava, the former (acc. to the com. Haradatta) being the offspring of a brahmana from a vaisya woman and the latter being the offspring of a brahmana male and a śūdra female. According to Nārada (strīpumsa v. 108) and Anuśāsana 48.12, nisāda is the offspring of a ksatriya male and a sudra female and he subsists by fishing (according to the latter). Nārada (strīpumsa 108) says that pārašava is the offspring of a brāhmana male and a śūdra female. Ušanas (36-38) says that the offspring of the marriage of a brahmana with a śūdra woman is called pārašava and gains his livelihood as the worshipper of the goddess Bhadrakali or by learning Saiva āgamas or by playing on musical instruments, while nisāda is the illegitimate offspring of a brähmana from a südra woman who subsists by killing wild beasts (such as elephants) and by

^{193.} निषादः करमाक्षियदनो भवति निषण्णमस्मिन् पापकमिति नैकक्ताः । निकक्तIII.8.

^{194.} शूद्राणां (शूद्रायां?) पारशवः। पारशवो नेव (पारयक्षेत्र?) जीवक्षेत्र शर्वा भवतीत्यादुः। वसिष्ठ 18. 9-10, where जीवक्षेत्र is a paraphrase of the rather obscure words पारयक्षेत्र in Manu IX. 178.

selling flesh. The Vaik. 195 (X. 13) has practically the same remarks to make about pārasava and nisāda. Sāntiparva (59. 96-97) speaks of nisādas as men with reddish eyes and with black hair. In the Rāmāvana Guha, the king of nisādas, helps Rāma to cross the river Ganges (Ayodhyā 50. 33). Here he is spoken of as belonging to the caste of nisādas (nisādajātyah). We have historical evidence for the name parasava in the Harsacarita (I, towards end), where Bana 196 tells us that he had with him two pārašava brothers Candrasena and Mātrsena in his travels. In the Tipperah copperplate of a chieftain called Lokanātha (about 650 A.D.) we are told that the king's maternal grandfather Kesava was a pārašava (vide E. I. vol. 15 at p. 307). The Mit. on Yai, I. 91 cautions that this nisada (the anuloma offspring of a brahmana from a śudra woman) is different from another caste called nisada, which is a pratiloma one and lives by catching fish. Medhātithi on Manu X. 8 does the same. Nisāda occurs in the gana kulālādi (Pan. IV. 3, 118). The Vāvupurāna (vol. II. chap. 1. 120-121) narrates that the nisādas. dark and dwarfish, were produced from the left hand of king Vena and they dwelt on the Vindhya. In the Bhagavata-purana we have the same story 197 (IV. 14. 42 ff.) and we are told that nisādas were dark like crows, of short stature, snubnosed, with red eyes and hair and that they dwelt in mountains and forests.

Pahlava.—occurs in Manu (X. 43-44) as a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of śūdra. Vide note on khaśa. The Mahābhārata several times mentions the Pahlavas, Pāradas and other non-Aryan people (vide Sabhā 32. 16-17, Udyoga 4. 15, Bhīsma 20. 13).

Pāndusopāka. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring of a cāndala male from a vaidehaka woman, who maintains himself by dealing in bamboos. He is the same as buruda.

Pārada. Vide Manu X. 43-44 and note on khaśa above. Pāradas are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārate, generally

^{195.} विपाच्युद्रायां पारक्षत्रो भद्रकालीपूजन-चित्रकर्माङ्गविद्या (॰र्मागमविद्या ?) वर्षघोषणमर्द्रन (मर्दल !) वृत्तिर्जारोत्पन्नो निषादो न्याडादिव्रगहिंसाकारी । वैद्या॰

¹⁹⁶. अभवंश्वास्य वयसा समानाः सुहदः सहायाश्च । तथा च भ्रातरौ पारशयौ, चन्द्र-सेनमानृषेणौ । हर्षचरित, उच्छास्य I (at end).

^{197.} काककृष्णोऽतिह्नस्याङ्गो ह्नस्ययाद्यमेदात्ततः । ह्रस्यपाश्चिम्ननासामो रक्ताक्षस्ताममूर्धजः । निषीदेत्यत्रुवंस्तात स निषादस्ततोऽभवत् । तस्य वंशास्तु नैषादा गिरिकाननगोचराः ॥ भागवत IV. 14. 44-46.

as Mlecchas and non-Aryan tribes (vide Sabhā 32, 16, 51, 12, 52, 3; Drona 93, 42 and 121, 13). Vide under Yayana.

Pāraśava. Vide niṣāda above. In the Ādiparva 109.25 Vidura is called pāraśava and he is said (in Ādi. 114.12) to have married the pāraśavī daughter of king Devaka. The Sahyādrikhanda (26.43) says that he is called śūdra and is superior to a śūdra (in status) and that he was to live by the avocations prescribed for śūdras.

Pingala. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a brāhmana from an āyogava female.

Pundra or Paundraka. Frequently mentioned in the Mahā-bhārata among non-Aryan tribes e. g. Drona 93. 44, Āśvame-dhika 29. 15-16. Medhātithi on Manu X. 44 remarks that the Paundrakas are spoken of as ksatriyas in the Mahābhārata, so a man may be misled into thinking that even in the days of Medhātithi they were still ksatriyas (but they were not so).

Pulinda. For vedic references see above (p. 47). They were a wild mountain tribe like the Kirātas or Śabaras. In the Vanaparva 140. 25 Pulindas, Kirātas and Tanganas are spoken of as dwelling on the Himālaya. Udyoga 160. 103, Karna 73. 19-20, Anusāsana 33. 21-22 mention pulindas. Uśanas (16) says that he is the illegitimate offspring of a vaišya male from a kṣatriya female and he lives by rearing cattle and by killing wild beasts. Vaik. (X. 14) says the same and adds that he subsists on the produce of the forest and by killing wild animals. The Sūtasamhitā is of the same opinion as Vaik.

Pulkasa (or paulkasa). The word is also written as pukkasa. Śamkarācārya on Brhadāranyaka Up. IV. 3. 22 says that pulkasa and paulkasa are the same. According to Baud. Dh. S. (I.9.14) and Manu X. 18 he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from a śūdra female. According to Kaut. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from an ugra female, while Vaik. X. 14, Uśanas (17) and the Sūtasamhitā say that he is the offspring of a śūdra male from a kṣatriya woman and that he makes his livelihood by manufacturing and selling 198 liquors or natural intoxicating sap. The same is the view of some teachers according to Gautama IV. 17. According to Vas. Dh. S. (18.5) and Visnu Dh. S. (16.5) he is the offspring of a vaišya

^{198.} श्रुझात्क्षत्रियायां पुल्कसः कृतकां वार्क्षी वा सुरां हृत्वा पाचको विक्रीणीते। वैस्नानस X.14.

male from a kṣatriya female and the latter adds that he subsists by hunting. The Agnipurāṇa (151. 15) says that pukkasas are hunters. Yama¹⁹⁹ and Hārīta quoted in the Kṛtya-kalpataru make him out as the offspring of a śūdra male from a vaiśya female. Manu X. 49 prescribes catching and killing animals that live in holes as the occupation of kṣatr, ugra and pukkasa. Kṣīrasvāmī (com. of Amara) says that pukkasa is the same as mṛtapa (which see below). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 1. 2. 6) says that when a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya is guilty of the theft of gold, of the murder of a brāhmaṇa, they undergo for some time in hell torments and then are respectively born as Cāndāla, Paulkasa or Vaina.

Puṣkara. Mentioned in Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (I. 12) as one of the antyajas. Vide note 173 above.

Puspadha. Manu (X. 21) says that this is another name of avantya (p. 73.)

Paundraka (or Paundra). Vide Pundra above. Anuśāsana 35. 17 and Śānti 65. 13-14 have the form paundra. Vide Manu X. 44 for paundraka and note on khaśa.

Paulkasa. Vide pulkasa above.

Bandin. See under vandin below.

Barbara. Medhātithi on Manu X. 4 says that the barbaras are samkīrņayonis. In the Mahābhārata they are frequently mentioned among non-Aryan tribes along with Śaka, Śabara, Yavana, Pahlava etc. Vide Sabhā, 32. 16-17, 51. 23; Vana 254, 18 (as staying in the west); Drona 121. 13; Anuśāsana 35. 17; Śānti 65. 13.

Bāhya. Vide under antya (p. 70).

Buruda (worker in bamboo). He is one of the seven antyajas (vide note 170 above). The word is also written as varuda (vide below). Varuda occurs in the Kulālādigana (Pāṇini IV. 3. 118). Buruda is a scheduled caste in Orissa.

Bhata. He is one of the antyajas according to Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12). Vide note 173 above and on rangāvatārin below.

Bhilla. He is one of the antyajas according to Angiras, Atri 199, Yama 33. Vide note 170 above.

Bhisak. According to Usanas (26) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a brahmana and a ksatriya girl

^{199.} चैक्यायामेव क्षद्रेण पुक्कमो नाम जायते। यम in कृत्यकल्पतरु (ms.).

and he maintains himself by studying the Ayurveda in its eight parts, or astronomy, astrology and mathematics (verse 27). According to Brahmapurāna (quoted by Aparārka p. 1171) he lives by surgery and by attending upon patients.

Bhūpa. According to Yama quoted in Krtyakalpataru he is the offspring of a vaisya from a kṣatriya female.

Bhūrjakantaka. According to Manu X. 21 he is the offspring of a vrātya brāhmaņa from a similar woman. In several countries he is called āvantya or vāṭadhāna, puspadha or śaikha.

Bhrjjakantha (same as ambastha). According to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17, he is the offspring of a brāhmana male from a vaisya female.

Bhoja. According to the Sūta-sainhitā he is the offspring of a ksatriya woman and a vaisya male.

Madgu. Mentioned in Manu X. 48 as subsisting by killing wild beasts. Kullūka on that verse explains that according to Baudhāyana he is the offspring of a brāhmana from a bandin female. Vaik. X. 12 says that he is the offspring of the marriage of a kṣatriya male with a vaisya female and subsists as a merchant (śresthin) and does not take to the profession of a warrior.

Manikāra. According to Uśanas (39-40) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female and he gains his livelihood by working on beads, by perforating pearls and dealing in coral and conches. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the clandestine offspring of a vaiśya male from a vaiśya female.

Matsyabandhaka (a fisherman). According to Usanas (44) he is the offspring of a taksaka (carpenter) from a ksatriya woman.

Malla. Vide Manu (X. 22) who says that it is another name of Jhalla etc.

Māgadha. According to Gaut. IV. 15, Anuśāsana 48. 12, Kaut. (III. 7), Manu X. 11, 17 and Yāj. I. 93 he is a pratiloma caste sprung from the union of a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female; while according to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 16, Uśanas (7) and Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female; but Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 7 says he is the offspring of a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and Viṣnu Dh. S. 16. 5 makes him the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya female. Manu (X. 47) prescribes trade by land routes for

Māgadhas; Anuśāsana X. 48 says that they maintain themselves on speech (i. e. by praise) and are also called bandin. Sahyādrikhanda (26.60-62) also calls him bandin and says he is slightly superior to śūdra and that he is clever in ornate prose, in six languages, in kalās and he is a devotee of Kālikā. Vaik. (X. 13) states that even śūdras cannot take food cooked by him, that he is an untouchable and maintains himself by praise, by singing or by being a messenger. Uśanas (7-8) says that he becomes the bandin of brāhmanas and kṣatriyas, he maintains himself by lauding (the deeds of others) or as a messenger or servant of a vaiśya. Pāṇini IV, 1.70 derives the word Māgadha from the country Magadha, but apparently not in the sense of a caste

Māṇavika. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a śūdra male and a śūdra female.

Matanga. The same as cāṇḍāla. The Kādambarī of Bāṇa (para 9) and Amara employ them as synonymous. Yama (12) uses the word Mātanga where we ordinarily find cāṇḍāla in other smṛtis. In the Bombay Presidency there is an untouchable caste called $M\tilde{u}ng$ which numbers about three hundred thousand. There are Mangs as a scheduled caste in Orissa.

Mārgava. Same as kaivarta (fisherman). Vide Manu X. 34.

 $M\bar{a}l\bar{a}k\bar{a}ra$ or $M\bar{a}lika$. Vide Veda-Vyāsa (I. 10-11) quoted above in note 184.

Māhisya. According to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV.17 and Yāj. I. 92 he is an anuloma caste sprung from the marriage of a kṣatriya with a vaiśya woman. According to the Sahyādrikhanda (26. 45-46) he is entitled to upanayana and his avocations are astrology, augury, prognostications due to svara. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the same as ambastha.

Mūrdhūvasikla. This is an anuloma caste according to the view of some teachers in Gaut. IV. 17 and Yāj. I. 91 sprung from the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a kṣatriya woman. According to Vaik. (X.12) the offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a kṣatriya woman is the foremost among anulomas and is called savarṇa, while the offspring of the clandestine union of these two is called abhiṣikta. If crowned he becomes a king, otherwise he subsists by studying Āyurveda (Medicine) or the science of ghosts or astronomy, astrology and mathematics. In the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (chap. 26, 36-39) more details are added.

Mṛtapa. Vide pulkasa above. In the Mahābhāṣya²⁰⁰ on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 this caste is mentioned as separate from caṇḍāla, but both are included by the Mahābhāṣya under śūdras that are niravasita (i. e. those who are so low in the caste system that if a vessel is used by them for cating their food from it cannot be used by any one of the other castes even after the vessel is purified by fire &c.).

Meda. He is one of the seven antyajas (vide note 170). This is mentioned in Nārada (vākpāruṣya, verse 11). Anuśāsana 22. 22 speaks of medas, pulkasas and antāvesāyins, and the com. Nīlakaṇṭha²01 explains that Medas are those who eat the flesh of dead cattle. Manu X. 36 says that he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male and a niṣāda woman, that he dwells outside the village and Manu X. 48 says that his business along with that of Andhra, Cuñcu and Madgu is to kill wild beasts. Vide under Andhra above and see E. I. vol. XX. p. 130 where meda and cāṇḍāla are named as lowest castes in a grant of Paramardideva in samvat 1236. According to Śūdrakamalākara, andhras and medas have to sweep dirty places, doorsteps and privies.

Maitra. Manu X. 23 says he is the same as Kārusa.

Maitreyaka. According to Manu X. 23 he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male and āyogava female and his means of livelihood are belauding kings and nobles continually and ringing a bell in the early morning. The Jātiviveka says that he is called Phokanakāra.

Mleccha. According to the Sütasamhitä he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaņa womanjand a vaisya male.

Yavana. According to the view of some mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17 he is a pratiloma caste sprung from a śūdra male and a kṣatriya woman. According to Manu X. 43-44 Yavanas were originally kṣatriyas reduced to the status of śūdras (vide under khasa above p. 79). In the Mahābhārata Yavanas are almost

^{201.} मेद्रानां पुल्कसानां च तथैवान्तेवतायिनम् (० वान्तावसायिनाम् ?) । अदु-शासन 22. 22 ; मृतानां गोमहिष्यादीनां मांसमञ्जलः मेद्राः । नीलकण्ड.

always associated with Sakas and several other non-Aryan tribes; vide Sabhā. 32. 16-17, Vanaparva 254. 18 (as inhabiting the west), Udyoga 19. 21, Bhisma 20. 13, Dropa 93. 42 and 121. 13. Karna 73. 19. Śānti 65. 13. From Striparva 22. 11 it appears that Jayadratha (king of the countries of Sindhu and Sauvīra) had Kāmboja and Yavana women in his harem Pānini (IV. 1.59) derives the word Yavanāni from Yavana and a vārtika on that sūtra adds that Yavanānī means the lipi (the written alphabet) of the Yavanas. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya (on Pān. II. 4. 10) indicates that he was prepared to regard Yavanas and Sakas as sūdras but as outside Āryāvarta. Asoka in Rock Edicts V and XIII refers to the Yonas and Kambojas as nations on the borders of his empire. The Visnupurāna IV. 3. 21 describes that the Yavanas shaved the head and also the beard, the Sakas tonsured their heads only, the Paradas allowed the hair on the head to grow long and the Pahlavas grew beards and that all became Mlecchas because they gave up their original dharmas and because brahmanas also left them.

Rangāvatārin (or-tāraka). According to Manu IV. 215 he is distinct from sailūsa and gāyana. Sankha (quoted by Aparārka p. 1175), Sankha (17. 36) and Visnu Dh. S. 51. 14 mention him. According to Brahmapurāna (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) he is a naṭa who goes on the stage for livelihood and who introduces various changes in his appearance and dress. Rangāvatārin is mentioned in the Maitri Up. along with naṭa and bhaṭa. 208

Rajaka (washerman). Dhobi is a scheduled caste in U.P., Bihar and C.P. and in Bengal (called Dhoba). He is one of the antyajas according to several writers (vide note 170 above). According to Vaikh. (X. 15) and the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a pulkasa (or vaideha) from a brāhmaṇa woman, while according to Usanas (18) he is the offspring of a pulkasa male from a vaisya girl. The Mahābhāṣya on Pān. (II. 4. 10) includes him under śūdra. Yāj. II. 48 mentions him as liable to pay his wife's debts, because his livelihood depends on her. The Śūdrakamalākara mentioned another caste of rajaka (which is the offspring of an ugra male and vaidehaka female).

^{202.} ये चान्ये ह चाटजटनटभटप्रव्रजितरङ्गावतारिणो राजकर्माण पतिताद्यः तैः सह न संवसेत्। मैत्री उप. VII. 8.

Ranjaka (dyer). Manu IV. 216 mentions him. According to Usanas (19) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a śūdra male and a ksatriya female.

Rathakāra. Vide above pp. 43, 45 for Vedic references. According to Baud, gr. II. 5. 6 and Bhāradvāja gr. (I) his upanayana was to be performed in the rainy season. It appears he lost his status gradually. In the Baud, Dh. S. (I. 9. 6) he is the offspring of the marriage of a vaisva male with a sudra female. According to Yāj. I. 95 he is an anuloma doubly mixed as he is the offspring of a mahisya male from a karana female and according to a prose passage of Sankha quoted by the Mit. the rathakāra is entitled to have upanavana performed, to offer sacrifices and gifts and makes his living by learning the art of taming horses, of making chariots and building houses. According to Usanas (5-6) and Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a ksatriya male and a brāhmana woman and he is to behave like a śūdra, he is not a twice-born (dvija) and cannot repeat Vedic mantras and makes his living by tending and driving horses and carts.

Rāmaka. According to Vas. Dh. S. 18. 4 he is a pratiloma sprung from the union of a vaisya male and a brāhmana female. This would be kṛta, according to Gaut. (IV. 15), vaidehaka according to Baudhāyana.

Lubdhaka (hunter of deer)-same as vyādha.

Lekhaka. Mentioned by Sumantu quoted in Par. M. II. part 1 p. 383. He is probably the same as kāyastha, if a caste is meant; vide under kāyastha pp. 75-76.

Lohakāra (ironsmith). Vide p. 75 under karmāra. Nārada 203 (rṇādāna 288) recommends utilising the services of an ironsmith who is so by caste in the fire ordeal. He is mentioned by Hārīta (prose) quoted by Aparārka p. 1176. The Kamauli plate of Jayacandradeva Gāhaḍavāla was engraved by 'Lohāra Someka' in samvat 1232 (E. I. IV. p. 127).

Vandin (a bard, written as bandin also). According to Hārīta quoted in Kṛtyakalpataru he is a pratiloma sprung from a vaisya male and kṣatriya female. According to the Brahma-purāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1177 a vandin is one who sings the praises of men.

^{203.} जात्येव लोहकारो यः कुशलश्वाग्निकर्मणि। नारद (ऋणादान 288),

 $Var\bar{a}ta$. Enumerated among the antyajas by Veda-Vyāsa (1.12-13).

Varuda (worker in bamboo)—also written as buruda (vide above p. 89). The Mahābhāṣya on Pān. IV. 1. 97 (vol. II p. 253) gives the instance vārudaki (from varuda). Bidalakāra (splitter of bamboo) occurs in Tai. S. III. 4. 5. 1. and bidalakārī in Vāj. S. 30. 8.

 $V \bar{a} t a dh \bar{a} n a$. According to Manu X. 21 he is the same as āvantya.

Vijanman. According to Manu X.23 he is the same as kārusa.

Vena (or Vaina). According to Manu X. 19 and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9.13) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambastha female, while Kaut. (III. 7) makes the vaina the offspring of an ambastha male from a vaidehaka female; and according to Manu X, 49 he makes his livelihood by beating musical instruments. Kullüka on Manu IV. 215 says that Vena is one who maintains himself by splitting bamboos and that he is the same as buruda according to Viśvarūpa. Vaina see Ap. Dh. S. quoted under pulkasa (p. 89). Kaut. (III. 7) adds that a vainya follows the same profession as a rathakara. Śankha (17. 38), Visnu Dh. S. 51. 14, Yāj. III. 207 place the vena alongside of carmakāra, nisāda and pulkasa. According to Vas. Dh. S. (18.2) he is a pratiloma sprung from the union of a śūdra male and a ksatriya female. Yāj. I. 161 has the form vaina which the Mit. explains as meaning one who maintains himself by cutting and splitting bamboos. The Śūdrakamalākara notes that according to Adipurana vena is a drum-beater to announce royal orders and edicts.

Venuka. According to Usanas (4) he is a pratiloma, the offspring of a suta from a brāhmana woman, while according to Vaik. (X. 15) he is the offspring of a madgu from a brāhmana woman and his avocation is to play on a viņā and on flutes. According to the Sutasamhitā he is the offspring of a barber from a brāhmana woman.

Velava. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya woman by stealth.

Vaidehaka. According to Baud. Dh. (I. 9. 8), Kaut. (III. 7), Manu X. 11, 13, 17, Visnu Dh. S. 16. 6, Nārada (strīpumsa 111), Yāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 10 he is a pratiloma sprung from a vaiśya male and a brāhmana female; while according to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a sūdra from a kṣatriya woman and according to Vaik. (X. 14), the view of some ācāryas

in Gaut. IV. 17 and Usanas (20) he is the offspring of a sūdra male from a vaisya female. According to Manu X. 47 and Agnipurāṇa (151. 14) his peculiar work is to attend on and guard women (in harems etc.), while according to Usanas (20-21) and Vaik. (X. 14) he is to tend goats, cows and buffaloes and to sell milk, curds, butter-milk and ghee. The Sūta-samhitā says that vaideha and pulkasa are the same.

Vyādha (huntsman)-mentioned by Sumantu in Aparārka p. 1176 and Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279), Āpastamba (verse) 9. 32, Yāj. II. 48.

Vrātya. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 1, 1. 22-I. 1. 2. 10, Pār. gr. II. 5 and other sūtra works a vrātya is one on whom and on whose ancestors the samskāra of upanayana has not been performed. But in other works like Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 15), the word vrātya is applied to all who are born of the mixture of varnas.

Śaka. Manu (X. 43-44) mentions Śakas along with Yavanas and others as originally kṣatriyas reduced to the state of śūdras. Vide note on Yavana (p. 92) above. They are mentioned in the Mahābhārata along with Yavana and other non-Aryan tribes. Vide Sabhā 32. 16-17, 51. 23, Udyoga (4. 15; 19. 21; 160. 103), Bhīṣma (20. 13), Drona (121. 13). Śaka occurs in the kambojādigana (Pāṇ. IV. 1. 175). Vide note 200.

Sabara. An aboriginal jungle tribe like the Bhilla. In the Mahābhārata the sabaras are frequently mentioned (e. g. Anusāsana 35, 17, Śānti 65, 13).

Śālika. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the same as Māgadha.

Śūlika. According to Uśanas (42) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa and a śūdra female and his avocation is to impale those offenders who are sentenced to be impaled. According to Vaik. (X. 13) and Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female.

Śaikha. According to Manu X. 21 he is the same as āvantya.

Sailūsa. Visnu Dh. S. 51. 13, Manu IV. 214, Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 279 distinguish him from rangāvatārī and the Brahmapurāņa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) defines him as one who finds out employment for natas²⁰⁴. Āpastamba 9. 32 (verse) speaks of him in the same breath with rajaka and

^{204.} वृत्यन्वेषी नटानां तु स तु शैलूषकः स्मृतः । अह्मपुराण q. by अपरार्क p. 1178.

vyādha. Yāj. II. 48 does the same and the Mit. thereon paraphrases the word by naţa.

Saundika (wine-seller). Visnu Dh. S. 51. 15, Manu IV. 216, Yāj. II. 48, Śankha (quoted by Aparārka p. 1175) and Brahmapurāna (quoted by Aparārka p. 1177) mention him.

Śvapaca or Śvapāka. He is one of the antyajas enumerated by Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12-13). Vide note 173 above. He occurs in the gana kulālādi (Pān. IV. 3. 118). According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 12), Kaut. (III. 7), he is the offspring of an ugra male from a female of the ksatr sub-caste, while according to Manu X. 19 he is the offspring of a keatr male from an ugra female. Vaik. (X. 15) and Sūtasamhitā say that he is the offspring of a candala male and a brahmana female, while Usanas (11) holds that he is the offspring of a candala male from a vaisya woman. According to Manu X. 51-56 candalas and svapacas follow the same avocation and are governed by the same rules (vide p. 81 under candala). Usanas (12) says that they eat the flesh of dogs and that dogs are their wealth, while Vaik. says that they wear the same marks that candalas have to wear (under the king's order, as Manu says in X. 55), that they remove the filth of towns etc., stay near cemeteries, have to dispose of corpses of men that leave no relatives, have to act as hangmen for offenders sentenced to death and to take their clothes etc., have to take food in broken pots and to eat dogs' flesh and to deal in hides and armour (or in armour made of The Bhagavadgitā (5.18) puts him on the same level with dogs. In the Markandeya-purana (8. 81-83, 86, 96) a candāla is called śvapāka (i. e. no distinction is made between the two). In the Jativiveka he is identified with the Mahar and with the Mang of the Deccan.

Sātvata. According to Manu X. 23 he is the same as kāruşa above.

 $Sudhanv\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$. According to Manu X. 23 he is the same as kārusa above.

Suvarna. According to Usanas (vv. 24-25) he is the offspring of the legal union with Vedic mantras of a brahmana male and a kṣatriya female. It appears likely that the text is corrupt and we should read savarna for suvarna. He should perform rites prescribed by the Atharvaveda, he should by the king's order ride a horse, elephant or chariot, may act as the commander of an army or may practise as a physician.

Suvarnakāra or Sauvarņika or Hemakāra (goldsmith). A hiranyakāra is mentioned in the Vāj. S. XXX. 17 and in Tai. Br. III. 4.14. According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. X. 4 and Nārada (rṇādāna 274) a goldsmith or a dealer in bronze or a bania was to examine the balance in the balance ordeal. Manu IV. 215, Yāj. I. 163, Śankha and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175, 1176) treat him on a level with karmakāra (blacksmith) and niṣāda. Manu IX. 292 condemns him as the worst of all rogues (sarvakaṇṭakapāpiṣṭha). For the view of Vaik. and Brhaspati vide under takṣan above (note 189). In the Mahābhārata it is said that after Paraśurāma's alleged extermination of the kṣatriyas, some of them that escaped resorted to the castes of ironsmiths and goldsmiths.²⁰⁵

Sūcaka. According to Ušanas (v. 43) he is an anuloma born of the marriage of a vaišya male from a śūdra female.

 $S\overline{u}cika$ or saucika or suci—one who works with a needle, a tailor. According to Vaik. (X. 15) and Uśanas (v. 22) he is a pratiloma, offspring of a vaidehaka from a kṣatriya woman and engages in the work of sewing with a needle. Saucika, according to the lexicon of Amara, is the same as tunnavāya (for which see above p. 83) and the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 1178) also equates $s\overline{u}ci$ with tunnavāya.

Sūta. For vedic references see above p. 43. According to Gaut. (IV. 15), Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 9), Vas. (18. 6), Kaut. (III. 7), Manu (X. 11), Nārada (strīpumsa 110), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (16. 6), Yāj. (I. 93) and Sūtasamhitā, he is a pratiloma sprung from a ksatriya male and a brāhmaṇa woman. Kaut. is careful to add that the sūta who figures in the purāṇas as the reciter is quite different from this. A vārtika on Pāṇ. (VI. 3. 70) teaches the formation of words like sūtaputrī. 206 According to Manu (X.47) and Viṣṇu the avocation of sūtas is driving a chariot (i. e. breaking and yoking horses). According to Vaik. (X. 13) he makes his livelihood by reminding the king of his duties and by cooking food for him. Uśanas (v. 3) also says that his business is to remind (a king) of his duties. According to the Karṇaparva (32. 48) sūtas

^{205.} द्योकारहेमकारादिजातिं नित्यं समाश्रिताः। शान्तिपर्व 49. 84. द्योकार is probably for ब्यांकार (an iron-smith), while another reading is ज्याकार (maker of bowstrings) also.

^{206.} The 9th vartika on Pan. VI. 3. 70 is स्तोग्रराजभोजकुलमेरूम्यो दृहितुः पुत्रङ्घा । The examples given by the महाभाष्य are स्तपुत्री, स्तदुहिता, उग्रपुत्री, उग्रद्धिता.

are the attendants of brahmanas and ksatriyas and the latter need not carry out what the suta says. According to the Vayupurana (vol. I. 1. 33-38 and vol. II. 1. 139) the suta was to preserve the pedigrees of kings and great men and traditions about learning or books, he is not authorised to study the Veda, the middling way of maintenance for him is to depend upon kings and to look after chariots, elephants and horses; an inferior way of maintenance is the practice of medicine. The Vaik. (X. 13) and the Sütasamhitä expressly say that the difference between the suta and the rathakāra consists in this that the former is the offspring of a marriage, while the latter is the offspring of a clandestine union of a ksatriya male with a brāhmana woman, Sahyādrikhanda (26. 53-54) says that he is inferior to ksatriyas, but is entitled to do all the work of a ksatriya and that he also performs the work of a charioteer, of taming elephants and riding horses.

Sūnika or Saunika (a butcher). According to Ušanas (v. 14) he is the offspring of an āyogava from a kṣatriya woman. Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279) speaks of him in the same breath with rajaka and carmakāra. The Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1177) says that he is 'pasumāraka'. Sumantu²⁶⁷ quoted by Par. M. makes his food unfit for brāhmaṇas. He is the same as 'khātika' according to the Jātiviveka.

Sairindhra. According to Manu X.32 he is the offspring of a dasyu (as defined in Manu X. 45) from an ayogava woman and he makes his living by combing the hair (of men and women), he is not to be treated as a dasa (i. e. he has not to eat ucchista food), but is to perform menial work (such as shampooing the body) or is to subsist by catching deer etc. The word is included in the gana kulālādi (Pān. IV. 3.118). From the Mahābhārata we see what duties Draupadi disguised as sairandhri had to do for the queen of Virāta (Virāta-parva 9. 18-19). viz. combing and arranging the hair, pounding unguents, making Similarly Damayanti became a sairandhri to the garlands. mother of the Cedi king (Vanaparva 65. 68-70), but she refused to eat ucchista food, would not wash the feet of anybody and would not allow any man to approach her. According to Adipurāna quoted in Sūdrakamalākara he lives by hunting deer and guarding royal harems and women after delivery.

^{207.} सौनिकऋन्याद्निषाद्बुक्द्यस्कारा अभोज्यास्ता अमतिग्राह्याश्च । सुमन्तु in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 383.

Sopäka. According to Manu (X.38) he is the offspring of a candāla male and a pukkasa female, subsists by the profession of being hangman to those whom the king condemns to death.

 $Sad\overline{u}hanvana$. Vide note on 'rathakāra' above (p. 45). Vide Kāmasūtra I. 5. 37.

It will have been noticed that some of the castes mentioned in the smrtis such as ambastha, māgadha, malla and vaidehaka are connected with countries (Amba, Magadha, Videha etc.), that some others are based upon race such as Abhīra, Kirāta and Manu (X. 43-45) and the Mahabharata (Anusasanaparva 33, 21-23 and 35, 17-18) were prepared to admit that several foreign races like the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Dravidas, Daradas, Sabaras, Kirātas etc. were originally ksatriyas, but had been reduced to the status of śūdras by losing contact with brahmanas or by not liking the idea of being subject to the brahmanical system. The Visnupurāna (IV. 4, 47-48) says the Numerous names of castes arise from the professions they follow, e. g. ayaskāra, kumbhakāra, carmakāra, taksan, tailika, nata, rathakāra, vena etc. Even in ancient times brāhmanas followed so many different occupations almost as in modern times that the list of brahmanas who cannot be invited at śrāddhas because they follow occupations other than those prescribed for them is rather very formidable (vide Manu III. 151 ff. and the remarks on panktipāvana later on).

It appears that comparatively very early many among the brāhmaṇas had given up the occupations peculiar to them and were entitled to be called brāhmaṇas simply because of their birth. The Mahābhāṣya 208 of Patañjali quotes a verse 'tapas, vedic study, and birth (from brāhmaṇa parents)—these are the causes why a person is called a brāhmaṇa; he who is devoid of tapas and vedic study is a brāhmaṇa only by birth (and not a real brāhmaṇa)'. Similarly in another place Patañjali quotes a verse 'know this to be the auspicious sign of the best of brāhmaṇas, viz. whose lore, actions and birth are all three holy' (vol. II. p. 220 on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 44). Though in the Mahābhārata

^{208.} तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्च एतद् बाह्मणकारकम् । तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जाति-बाह्मण एव सः ॥ महाभाष्य on पा. Il. 2. 6 (vol. l. p. 411 and Il. p. 363). In the अनुशासनपर्व 121. 7 we have a similar verse तपः बाह्मण्यकारणम् । त्रिभिर्गुणैः समुद्तिते ततो भवति वे द्विजः ।. The महाभाष्य has another verse (vol. II. p. 220) त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्व कर्म च । एतन्छिवं विजानीहि बाह्मणा-वन्यस्य अक्षणम् ॥

it is often said that a brahmana is so by birth alone and that he deserves respect from all, still we meet several times with passages 200 wherein there is a revolt against the caste system dependent on birth alone and where it is severely condemned and great emphasis is laid on the moral worth of a man. In the Vanaparva (181. 42-43) we are told 210 'Truthfulness, restraint, generosity, non-injury to sentient beings, constant adherence to dharma-these always lead men to the fruition (of their goal) and not caste nor family'. Udyogaparva (43. 20 ff.) explains at great length what is meant by self-restraint. the Santiparva 211 (189, 4 and 8) 'Truthfulness, generosity, freedom from hatred and wickedness, humility, kindness, and tapashe is known as a brāhmana where these are seen. If these signs are seen in a sūdra and they do not exist in a brāhmaņa, then the śūdra would not be a śūdra and the brāhmana-would not be a brahmana'. In another place we are told 212 'there is no difference between the varnas; the whole world is brahma (the creation of Brahmā), since it was created by Brahmā in former ages and was evolved into varnas by actions (or occupations)." Udyogaparva 213 (43.49) remarks 'Do not regard a person as brahmana by his talk; he who does not depart from truth is a brāhmaņa'; Vanaparva (216, 14-15)' that sūdra who is always struggling for self-restraint, truthfulness and dharma is a brāhmana in my opinion, for a brāhmana is so by his character.' Vide Vanaparva (313, 108-111) and Yaj, I, 200 and Vrddha Gautama p. 632. It has been seen above (p. 6) that Gautama laid the greatest emphasis on the eight qualities of the soul. But

^{209.} जन्मनेव महाभागे बाह्मणो नाम जायते। नमस्यः सर्वभूतानामातिथिः प्रसृतः-असुक् ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 35. 1; vide also 143, 6.

²¹⁰. सत्यं दमस्तपो दानमहिंसा धर्मनित्यता। साधकानि सदा पुंसां न जानिर्न कुलं रूप ॥ वनपर्व 181, 42-43.

^{211.} सत्यं दानमधाद्रोह आहर्शस्यं त्रपा घृणा । तपश्च दूर्यते यत्र स बाह्मण इति स्मृतः॥ भूद्रे चैतद्भवेछक्ष्म द्विजे तद्म न विद्यते। न वे भूद्रो भवेष्ट्रद्भो बाह्मणा न च बाह्मणा॥ शान्ति॰ 189. 4 and 8 ; vide also बनवर्ष 180. 21.

^{212.} न विशेषोस्ति वर्णानां सर्वे बाह्मिमदं जगत्। ब्रह्मणा पूर्वसुष्टं हि कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गतम्॥ ज्ञान्तिः 188. 10.

^{213.} तस्मात्क्षत्रिय मा मंस्था जल्पितेनेव वे द्विजम् । य एव सत्याक्षांपेति स ज्ञेयो बाह्मणस्त्वया॥ उद्योगपर्व 43. 49; यस्तु ज्ञूहो द्वेमे सत्ये धर्मे च सततोत्थितः । तं बाह्मणमहं मन्ये द्वेतेन हि भवेद् द्विजः ॥ वनपर्व 216. 14-15; न जातिः पूज्यते राजन्युणाः कल्याणकारकाः । चण्डालमपि वृत्तस्थं तं देवा बाह्मणं विदुः ॥ बुद्धगौतम p. 632; but the प्रा. मा. 11 part 1 p. 228 says 'जातिशीलयोर्नेध्ये जात्युन्कर्ष एव प्राचान्येनोपादेयः । शीलं द्वे यथासंभवम् । म

in spite of those sentiments the caste system dependent on birth has continued in all its strength and rigour for ages and writers like the Par. M. II. 1, p. 228 are emphatic in saying that between jāti and character one must look principally to the eminence of the caste.

In certain medieval works called Jātiviveka and in other works like the Śūdra-kamalākara (first half of 17th century A. D.) several more castes are mentioned, some of which are set out below.

Aghāsika or Andhasika—from a vaidehika male and a südra female; sells cooked food; also called Rāndhavaņu.

Avartaka—from a bhrjjakantha and a brahmana woman.

Ahitundika—from a niṣāda and a vaideha female; called Gārudī in Marathi.

Aurabhra—called Dhangar in Marathi (tends rams and ewes for their wool).

Katadhānaka—from āvartaka and a brāhmaņa woman.

Kuntalaka—the same as nāpita.

Kuruvinda—from a kumbbakāra and a kukkuṭa female. Same as modern Sāļī, according to Śūdrakamalākara.

Ghchha from a Vyädha male and gärudi female. He is called Undiramäru (rat-killer) in the vernacular.

Durbhara—from an āyogava and a dhigvana woman; called Dohor (or Dhor) in modern times.

Paustika—from a brāhmaņa and a nisāda female; called in modern times Kahāra or Bhoi (palanquin-bearer).

Plava—from a cāṇḍāla and an andhra woman; called 'hāḍī' in modern times.

Bandhula-from maitreya and jänghika female; called Jhärekari now (who takes out gold particles from the dust at the doors of goldsmiths).

Bhasmānkura—from a Śaiva fallen ascetic and a śūdra prostitute; called Gurava by the Jätiviveka.

Manyu—from a vaisya and a kṣatriya female; called $T\bar{a}vadia$ (thief catcher).

Romika—from malla and an āvartaka woman; called Loṇār in modern times (manufacturer of salt).

Śālākya or Śākalya from a mālākāra and kāyastha woman; called Maniar.

Śuddha-Mārjaka—called Māndali (who gains livelihood by singing and playing on musical instruments).

Sindolaka or spandūlika, from a śüdra male and a māgadha female; called Rangāri (dyer).

In modern times each of the principal varnas has numerous sub-castes, based upon difference of country, occupation, sect and other causes. For example, brahmanas are first divided into ten classes, five of them being Gaudas²¹⁴ and five Drāvidas. Among the Drāvida brāhmanas, the Mahārāstra brāhmanas are again subdivided into numerous sub-castes such as the Citpāvana (or Konkanastha), Karhāde, Desastha, Devarukhe etc. It is said that in Gujerat there are 84 subcastes of brāhmanas, 215 most of which do not interdine nor intermarry. There is often a further distinction among the members of the same subcaste, viz. those who follow the priestly occupation and those who do not. The spirit of exclusiveness and ideas of superiority that arose in vedic times gradually led on to further and further divisons and subdivisions of people owing to geographical situation and other 216 causes. It appears that probably even in ancient times the brāhmanas of the north looked down upon the brāhmaņas in eastern countries like Magadha. Vide notes 31-32 above and Fick (pp. 213-214). The Matsyapurāna (16. 16) says that brahmanas who dwell in Mleccha countries, in Trišanku, Barbara, Odra (Orissa), Andhra (Telingana), Takka, Dravida and Konkana are not to be invited at śrāddhas. 217

^{214.} द्राविडाध्वैव तैलङ्काः कर्नाटा मध्यदेशगाः । गुर्जराध्वैव पश्चिते द्राविद्धाः पश्च कथ्यते ॥ सारस्वताः कान्यकुञ्जा उत्कला मैथिलाश्च वे । गोटाश्च पञ्चषा चैव दृश विभाः प्रकी-र्निताः ॥ सह्याद्विखण्ड । (section of the स्कन्द्पुराण) उत्तरार्ध X. 2-3 (ed. by Dr. Da Cunha); vide Wilson's 'Indian castes' vol. II. p. 17 where the names slightly differ.

^{215.} Sherring, vol. I. p. 99. gives the names of these 84 subcastes and Wilson in 'Indian castes' vol. II. pp. 92 ff. adds more bringing the total to 160.

^{216.} Vide Bombay Presidency Gazetteer, vol. 9 p. 18 (for Sārasvatas of Panjab having 470 subdivisions). Wilson ('Indian castes' vol. II. p. 126) was informed that there were 469 subcastes of Sārasvata brāhmaņas and he enumerates these at pp. 127-133.

^{217.} कृतव्नासास्तिकांस्तद्वन्म्लेच्छदेशनिवासिनः । त्रिशङ्कुवर्वराद्वान्ध्राच टक्कद्रविद्य-कोङ्कणान् ॥ मस्त्यपुराण 16, 16,

Among ksatriyas there are several subdivisions, such as those claiming descent from the Sun or the Moon and those that call themselves to be Agnikulas (vide Sherring, vol. I. p. 120 ff. and Tod's Rajasthan vol. I chapter VII for lists of royal tribes). The Paramāras have 35 branches, Guhilots 24 branches. Chahmanas 26 branches, Solankis 16 branches and so on.

Even among comparatively late works the total number of subcastes enumerated does not go beyond even two hundred. For example, Wilson in 'Indian castes' vol. I pp. 65-70 mentions only 134 castes with their Sanskrit and modern Marathi names as gathered from the Jātiviveka, Mādhava-kalpalatā, Paraśurāma-pratāpa and other works. It is only in the census reports prepared at great expense by the British Government after elaborate efforts and organization that the great complexity of the caste system in modern India is laid bare to the eye. But this work cannot, by reason of its limited scope, go into these varied and complex details of the hundreds of castes that exist in the several provinces of India.

CHAPTER III

THE DUTIES, DISABILITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE VARNAS

The duties and privileges of varnas occupy a very prominent place in all works on Dharmaśāstra. The study (of the Vedas), offering sacrifices and giving gifts are said to be the duties absolutely enjoined on the brahmana, ksatriya and vaiśya, 218 while each of these three varnas has certain peculiar privileges, which are its principal means of livelihood. ing Vedas, officiating at sacrifices and receiving gifts—these are the privileges of brahmanas; the profession of arms and protection of the people are the peculiar privileges of ksatriyas; agriculture, rearing cattle, trade and money-lending are the peculiar privileges of vaisyas. The first three viz. study, sacrifices and liberality are said to be the dharmas of all dvijas and the other actions such as teaching the Veda are said to be the vrtti or jīvikā (means of livelihood) of the dvijas. The consequence of this bifurcation is that if the first three are not performed or are neglected, the person concerned was deemed to incur sin, while a brahmana is not bound necessarily to earn his livelihood by all or any one of the three viz. teaching, officiating at a sacrifice or receiving gifts. 219 A few words on each of these duties and privileges must be said at this stage.

Study (of Vedas). It has been already stated (p. 38) that brāhmaņa and learning had become indissolubly connected even in early Vedic periods. We see in the Satapatha Br. and in the Upaniṣads that certain kings had attained eminence as philosophers or students of brahma-vidyā and then even learned brāhmaṇas came to them as pupils. For example, Yājñavalkya learnt from Janaka (Śat. Br. XI. 6, 21, 5), Bālāki Gārgya from

^{218.} द्विजातीनामध्ययनभिज्या दानम् । ब्राह्मणस्याधिकाः प्रवच्चनयाजनप्रतिग्रहाः । पूर्वेषु नियमस्तु । राज्ञोधिकं रक्षणं सर्वभूतानाम् । वैश्यस्याधिकं कृषिवणिक्पाशुपाल्यकुसीदम् । गोतम X. 1-3, 7, 50; vide also Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 5-8, Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 2-5, Vas. II. 13-19, Manu I. 88-90, X. 75-79, Yaj. I. 118-119, Vispu Dh. S. II. 10-15, Atri 13-15, Markandeyapurana 28. 3-8.

^{219.} पूर्वाण्यध्ययनादीनि अवश्यकर्तन्थानि । अकुर्वन्मत्यवैति कुर्वश्राभ्युदेति । प्रवच-नादीनि तु वृत्त्यर्थानि । अतोऽकरणे न प्रत्यवायः । करणे नाभ्युद्यः । हरदन्त on गौ. X. 3 ; अत इज्यादीन्यवश्यं कर्तन्यानि न प्रतिग्रहादीनि । मिता ००० या. I. 118.

Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī (Bṛ. Up. II. 1 and Kausītaki Up. IV), Śvetaketu Āruņeya from Pravāhaņa 280 Jaivali (Chān. Up. V. 3), five brāhmaņas from Aśvapati, king of Kekaya (Chān. V. 11). In Bṛ. Up. (IV. 2. 1) Janaka is described by Yājāavalkya as one who had studied the Vedas and Upaniṣads. 281 From this it may be inferred that some kṣatriyas at least spent a good deal of time in the study of religious and philosophical doctrines. The conclusion 222 that is sometimes

- 220. प्रवाहण जैवलि says in छान्दोग्य V. 3. 7 that पञ्जाग्निवद्या was not known to ब्राह्मणं till be imparted it to गौतम 'यथा मा त्वं गौतमावदो यथेयं न पाक् त्वत्तः पुरा विद्या ब्राह्मणान्गच्छाति तस्मात् सर्वेषु लोकेषु क्षत्रस्यैव प्रशासनमञ्जूदिति '।; vide बृह. उप. VI. 2. 8. where similar words occur about the same विद्या.
- 221. एवं वृन्दारक आख्यः सम्बधीतवेद उक्तोपनिषस्त इतो विसुच्यमानः क गमिष्य-सीति नाहं तद्भगवन्वेद यत्र गमिष्यामीति । बृह. उ. IV. 2. 1.
- 222. Vide Deussen's 'Das System des Vedanta', 1883, (pp. 18-19) 'the real cherisher of those thoughts was originally the caste of the kşatriyas, rather than the caste of the priests. Over and over again we come across the situation that the brahmana asks the kşatriya for information' and Deussen refers only to six passages (Br. Up. II. 1, VI. 2, Ch. Up. V. 3 and V. 11 and Kauşītaki Up. I. 1 and IV. 1). Vide also 'Philosophy of the Upanishads' (translated by Geden, 1905, pp. 17-19). In the first place these are too few passages out of the vast Upanisad literature to found the sweeping generalisation in which the German savant indulges. In the second place in Br. Up. II. 1 and Kauşītaki Up. IV. there is no statement that brahmavidyā was known only to kşatriyas; on the contrary Ajātaśatru expresses surprise that a brāhmaņa should approach a kṣatriya for the expounding of brahmavidya and says that this is opposed to the natural (or usual) order of affairs. This shows that Ajātasatru was an exception and that brahmanas usually taught brahmavidya. In Kausītaki I. 1. and Ch. Up. V. 11 all that is narrated is that Gautama Svetaketu learnt from Citra Gargyayani and certain śrotriyas like Aupamanyava learnt Vaisvanaravidya from Aśvapati Kaikeya. But nothing is said here about brahmavidya being first known to kşatriyas only. In Br. Up. VI. 2 and Ch. Up. V. 11 it is no doubt stated that 'this Vidya' was not known to any brahmana till then; but 'this vidya' does not mean the whole of the philosophy of brahma, but only that particular doctrine which bears the name of pancagnividya. This vidya no doubt propounds the doctrine of transmigration in a figurative and somewhat picturesque way. But that doctrine is elsewhere elaborated by brahmanas like Yajnavalkya to the brahmanas in king Janaka's court and to Janaka himself (vide Br. Up. III. 2. 13 and IV. 4. 3-4). Nor can it be said that the doctrine of transmigration was not at all known before the Upanisads. The same views are echoed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in 'Verhand-lungen des VII

drawn by certain writers that kṣatriyas or kings were the pioneers in brahmavidyā cannot be accepted as correct. The germs of the philosophy of the Upaniṣads are seen in the later hymns of the Rgveda, in the Atharvaveda and in some of the Brāhmaṇa treatises. The Upaniṣads are full of brāhmaṇas who independently propounded various aspects of brahma-vidyā and there is no reason to suppose that the few kṣatriyas referred to as masters of the vidyā were the only persons who first attained to that position. There are hardly any ancient passages to show that vaisyas devoted any portion of their time to veda study. The Kāṭhaka-Samhitā 223 (IX. 16) indicates that all varṇas studied the Veda since it speaks of a person not a brāhmaṇa, having studied (Vedic) lores and yet not shining (by his learning).

As to brāhmanas the matter stands thus. The Nirukta (II. 4) contains four ²²⁴ verses (which are called Vidyāsūkta), the first of which says that vidyā came to the brāhmana and requested him to guard her as his treasure. The Mahābhāsya²²⁵ of Patañjali quotes as an āgama (Vedic passage) the words 'a brāhmana should study and understand without any motive (of profit) dharma, the Veda with its six subsidiary lores (viz. phonetics etc.)'. Manu IV. 147 says 'a brāhmana should always and assiduously study the Veda alone; that (Veda study) is his highest dharma; everything else is inferior dharma'. Yāj. (I. 198) observes 'the Creator created brāhmanas for the preservation of the vedas, for the satisfaction of the

⁽ Cotinhued from last page)

Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses zu Wien (Arische Sec. pp. 108-109) and in 'Vaişnavism and Saivism' p. 9 'Kṣatriyas engaged themselves in active speculation on religious matters about the time of the Upaniṣads and are mentioned as the original possessors of the new knowledge,' and the learned Doctor refers only to Ch. Up. V. 3 and V. 11. It may be stated that Hopkins (in 'Ethics of India' 1924 p. 63), Barth (Religions of India p. 65) and Vedic Index (vol. 11 p. 206) do not subscribe to these views of Deussen and Bhandarkar.

^{223.} चोऽब्राह्मणो विद्यामनूच्य नेव रोचेत स एतांश्चतुर्होतृनरण्यं परेत्य दर्भस्तम्ब-सुद्मश्य ब्राह्मणं दक्षिणतो निषाद्य व्याचक्षीत । काठकसं. IX. 16.

^{224.} The same four verses occur in Vas. Dh.S.II. 8-11, three of them except 'adhyāpitā ye' in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 29. 9-10 and 30. 47; Manu II. 114-115 expresses the ideas of two out of them, but in different words.

^{225.} बाह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेय इति । महाभाष्य (vol. I. p. 15).

gods and pitrs, for the safeguarding of dharma.' Atri (25) contains the same idea. Other 226 sages say that he in whose family Veda (Vedic study) and vedI (consecration of fires for śrauta rites) are given up for three generations becomes a durbrāhmaṇa (an unworthy or bad brāhmaṇa). The Tai. S. (II. 1. 10. 1) prescribes a rite for a durbrāhmaṇa in whose family cessation of drinking soma occurred for generations and who himself desired to drink soma.

Teaching the Veda—It is probable that in very remote times the son was taught the Veda by his father. The story of Svetaketu Āruneya (Chāndogya V. 3. 1. and VI. 1. 1-2 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 1) shows that he learnt all the Vedas from his father and the legend in the Br. Up. (V. 2. 1) that the gods, men and asuras learnt from their father Prajāpati points in the same direction. 227 Rg. VII. 103.5 shows that instruction was oral and consisted in the pupil repeating the words uttered by the teacher. 228 Whatever may have been the case in very remote times, from the times of the Brāhmana literature and in the times of the dharmaśāstras teaching Vedic literature was almost universally in the hands of brāhmanas. Some ksatriya teachers or philosophers are referred to in the Satapatha (VIII. 1.4.10 and XI. 6.2) and elsewhere, but they are generally held in low esteem. Ap. Dh. S. 229 (II. 2. 4. 25-28) lays down that the brahmana alone can be the teacher (of a brahmana), but in distress (i. e. in the absence of a brāhmana teacher), a brāhmana may learn from a ksatriya or vaisya, but the only service (which as a pupil) he should render to a ksatriya or vaisya teacher is to go after him (and not shampooing his feet etc.) and after the brāhmana finishes his study, the brāhmana may go in front

^{226.} अथाण्युदाहरन्त-यस्य वेद्ध्य वेदी च विच्छियेते त्रिपूर्वस्। स वे दुर्बाह्मणी नाम यश्चेव वृष्णिपतिः। बोधायनगृह्मपरिभाषा 1. 10. 5-6. This is quoted as Yama's by Apararka pp. 286, 449. Ausanasa (chap. IV p. 524, Jiv.) has the verse, but the last pada is आद्धादों न कदाचन Vide for दुर्बाह्मण the following आस्थिनं धूझळळाममाळभेत यो दुर्बाह्मणः सोमं पिपासेत्। आस्थिनो वे देवानामसोमपावास्तां तो पश्चात्सोमपीथं प्राप्तुतास्। ते. सं. 11. 1. 10. 1; vide also ते. सं. 11. 1. 5. 5 ऐन्द्राग्नं पुनरुत्सूष्टमाळभेत प आ तृतीयात्पुरुषात् सोमं न पियेत्।

^{227.} त्रयः प्राजापत्याः प्रजापतौ पितारे ब्रह्मचर्यमृष्ट्रदेवा मनुष्या असुरा उषित्वा ब्रह्मचर्य देवा ऊचुः । घृ. उ. V. 2. 1.

^{228.} यदेषामन्यो अन्यस्य वाचं शाक्तस्येव वद्ति शिक्षमाण: । ऋ. VII. 103. 5.

^{229.} बाह्मण आचार्यः स्मर्थते तु । आपादि बाह्मणेन राजन्ये वैश्ये वाध्ययनम् । अतु-गमनं च पश्चात् । तत अर्ध्वे बाह्मण एवाग्रे गतौ स्यात् । आप्, ध, स्. II. 2. 4. 25-28.

(of his ksatriya teacher). Gaut. (VII. 1-3) and Manu (X. 1, II. 241) lay down the same rules. Manu (II. 242) adds that a perpetual student (naisthika brahmacāri) should not stay as a pupil with a teacher who is not a brāhmana and that a brāhmana may learn even from a sūdra a useful or efficacious craft (II. 238). The profession of teaching the Veda could not have brought much money or wealth to brahmanas, since very great emphasis was laid, as we shall see later, on teaching without any prior agreement about payment. It was the privilege of a brahmana alone to officiate as a priest. Jaimini²²⁰ says that, as the ksatriya and vaisya cannot be priests (rtviks), the sattra (a sacrifice extending over many days or years) could be performed only by brāhmanas. The Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra uses a similar argument. When Viśvāmitra agreed to perform a sacrifice for Trisanku who had been cursed to be a candala, the Ramayana²³¹ says that the gods and sages would not accept the oblations. It is doubtful whether the same rigid rule prevailed in ancient Vedic days. In Rg. X. 98. 7 it is said that Devāpi was the purchita of Santanu and the Nirukta (II. 10) adds that Devāpi and Santanu were brothers and descendants of Kuru. So, according to the Nirukta at least, a ksatriva could be a purchita in Vedic times. It may be admitted that the Rg. itself does not expressly say that they were brothers. In modern times many writers often speak of brāhmanas as the priestly caste or as priests. But this is not a very accurate statement. All brahmanas never were nor are priests; besides even in modern times when caste is so rigid all priests in all temples and shrines are not brahmanas. Some brāhmanas became the family priests (purchitas) of kings. many engaged as riviks at solemn śrauta sacrifices or at domestic rites and ceremonies. Temple priests are comparatively a later institution and they were generally looked down upon in olden times and are regarded as inferior even in modern times. 232 Manu (III. 152) says that a devalaka i. e. a brāhmana who took

²³⁰. ब्राह्मणानां वेतस्योरात्विज्याभावात् । जैमिनि VI.~6.~18; ब्राह्मणा ऋत्विजो भक्षप्रतिषेधादितस्योः । कात्याः श्रो I.~2.~28.

²³¹. क्षत्रियो याजको यस्य चण्डालस्य विशेषतः । कथं सदिसे भोक्तारो हिक्तस्य सुर्षयः ॥ बालकाण्ड 59, 13-14.

^{232.} देवार्चनपरो विमो वित्तार्थी वत्सरत्रयम्। असे देवलको नाम हष्यक्षयेषु गहितः ॥ देवकोशोपजीवी च नाम्ना देवलको भवेत्। अपिक्तयः स विज्ञेयः सर्वकर्ममु सर्वदा ॥ देवल quoted in स्मृतिचन्दिका II p. 396, the first verse being quoted by अपरार्क also pp. 450, 923.

remuneration to perform service before the image in a temple for three years continuously was unfit to be invited at a śrāddha or to officiate in a sacrifice for gods.

The third means of livelihood permitted to brahmanas was receiving gifts from a worthy or unblemished person. According to Yama²³³ quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 179) pratigraha (receiving gifts) from a worthy person of the three higher varnas is superior to the acquisition of wealth by officiating as a priest or by teaching. But Manu (X. 109-11) says that pratigraha from an unworthy person (or a śūdra) is worse than the act of teaching him or officiating as a priest for him. Very elaborate rules were laid down about gifts i. e. who should receive gifts, from whom gifts may be received and on what occasions and what things were proper subjects of gift. The latter two matters will be discussed in detail later on. Here the rules about the persons to whom gifts should be made and from whom they were to be accepted will be set out. It appears from the Br. Up. (IV. 1.3) that even in those ancient times there were prohibitions against receiving gifts from unworthy persons and officiating as priests for the unworthy. And the Br. Up. (V. 14.5-6) suggests that it is only the learned who could properly accept large gifts.

In the first place, the ideal set before brāhmaṇas was one of poverty, of plain living and high thinking, of forsaking the active pursuit of riches and cherishing cultural preservation and advancement. Manu lays down the general rule that when not in distress a brāhmaṇa should acquire wealth only just sufficient to maintain himself and his family, and to enable him to perform his religious duties without causing any harm to others or by as little harm to others as possible and without unduly worrying his own body (IV. 2-3) and then Manu (IV. 7-8) says²³⁴ that a brāhmaṇa householder may

^{233.} प्रतिग्रहाध्यापनयाजनानां प्रतिग्रहं श्रेष्ठतमं वदान्ति । प्रतिग्रहाच्छुध्यति जप्य-होमैर्याज्यं तु पापैन पुनन्ति वेदाः ॥ यम quoted in स्मृतिचः I. p. 179.

^{234.} The words 'kusüla and 'kumbhī' have been variously explained by the commentators; vide Kullüka on Manu IV.7. According to Kullüka one who has corn sufficient for three years is called 'kusüladhānya' as suggested by Manu X.7; while 'kumbhīdhānya' is one who has a store of corn for one year. Medhātithi says that there is no restriction to corn only; one who has wealth either in corn or money to satisfy his needs for three years is 'kusüladhānya'; according to Govindarāja, 'kusüladhānya' and 'kumbhīdhānya' are respectively those who have corn for 12 and 6 days. The Mit. on Yāj. 1. 128 accepts Govindarāja's explanation.

either accumulate so much grain (but not more) as would fill a kusūla (a granary), or a kumbhī²³⁵ or he may have as much corn as would satisfy all his needs for three days or as much as will suffice for the day that is on and that out of these four each succeeding one was superior to each preceding one i. e. one who had no more accumulation of material goods than for the day itself (and who did not care for the morrow) was the best brāhmana. Yāj. I. 128 speaks of a fifth grade viz. a brāhmana should subsist by collecting the ears of corn that are left in the field after the crops are gathered or the single grains of corn so left and Manu (X. 112) says that if a brahmana cannot maintain himself he may prefer to live on the collection of fallen ears of corn or grains rather than receive gifts. This last mode is designated rta by Manu (IV. 5). Manu (IV. 12, 15, 17) lays down that a brāhmaņa should cultivate supreme contentment and though desirous of happiness should restrain himself (in the pursuit of wealth), he should not, even when in distress, hanker after the acquisition of wealth by excessive attachment or by doing what is forbidden or by accepting gifts from any person whatever (of blemished character etc.) and he should give up pursuits that are opposed to (cause obstacles in) his devotion to Vedic study. Yāj. (I. 129) says the same thing in more concise language. Vyāsa prescribes that a brāhmana should seek to narrow down his means of livelihood and should not hanker after excess of wealth; if he sets about accumulation of wealth he loses the (glorious) status of brāhmanya. 236 The Mahābhārata says that when a brāhmana has more corn than he would require to satisfy his needs for three years, then he should offer a sacrifice with that wealth and he should not go on accumulating wealth in vain and that accumulation of vast wealth is a calamity for a brāhmana. 237

Gautama (IX. 63), Yāj. (I. 100), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (63. 1), and Laghu-Vyāsa (II. 8) say that a brāhmaṇa snould approach a

^{235.} That this ideal of 'kumbhīdhānya' is very ancient is shown by the use of the word kumbhīdhānya in the Mahābhāşya where it is explained as follows (on Pan. I. 3. 7, vol. I. p. 264) ' कुम्भीधान्यः श्रोत्रिय उच्यते। यस्य कुम्भ्यामेन धान्यं स कुम्भीधान्यः। यस्य पुनः कुम्भ्यां चान्यत्र च नासौ कुम्भीधान्यः.'

^{236.} वृत्तिसङ्कोचमन्तिच्छेन्नेहेत धनित्रस्तरम् । धनलाभे प्रवृत्तस्तु ब्राह्मण्यादेव हीयते॥ ध्यास quoted in परा. मा. I. 1. p. 199 and स्मृतिच्. I. p. 173.

^{237.} त्रैवार्षिकाद्यदा भक्ताद्धिकं स्याद्द्विजस्य तु। यजेत तेन दृष्येण न वृथा साध-येद् धनम् ॥ अनुशासन 47. 22; अनधीं ब्राह्मणस्यैष यद् वित्तनिचया महान्। अनुशासन 61. 19.

king (or a rich man) for his yogakşema (i. e. for his livelihood and support). Manu (IV. 33), Yāj. (I. 130), and Vas. Dh. S. (XII. 2) declare that a brahmana when oppressed by hunger should seek for help (or money) from a king, from his pupil or from one who is able and willing to offer a sacrifice. But a brāhmana should not receive a gift from an irreligious king or other irreligious donor. This implies that if the brahmana is not hungry and has sufficient wealth either obtained by inheritance or partition or in any other way he should not go about seeking for wealth and should not receive gifts (Manu IV. 34). If a brāhmana cannot secure gifts from the above three, then he may do so from any other worthy $dvij\bar{a}ti.^{238}$ When even that is not possible and the brāhmana is in difficulties he was allowed to take a gift from anybody including a śūdra (Manu X. 102-103, Yāj. III. 41); but a brāhmaņa should not seek gifts from a śūdra for the performance of a sacrifice or for agnihotra, as thereby he becomes a candala in another birth (Manu XI. 24 and 42, Yāj. 1. 127). A brāhmana trying to support his hungry elders (parents etc.), his dependants (wife, servants etc.), and about to worship gods and honour guests may accept a gift from anybody (except a patita), but should not satisfy his own hunger with that wealth (Manu IV. 251, Vas. 14. 13, Visnu Dh. S. 57. 13, Yāj. I. 216). Yāj., however, allowed this even for one's own livelihood. Gaut. 239 (18. 24-25) allows a brāhmana to receive even from a sudra as much as would enable him to finish marriage ceremonies on which he has embarked or to get materials for a sacrifice when he has begun it. One may take gifts from a śūdra or ugra for paying a fee to one's guru at the end of the period of brahmacarya (Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 20-21). A brahmana was not to seek gifts from a king who was not of ksatriya lineage nor from butchers, oilmen, keepers of liquorshops and of brothels nor from courtesans (Manu IV. 84), nor from a king who is avaricious and transgresses the rules of the śāstras 240 (Yāj. I. 140, Manu IV. 87). The Smṛtis lay down

^{288.} प्रशस्तानां स्वकर्मसु द्विजातीनां ब्राह्मणो भुञ्जीत। प्रतिगृह्णीयाञ्च। गौतम 17.1-2.

^{239.} द्रश्यादानं विवाहसिद्धचर्थे धर्मतन्त्रसंयोगे च शूदात् । गौतम 18. 24.

^{240.} Vide Par. M. I. 1. p. 199 for quotations from Sanvarta, the Skandapurana, the Vienu-dharmottara condemning the receipt of gifts from irreligious kings. In Anusasana 93. 94 the sages say to king Vieadarbhi 'राजन प्रतिग्रहो राज्ञां मध्यास्यादो विषोपमः । तज्ञानमानः कस्मास्त्रं कुष्पे मः प्रतोभनम् ॥'. यस्य राज्ञस्तु विषये श्रोत्रियः सीद्ति क्षुधा । तस्यापि तत्क्षुधा राष्ट्रमचिरणैव सीद्ति ॥ मनु VII. 134.

that it is the duty of the king to support śrotriyas (brāhmaņas learned in the Veda) and brahmanas who are incapable of struggling for their maintenance (Gaut. X. 9-10, Yaj. III-44. Atri 24) and that if a śrotriya perishes through hunger in the domains of a king, that country would suffer from famine and disease (Manu VII. 134). Yāj. III. 44 lays down that it is the duty of a king to assign a proper means of livelihood to a brāhmana in distress, having regard to the brāhmana's conduct. descent, learning, Vedic study, tapas, the members in his family. 241 The ideal set before brahmanas in the matter of pratigraha (receiving gifts) was that he, who though entitled to accept a gift (on account of his Vedic learning and tapas) does not take it, attains to the highest worlds (Yaj. I. 213); and Manu (IV. 186) says that though entitled to accept gifts a brahmana should not again and again resort to that method. since the spiritual power (due to Vedic study) that he acquires is lost by accepting gifts. Another rule about gifts is laid down in many works as follows. When a donor himself goes to the place of a worthy donee and makes a gift that is the best gift, when a donor calls a donee to his place and makes a gift it is middling and when a donor gives if begged by a donee it is inferior. 242 Manu (IV. 188-191) prescribes that a man, who is not learned, is reduced to ashes like fuel if he accepts a gift of gold, land, horses, cows, food, clothes, sesame and ghee, that a brahmana who, being devoid of learning and tapas (regulated life), desires to accept gifts sinks (into Hell) as one who sits in a stone boat sinks in water; and that therefore a brahmana who is not learned should be afraid of receiving gifts.

- 241. We find that kings followed these directions from very ancient times. In Karle Inscription No. 13 (E. I. vol. VII. p. 57) and Nasik cave Inscription No. 12 (E. I. Vol. VIII p. 78) king Usavadāta (Rṣabhadatta) proclaims that he gave one lakh of cows and 16 villages to brāhmaņas at Prabhāsa and got some of them married at his expense and that he also fed every year a lakh of brāhmaṇas. In numerous grants of lands and villages the purpose of the grants is said to be to enable the donees to perform the five Mahāyajāas, Agnihotra, Vaiśvadeva, the offering of bali and caru (vide Sarsavni plate of Buddharāja in E. I. vol. 6 p. 298 dated in Kaṭacchuri Samvat 361 i. e. 609-10 A. D., Damodarpur plates in E. I. vol. XV. p. 113 dated 443-44 A. D.).
- 242. अभिगरपोत्तमं वानमाहूरीय तु मध्यमम् । अधमं याचमानाय सेवादानं तु निष्कछन् ॥ पराज्ञरः I. 29; गत्वा यद्दीयते दानं तदनन्तफलं स्मृतम् । सहस्रग्रणमाहृते यास्ति
 तत्वर्षसम् ॥ quoted by the Mit. and Apararka (p. 291) on Yaj. I. 203. Vide
 छन्नातातप quoted by Apararka p. 291 and Santiparva 294, 18-19.

To the same effect are Yaj. (I. 200-202), Vas. Dh. S. (VI. 32), Ausanasa (Jiv. I. p. 521 which is almost the same as Manu IV. 188). Just as a brāhmaņa who was not learned was enjoined not to accept a gift, so conversely people were asked to make gifts only to learned and worthy men. Even so early as the Sat. Br. this is emphasized as in IV. 3. 4. 15 (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 344) "thus those cows of his are given to him who is fit to receive a daksina and not to him who is unfit'. Vide III. 5. 1. 19 (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 114) also. The Ap. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 9-10) prescribes one should invite for dinner in all religious acts brāhmanas who are pure and who have studied the Veda and one should distribute gifts at a proper time and place and on occasions of purificatory rites and when there is a worthy acceptor.' 243 To the same effect are Vas. Dh. S. III, 8 and VI. 30, Manu (III. 128, 132 and IV. 31), Yāj. (I. 201), Daksa III. 26 and 31. 244 The smrtis say that gifts given to a brahmana who has not studied the Veda or who is avaricious and deceitful are fruitless and lead the donor to hell (Manu IV. 192-194. Atri 152, Daksa III. 29). Manu (XI. 1-3) says that nine kinds of snātaka brāhmanas who are poor are the primary objects of the gift of food and fees inside the sacrificial altar; while to others food and wealth may be given outside the altar (bahirvedi).

An exception was made in the case of gifts made without request from the donee. What has been offered unasked may be accepted even from one who is guilty of bad actions, except from unchaste women, impotent persons and patila (outcastes or persons guilty of mahāpātakas)—Yāj. I. 215, Manu IV. 248-49, Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 19. 11-14 (where two verses are quoted from a Purāṇa which are almost the same as Manu IV. 248-249), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 57. 11. Many persons are mentioned in the smṛtis from whom gifts (particularly of food) were not to be accepted (vide Manu IV. 205-224, Vas. Dh. S. XIV. 2-11).

Another rule about gifts was that a person should prefer a learned brāhmaṇa who is his neighbour for making a gift to one who is not near; if he did not do so, he incurred sin; but there was no blame in passing over an ignorant or foolish

^{243.} शुचीन्मनत्रकृतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् । देशतः कालतः शौचतः सम्यक्त्रितगृहीतृतः इति दानानि प्रतिपादयति । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 9-10.

^{244.} यद्यदिष्टतमं लोके यञ्चास्य द्यितं भवेत्। तत्तद्भणवते देयं तदेवाक्षयमिष्ण्यता॥ दक्ष iII. 31. This is also संवर्त 44-45, अनुशासमपर्व 59.7, मार्कण्डेय 35.52-53, मत्त्रयप्रराण 72.39.

brāhmaṇa who stays near in favour of a worthy but distant brāhmaṇa. Vide Vas. Dh. S. III. 9-10, Manu VIII. 392 (which prescribes a fine of one māṣa for this), Veda-Vyāṣa-smṛti IV. 35-38, Bṛhaspati-smṛti 60 and Laghu-Śātātapa 76-79, Gobhila-smṛti II. 66-69. Devala quoted by Aparārka p. 288 and Par. M. I. part 1 p. 181 say that that brāhmaṇa is a pātra (worthy to receive a gift) who is pure in three respects (viz. as to his parents and his guru), whose means of livelihood are slender, who is tender-hearted and of restrained senses. Vas. Dh. S. VI. 26 and Yāj. I. 200 also define pātra similarly.

It is not to be supposed that the ideal of poverty and nonacceptance of gifts except under compelling circumstances was only an ideal hardly ever acted upon at any time or in any part of the country. Even in the 20th century rural India has villages with a considerable population of brahmanas where many śrotriyas (learned in the Veda) and pandits (those who study śāstras like grammar, logic, mīmāñsā) are still found who are content with what little patrimony they have got, who engage in the profession of teaching the Veda and sastras in accordance with ancient rules and who do not go about seeking gifts nor accept invitations for dinner at śrāddhas. Santiparva 199 brahmanas are divided into two sorts, viz. those who are prayrtta (i.e. engage in all sorts of activities for acquiring wealth) and those who are nivrtta and verse 40 defines these latter as those who do not resort to pratigraha (acceptance of gifts).

Though pratigraha was a special privilege of brāhmaṇas, gifts could be made by anybody to anybody. Yāj. I. 6 says that giving to a worthy person at a proper time is the complete definition of dharma and Viśvarūpa adds that gifts could be made by anybody; but the merit secured by making a gift depended upon the worth and caste of the donee. Gaut. (V. 18), 246 Manu VII. 85, Veda-Vyāsa IV. 42, Dakṣa III.

- 245. ब्राह्मणातिक्रमो नास्ति मुर्खे मन्त्रविवर्जिते। ज्वलन्तमाग्नेस्त्रस्य नहि भस्मनि ह्यते॥ बो. ध. सू. I. 5. 98, वेद्व्यास IV. 37 (reads विप्रे वेद्वविवर्जिते), प्रसिष्ठ III. 10, गोभिलस्मृति II. 68-69. The मत्स्यपुराण 227. 7 also prescribes a fine for ब्राह्मणातिक्रम 'द्विजभाज्ये तु संप्राप्ते प्रतिवेश्ममभोजयन्। हिरण्यमायकं दण्ड्यः पापे मास्ति व्यतिक्रमः॥.?
- 246. समिद्रिगुणसाइसानन्त्यानि फलान्यबाह्मणबाह्मणश्रोत्रियवेद्रपारगेग्यः। गौ. V. 18; सममबाह्मणे दानं द्विगुणं बाह्मणबुवे। प्राधीते शतसाइस्रमनन्तं वेद्रपारगे॥ मञ्ज VII. 85; वेद्यंयास IV. 42 and Dakşa read सहस्रगुणमान्त्रार्थे which reading is noted by Kulluka also and Vedavy ssa (IV. 43-47) explains the words बाह्मणबुव, आसार्थ and वेद्यारग.

28 say that a gift given to a brahmana (who is only so by caste, but is not learned), to a śrotriya (or ācārya) and to one who has completely mastered all the Vedas (with their subsidiary lores) respectively confers merit which is twice, a hundred thousand times or an infinite number of times more than the merit conferred by a gift to a non-brāhmana. Gautama²⁴⁷ (V. 19-20) and Baudhāyana II. 3, 24 further make it obligatory to give outside the sacrificial altar according to one's ability a portion of one's wealth to a brāhmana, śrotriya and veda-pāraga when they seek help for giving a daksina to their teacher (at the end of the period of studenthood), for their own marriage, for medicine, for their own maintenance (that day), for a sacrifice, for their own study or journey, and when everything has been given in a Viśvajit sacrifice and that one must give cooked food to all others who beg for it (except brahmans, srotriva and vedapāraga). Manu (XI. 1-3) gives practically the same rule. In the Vaisvadeva the householder was enjoined to give food to every one including even dogs and candalas, as we shall see later on (under 248 Vaisvadeva). Medhātithi on Manu IV. 5 says that when a person makes a gift through compassion it is not the dana and pratigraha spoken of by the sastra; just as when a man gives instruction as to what is beneficial he does not care to see what the caste of the person to be benefitted by the advice is, so a gift made through compassion is made irrespective of caste; and that when non-brahmanas reduced to a helpless condition take what is given by others, it cannot be said that they are assuming to themselves the livelihood by pratigraha which is a peculiar means of livelihood for brāhmanas. 249

^{247.} ग्रुवंधिनिवेशीषधार्थ-वृत्तिक्षीण-यक्ष्यमाणाध्ययनाध्वसंयोगवेश्वजितेषु द्रन्यसंविभागो षहिर्वेवि । भिक्षमाणेषु कृतास्रमितरेषु ॥ गीतम V. 19. 20; बी. ध. सू. II. 3. 24 reads सुनाह्मणश्रोत्रियवेन्द्रपारगेभ्यः before ग्रुवंधि ॥ स्त यधाशिक कार्यः before षहिर्वेदि. Vide एषुवंश V. 24 ' ग्रुवंधिमधीं श्वतपारहृद्या रघोः सकाशाद्धनवाप्य कामस् । ?

^{248.} सर्वान्वैश्वदेवे भागिनः कुर्वीता श्वचण्डालेभ्यः । आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 9. 5.

^{249.} नतु च करुणया दानमहृष्टायैव। नेति ब्रूमः। न तत्र दानधर्मः। किं तर्हि करुणाम्यासात्ररोपकाराद्वा। तत्र यथा। हितोपदेशादावत्रमाह्यस्य विधिर्जात्यादि नापेक्षते सहत्करुणया
दाने। तथा च शिष्टा नैवंविधे दाने वेद्तर्वार्थविदुषे बाह्मणायत्येतद्वरुष्ट्यन्ते। अत एवाबाह्मणा अपि दैन्यमापकाः परेण दत्तं गृह्णाना न बाह्मणवृत्तिं प्रतिम्रहमाभिता भवन्ति। मेधातिथि on मतु IV. 5. The words वेद्तर्वार्थ० quoted here are from मनु III. 96.
The Par. M. (I part 1 p. 189) quotes a verse from the Mahabharata?
पङ्ग्यस्थविद्या मूका व्याधिनोपहताश्च ये। भर्तव्यास्ते महाराज व तु देयः प्रतिम्रहः॥.?
The idea is that प्रतिम्रह is a privilege, while charity to the poor and the diseased is due to dayā (compassion).

In spite of the noble ideal set before brahmanas it appears that, owing to the growth of the Brahmana population and the paucity of gifts and invitations to officiate as priests, the strict rules about dana and pratigraha had to be relaxed and in course of time it came to be said that a brahmana, whether learned or ignorant, was to be a donee and may accept gifts without any scruples. The first inroad²⁵⁰ was made by the rule that in rites meant for gods the character and learning of brahmanas need not be deeply inquired into, but that such enquiry was proper only when they were to be invited for śrāddha and other rites for the dead, the only exceptions being that a brahmana, who is a thief or is guilty of a mahāpātaka, or is impotent or an atheist was not to be invited even in rites for the gods (vide Manu III. 149-150). Gradually such views as the following came to be recommended. The Skandapurāna²⁵¹ as quoted by Aparārka (p. 455) makes Siva say to Pārvatī 'the Vedic revelation is that śrāddha (food) should be given (to a brāhmana) after inquiry (into his learning and character), but straightforward action is better than scrutiny. When one offers śrāddha straightforwardly without scrutiny, his pitrs are satisfied and also gods.' The Vrddha-Gautama smrti (chap. III pp. 512-513 and 518, Jiv.) says 'Brāhmaņas, whether well conducted or of bad conduct, whether vulgar or of polished intellect, should not be disrespected like fires covered with ashes. fire in whatever condition it may be, is a great deity, so a brāhmana is a great deity in whatever condition he may be.' 258 The wise should not despise brahmanas, whether they be squinteyed, humpbacked, dwarfs, indigent or diseased, since they are

^{250.} ब्राह्मणास्त्र परीक्षेत क्षत्रियो दानधर्मनित्। देवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये तु न्यारयमाहुः परीक्षणम् ॥ अनुशासन 90. 2. An instructive parallel may be found in Article XXVI of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church, whereby sacraments administered by a priest who is sinful do not suffer in efficacy.

^{251.} आद्धं परीक्ष्य दातव्यमित्येषा वैदिकी श्रुतिः । परीक्षणाञ्च रम्भोर आर्जनं ग्रुणव-त्ररम् । अपरीक्ष्य तु यो द्याच्छ्राद्धमार्जवमास्थितः । तस्य तुष्यन्ति पितरो देवताश्च न संशयः quoted by अपरार्क p. 455.

^{252.} दुर्वृत्ता वा सुद्वत्ता वा प्राकृता वा सुसंस्कृताः। बाह्मणा नावमन्तव्या भस्मच्छका इवाग्नयः॥ काणाः कुब्जा वामनाश्च दृरिद्दा व्याधितास्तथा। नावमान्या द्विजाः प्राकृमें क्या हि ते द्विजाः॥ बुद्धगौतम (chap. III. pp. 512, 513); vide वनपर्व 200. 88-89 हुव्का वा सुवेद्दा वा प्राकृताः संस्कृतास्तथा। ग्रयः॥ यथा इमशाने द्वीसौजाः पावको नेव दुव्यति। एवं विद्वानविद्वान्वा बाह्मणो देवतं महत्॥

my forms (i. e. of Kṛṣṇa)'. The Anuśāsanaparva (152.19)²⁵⁸ says 'a brāhmaṇa who is not learned is a god and he is a worthy object for gifts and is a great purifier; a learned brāhmaṇa is a greater god (than an unlearned one).'

As already said above teaching could have brought very little wealth. There was no state educational system as in modern times with stability of tenure and graded rates of salary. Nor was there any Copyright Act under which a learned man could make money by writing books for students and the general public. The brahmanas had no organised corporate body like the Anglican Church with its hierarchy of Archbishops. Bishops and other divines, nor was there in ancient India any practice of making wills whereby large estates came to the Church as in England (where statutes of Mortmain had to be passed to prevent enormous estates from going to the Church). 254 The emoluments of officiating priests and gifts given by charitably disposed persons must have been fitful and offered only a precarious means of livelihood, as they depended upon the volition of others and as the smrtis recommended that even in śrāddha too many brāhmanas should not be invited. 255 Besides all brahmanas could not have possessed the memory, intelligence and patience required to master the Vedic Literature after intensive study for decades of years. Therefore, there is no wonder that many brahmanas were compelled by the force of circumstances to pursue for their livelihood avocations other than the three prescribed ones. From ancient times this was recognised by the dharmasastra works. Gaut. (VII. 6 and 7) says that if a brahmana cannot maintain himself by means of the three peculiar modes of livelihood viz. teaching or officiating as a priest for even an unworthy person or by receiving gifts, then he should maintain himself by doing the work peculiar to a ksatriya (i. e. by fighting and protecting people) and if even that is not possible then by following the avocations of a vaisya and Gaut. VII. 26 ordains that a ksatriya may resort to the profession of the vaisya in similar circumstances. Baudhāyana

^{253.} अविद्वान बाह्मणो देवः पात्रं वै पावनं महत् । विद्वान् भूयस्तरो देवः पूर्णसागर-संनिभः । एवं यद्यप्यनिष्टेषु वर्तते सर्वकर्मसु । सर्वधा बाह्मणो मान्यो देवतं विद्धि तत्परम् ॥ अनुशासन 152. 19 and 23.

^{254.} Vide Holdsworth's History of English Law (4th ed.) vol. III p. 87 for the origin of statutes of Mortmain from 1279 A. D. to 51 and 52 Vic. chap. 42.

^{255.} Vide Manu III. 125-126, Gaut. 15. 7-8, YEj. I. 228.

Dh. S. (II. 2. 77) says the same and then it adds (II. 2. 78 and 80) that Gautama says that it should not be so as the duties of a kṣatriya would be too terrific for a brāhmana and that he should pursue the avocation of a vaisya. Baudhāvana (I. 1. 20) notes that the profession of arms was practised by the brāhmaņas of the north. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 22) lays down that persons (of the three higher varnas) should, if they cannot maintain themselves by the peculiar avocations of their varna. resort to the means of livelihood prescribed for the varna which is immediately below their own. Manu X. 81-82, Yāj. III. 35, Nārada (rnādāna 56), Visnu Dh. S. 54, 28, Śankha-Likhita say the same 856 thing. It is further laid down by the same works that a person belonging to a lower varna should not resort to the modes of livelihood peculiar to a higher varna (vide Vas. Dh. S. II. 23, Manu X. 95). The smrtis further ordain that when the calamity or distress ceases, the person who has taken to the avocations of another varna should perform prayascitta, should resume his proper avocations and abandon the wealth acquired by him by resorting to improper avocations; vide Manu XI. 192-193; Visnu Dh. S. (54. 27-28), Yāj. III. 35, Nārada (rnādāna 59-60). Manu (X. 96) prescribes that, if a person of a lower varna maintains himself through greed by the avocation 857 peculiar to a higher varna, the king should confiscate the wealth and should at once banish him from the country. classical example of the keenness with which good kings were expected to prevent persons of lower varnas doing the actions allowed only to higher varnas is furnished by the story of Sambūka narrated in the Rāmāyana (VII. 73-76.) The Uttararāmacarita of Bhavabhūti echoes the same sentiments. A sūdra²⁵⁸ who engaged in japa, homa, tapas or became an ascetic or repeated (Vedic) mantras was to be punished (or killed) by the king and was also guilty of mortal sin. Manu (X. 98) allows a vaisya, if unable to maintain himself by the pursuits peculiar to his varna, to live by means of the

^{256.} आपत्काले मातापितृमतो बहु भृत्यस्यानन्तरका वृत्तिरिति कल्पः । तस्यानन्तरका वृत्तिः क्षाचोऽभिनिवेशः । एवमप्यजीवन्वैश्चयस्पजीवेत् । शङ्क्षालिखित quoted by अपरार्क p. 930.

^{257.} न कथंचन कुर्वीत बाह्मणः कर्म वार्षलम् । वृषलः कर्म वा बाह्मं पतनीये हि ते तयोः ॥ नारद्ध (ऋणादान 57)

^{258.} वध्यो राज्ञा स वै ज्ञूदो जपहोमपरश्च यः। ततो राष्ट्रस्य हन्तासी यथा वह्नेश्च वै ज-लम् ॥ जपस्तपस्तीर्थयात्रा प्रवच्या मन्त्रसाधनम् । देवताराधनं चैव स्त्रीज्ञूद्रपतनानि वद् ॥ आत्रि 19. 136-137 (Ānan. ed.); vide वनपर्व 150. 36

actions proper for a śūdra viz. serving members of the twiceborn classes. It is also said by Gaut. (VII. 22-24) that a brāhmaṇa may maintain himself in any way if unable to maintain himself (by the three means specially prescribed for him), but he should not resort to the actions peculiar to a śūdra, that according to some ācāryas he may do even those actions when life itself is in danger, but that when he stoops to the actions peculiar to śūdras for maintenance he should not mix himself up with members of that varna (by sitting on the same seat with them etc.) or eat articles forbidden to brāhmaṇas (such as leek and garlic) and should not be a mere menial servant. Vide Manu (IV. 4 and 6) and Nārada (ṛṇādāna 57).

According²⁵⁹ to all ancient authorities the special duty of the sudra was to render service to the twice-born classes, to obtain his livelihood from them and serving a brahmana conferred greater happiness or benefit on the sudra than serving a ksatriya and serving a ksatriva conferred greater good than serving a vaisya. According to Gaut. (X. 60-61), Manu (X. 124-125) and others, the śūdra was to wear the old or cast-off clothes. umbrellas, sandals, mattress etc. of his patron and the leavings of food (ucchista) were to be given to him. If he became old and unable to do work while serving anyone of the higher varnas he was to be fed by him whom he had formerly served (Gaut. X. 63). In course of time the position of the śūdra improved. If a śūdra²⁶⁰ was unable to maintain himself and his family by serving drijas, he was allowed to maintain himself by having recourse to crafts like carpentry or drawing or painting pictures etc. Nārada (rnādāna 58) allowed him to perform the work of ksatriyas and vaisyas in times of distress. Yāi (I. 120) also says that, if unable to maintain himself by the service of dvijas, the śūdra may carry on the profession of a vaisya or may take to the various crafts. The Mahābhārata allowed a śūdra²⁶¹ who could not maintain

^{259.} शुश्रूषा शूद्रस्येतरेषां वर्णानाम्। पूर्वस्मिन् पूर्वस्मिन्वणं निश्रेयसं भूयः। आप. ध. I. 1. 1.:7-8; परिचर्या चोत्तरेषाम्। तेग्यो वृत्तिं लिप्सेत। तत्र पूर्वं परिचरेत्। गौतम X. 57-59; प्रजापतिर्हि वर्णानां वृक्तं शूद्रमकल्पयत्। शान्तिपर्व 60. 28; vide also Vas. Dh. S. II. 20, Manu X. 121-123, Yaj. I. 120, बौ. ध. सू. I. 10. 5, वनपर्व 150. 36.

^{260.} शिल्पाजीवं भृतिं चैव शूदाणां व्यव्धात्त्रभुः । वायुपुराण ८. 171; शूद्रस्य द्विज-शुक्षण सर्वशिल्पानि चाप्यथ । शङ्कस्मृति I. 5; मनु X. 99-100.

^{261.} वािज्यं पाञ्चपाल्यं च तथा शिल्पोपजीवनम् । श्रूद्रस्यापि विधीयन्ते यदा पृत्तिर्ने जायते ॥ शान्तिपर्व 295. 4; श्रूद्रस्य द्विजशुश्रूषा सर्वशिल्पानि वाप्यथ । विक्रयः सर्वपण्यानां श्रूद्रकर्म उद्दाहृतम् ॥ उश्लम् quoted in the स्मृतिच. I. p. 171; vide लक्ष्यान्य लायन 22. 5.

himself by the service of higher varnas to resort to the avocations of a vaisya, to rearing cattle and to crafts. Others like Laghu-Āsvalāyana (22.5), Vrddha-Hārīta (VII. 189, 192) allowed agriculture to the śūdra. The Kālikāpurāna quoted in the Gr. R. (p. 479) allowed the śūdra to sell all commodities except honey, skins, lākṣā (lac), wines and flesh, while Brhat-Parāśara (p. 101) prohibited the śūdra from selling wine and flesh. Devala quoted in the Mit. (on Yāi, I. 120) prescribes that the śūdra should serve the twice-born and may engage in agriculture, rearing cattle, carrying leads, sale of commodities, drawing and painting, dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments like the flute, lute, drums and tabors. 262 The foregoing will show that the śūdra gradually rose in social status so far as occupation was concerned and could follow all occupations except those specially reserved for the brāhmaņa, so much so that śūdras became even kings and Manu (IV. 61) had expressly to enjoin upon brāhmanas not to dwell in the kingdom of a śūdra. 263 The smrtis however did not like that wealth should be accumulated in the hands of the śūdra (though they were quite willing that ksatriyas and vaisyas should command all wealth). Gaut. (X. 64-65) says that the śūdra's accumulation of wealth should be for the support and benefit of the other varnas. Manu (X.129) says that a śūdra, even though able to accumulate wealth, should not do so, as (on account of his pride of wealth and his ignorance) he may cause obstructions and trouble to brāhmanas. Śūdras were divided into numerous subcastes. But there were two main divisions. One was aniravasita śūdras (such as carpenters and blacksmiths) and the other niravasita śūdras (like cāndālas); vide note 200 above. Another division of śūdras was into those who were bhoiyanna (i. e. food prepared by whom could be partaken by brāhmanas) and abhojyānna. In the first were included one's

^{262.} शूद्रधर्मो द्विजातिश्चश्रूषा पापवर्जनं कळत्राविपोषणं कर्षणपश्चपालनभारोद्वहन-पण्यन्यवहार चित्रकर्म-चृत्य-गीत-वेणु-विणासुरजमृदङ्गवादनादीनि । देवळ in मिता॰ on या. I. 120.

^{263.} Compare आप. ध. स. I. 11. 32. 18 (श्रुद्धान श्रुद्धान श्रिका मेनेत) with मनु IV. 61. This dictum of Manu must have been pronounced at a time when śūdra kings were rare; otherwise it would have no meaning and brāhmaņas would have been compelled to leave India. So it follows that Manu did not hold the view propounded in certain Purāņas that after the Nandas there would be no kṣatriya kings and only sūdras will be kings.

slave, one's cowherd, barber, family friend and one who shared with one the crop reared on one's land (vide Yāj. I. 166). It is worthy of note that even the Mit. adds the potter to the above list. All the other śūdras were such that a brāhmaṇa could not take his food. A third and well-known division was into sacchūdra (well-conducted) and asac-chūdra. The former class included those śūdras who followed good occupations or trade, served dvijas and had given up meat and drinking or selling liquor. 264 The Śūdrakamalākara (p. 60) says that asat-śūdras do not incur sin even if they partake of meat and liquor, provided they do not eat forbidden meat and that there is no lapse if one comes in contact with a śūdra that drinks liquor.

A few words may now be said about brāhmaṇas being allowed to follow the occupations of kṣatriyas and vaiṣyas. From very ancient times brāhmaṇas appear to have followed the profession of arms. Pāṇ. (V. 2.71) teaches 265 the formation of the word 'brāhmaṇaka' as applied to a country, which means 'in which Brāhmaṇas follow the profession of arms.' Kaut. 266 (IX.2) quotes the view of the ācāryas that when there are armies composed of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiṣyas and sūdras each preceding one is better for enlistment than each subsequent, but Kaut, himself is against this and adds that the enemy may win over the army of brāhmaṇas by prostration before them. Āpastamba was against the idea of brāhmaṇas following the profession of arms. He says (I. 10. 29. 7)267 'a brāhmaṇa should not catch hold of a weapon even for examining it (much

^{264.} न सुरां सन्धयेद्यस्तु आपणेषु गृहेषु च। न विक्रीणाति च तथा सम्हूदो हि स उम्बते। भविष्यपुराण (बाह्म section) chap. 44, 32.

^{265.} Pan. V. 2. 71 is not commented on by Patanjali and the Kasika explains the sutra as above. But it is clear that Patanjali knew a country called Brahmanaka as elsewhere he says (vol. II. p. 298 on Pan. IV 2. 104, Vartika 30, 'बाह्मणको नाम जनपद्स्तस्मादुभयं पाटनोति । बाह्मणकीयः।').

^{266.} ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यसूद्रसैन्यानां तेजःप्राधान्यात् पूर्वे पूर्वे श्रेयः संनाहियत्ति-स्याचार्याः । नेति कोटिल्यः । प्रणिपातेन ब्राह्मवस्रं परोऽभिहारयत् । कीटिल्य IX. 2.

^{267.} परीक्षाथोंपि बाह्मण आयुधं नाद्वीत । आप. ध. I. 10. 29. 7 ; प्राणसंशये बाह्मणोपि शस्त्रमाददीत । गी. VII. 25 ; अधाष्युदाहरन्ति । गवार्थे बाह्मणार्थे वा वर्णानां वापि संकरे । गृह्णीयातां विपविशो शस्त्रं धर्मव्यपेक्षया ॥ बी. ध. II. 2. 80 ; आत्मज्ञाणे वर्णसंवर्गे बाह्मणवेश्यौ शस्त्रमाद्वीयाताम् । वसिष्ठ III. 24.

less for attacking others with it)'. Gaut. (VII. 6) allowed a brāhmana to follow ksatriya's profession in case of distress (āpad) and adds (in VII. 25) that even a brāhmana while still following the peculiar avocation of a brahmana may wield weapons when his life is in danger. The Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2, 80) quotes a verse 'for saving cows and brahmanas, for preventing the mixture of varnas, the brāhmana and vaisya may take to arms from their concern for dharma.' The Vas. Dh. S. (III. 24) allows a brähmana to wield a weapon for protecting himself and for preventing confusion or mingling of varnas. Manu (VIII. 348-349) allows all dvijātis to resort to weapons where the observance of dharma (or of the duties of varnas and asramas) is obstructed (by violent men), when there is a disturbance (due to invasion etc.) involving the twice-born classes, in evil times for protecting one's self, when there is an attack for carrying away cows or other wealth (given as fees) and in order to protect women and brahmanas and he incurs no sin if he kills (for these purposes). Among the heroes of the Mahabharata there are great warriors and commanders like Drona, his son Asvatthaman, Kṛpa (the maternal uncle of Aśvatthāman) who were brāhmanas. The Mahābhārata says that a brāhmana should fight at the order of the king. 268 The Santiparva (78.18) calls upon persons of all varnas to wield arms when the rules for holding society together are broken and when dasyus (robbers or low persons) cause confusion. From ancient times we find brahmanas as commanders and founders of royal dynasties. The famous Senāpati Pusyamitra belonged to the Śunga gotra and wrested an empire from the last of the Mauryas about 184 B. C. line was followed by the Kanvayanas, the founder being minister Vāsudeva, a brāhmana, who killed the last Sunga about 72 B.C. We learn from the Talagunda pillar inscription of Kakusthavarman (E. I. Vol. VIII. p. 24) that the founder of the Kadambas, Mayūrasarman, was a brāhmana. In Maratha history there were the Peshwas and other brahmana warriors and commanders.

Though it is said that a brāhmaṇa in distress may follow the occupation of a vaisya, there were several restrictions imposed upon brāhmaṇas following the occupations of moneylending, agriculture, trade, and the rearing of cattle, which were prescribed as the privileged occupations of vaisyas.

^{268.} राज्ञो नियोगाद् योद्धश्यं बाह्मणेन विशेषतः । वर्तता क्षत्रधर्मेण होवं धर्मिविदी विदु: । ज्ञारुवपर्व 65. 42.

As to money-lending, Gaut. 269 (X. 5-6) allowed a brāhmaņa to maintain himself and his family by agriculture, sale of commodities and money-lending only if he did not engage in these personally, but through the agency of others. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 40) enjoins upon brāhmanas and ksatriyas not to lend money like usurers and quotes two verses which define usury and say that a userer is a greater sinner than even one who is guilty of brahmana-murder. Manu (X. 117) also forbids usury to brahmanas and ksatriyas, but allows them to charge a low rate of interest to persons engaged in low actions. Nārada (rṇādāna 111) forbids usury to brāhmaņas even iu the direct calamities. Ap. Dh. S. (I. 9, 27, 10) prescribes a prāvašcitta 270 for a brāhmaņa lending money at usurious rates. Brhaspati as quoted²⁷¹ in the Gr. R. has a rather amusing verse 'sages have enumerated numerous means of livelihood. but out of all of them money-lending is pre-eminent. There is loss in agriculture due to draught, to the fear of the exactions of the king and the ravages of rats and others, but there is no such loss in money-lending.' It appears that this is only a general or satirical statement and does not recommend moneylending to brahmanas.

The obvious reasons and motives underlying these restrictions on brahmanas were to make them live simple lives, to insist on the necessity and high value to themselves and to society of studying, preserving and augmenting the ancient literature and culture, to emphasize the fact that a highly spiritual life should not be given up for a mere secular life, to prevent the coarsening and hardening of the heart and emotions in a relentless and continuous pursuit of wealth or martial glory.

Agriculture—In the dharmasastra works there is a great conflict of views about agriculture as an occupation for

^{269. ृ}षिवाणिज्ये वाऽस्वयंकुर्त । कुसीदं च । गी. X. 5-6; ब्राह्मणराज्ञन्यौ वार्धुषी न द्याताम् । अधाप्युदाहरन्ति । समर्थे धान्यसुद्धृत्य महार्थे यः प्रयच्छति । स व वार्धुषिको नाम ब्रह्मवादिषु गर्हितः । ब्रह्महत्यां च वृद्धि च तुल्या समतोलयत् । अतिष्ठद् भूणहा कोट्यां वार्धुषिः समकम्पत । विसिष्ठ II. 40. Vide वी. ध. सू. 1. 5. 93-94 for these two verses; आपत्स्वपि हि कष्टासु ब्राह्मणस्य न वार्धुषम् । नारद् (ऋणादान v. 111)

^{270.} अनार्या शयने भिन्नद् द्दद्वृद्धं कषायपः । अज्ञाह्मण इव वन्दित्वा तृणेष्वासीत पृष्ठतप् । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 10.

^{271.} बहुवी वर्तनोपाया ऋषिभिः परिकीर्तिताः । सर्वेषामपि चैतेषां कुसीदमधिकं विदुः । अनावृष्टवा राजभयार् मृषिकाद्येकपद्रवैः । कृष्यादिके भवेद्धानिः कुसीदे सा न विद्यते ॥ बृहस्पति in गृह. र, p. 488

brāhmanas. The Vedic Literature does not condemn agriculture in the case of brahmanas. The gambler's song 278 (Rg. X. 34) winds up with the exhortation 'do not play with dice, do engage in agriculture, thinking highly of my words (or of wealth), do find joy in wealth, in that (in agriculture) there are cows, there is your wife &c.' There are frequent references in Vedic Literature to fields, ploughsbares and tilling the soil (vide Rg. X. 101. 3 =Tai. S. IV. 2, 5, 5, Vaj. S. XII. 67, Rg. I. 110, 5, I. 176, 2, X. 117. 7). Baudhāyana 273 says (1.5.101) The study of the Veda tends to the destruction of agriculture and (devotion to) agriculture tends to the loss (of the study) of the Veda. One who has the capacity (to look after both) may resort to both, but he who is unable (to look after both) should give up agriculture'. Baudhāyana further says (II. 2. 82-83) 'a brāhmana should engage in agriculture before his morning meal and he should only coax again and again his oxen whose noses have not been pierced and whose testicles are not removed and without prodding them with a pointed awl'. The Vas. Dh. S (II. 32-34) has a similar sūtra, adds that in summer he shall water his beasts (in the morning) and quotes Vāj. S. XII. 71. Manu (X. 83-84) says 'a brahmana or a katriya compelled to follow the avocations of a vaisya (owing to difficulty of maintenance otherwise) should by all means avoid agriculture which is full of injury to sentient beings and dependent on others (labourers, oxen &c.). Some regard agriculture as a good mode of livelihood but it is condemned by the good, (as) wood having an iron tip (i.e. the plough) strikes the earth and (the insects and germs) imbedded in the earth.' Manu IV. 5 designated agriculture by the word 'pramṛta' (pre-eminent in loss of life). Hārīta quoted 274 in Gr. R. p. 429 declares 'the ploughshare (i. e. agriculture) carries with it destruction of life, therefore it is not for brahmanas; but if he were to follow it (agriculture) in distress he should pursue it only till his object (of tiding over

^{272.} अक्षेर्मा द्वीव्यः कुषिमित्कुषस्य वित्ते रमस्य बहु मन्यमानः । तत्र गायः कितय तत्र ज्ञाया तन्मे विचष्टे सवितायमर्थः ॥ ऋ. X. 34, 13.

^{273.} वेदः कुषिविनाशाय कुषिवेदिवनाशिनी। शक्तिमानुभयं कुर्यादशक्तस्तु कुषिं स्यजेत्। बौ. ध. स्. I. 5. 101; प्राक् प्रतराशास्त्रणीं स्यात्। अस्यूतनासिकाभ्यां ससुष्काभ्या-मतुद्कारया सहुर्सहुरम्युच्छन्द्यन् । बौ. ध. स्. II. 2. 82-83.

^{274.} सहसूनं लाङ्गलं तह्बाह्मणे न विद्यते । आपद्याचरित्वाद्यदि कुर्याद्यथार्थम् । इतित in गृहः र. p. 429.

distress) is accomplished'. Parāśara 275 (Il. 2-4, 7, 14) allows a brāhmana to engage in agriculture, but lays down certain restrictions. 'The proper number of oxen to be yoked to the plough is eight, six being middling, four are yoked only by the cruel and two by those who sacrifice the lives of their oxen; he should not yoke an ox that is hungry, thirsty or tired, he should make the oxen work only for half the day and then bathe them in water, he should offer the five mahāyajñas and other sacrifices with corn raised by himself engaging in agriculture, the sin of ploughing the earth for a day with an iron-tipped ploughshare is equal to that incurred by a fisherman fishing for a year; he should give $\frac{1}{6}$ of the corn to the king, offer $\frac{1}{21}$ to gods and $\frac{1}{30}$ to brāhmaņas and then he may not be smeared with sin'. Hārīta quoted by Aparārka (p. 937) has a long prose passage on the treatment to be given to oxen by brāhmanas and also Vrddha-Gautama (Jiv. part 2 p. 571). Vrddha-Hārīta 276 (VII. 179 and 182) says that agriculture is common to all varnas and agriculture, rearing cattle and service are not forbidden to any. The above discussion shows how agriculture was viewed at different times and by different writers from different points of view.

Sale and barter—We have seen above that a brāhmaṇa is allowed to maintain himself by trade in distress or difficulties (āpad). But there were very great restrictions as to what things could be sold by a brāhmaṇa. According to Gaut. (VII. 8-14) a brāhmaṇa should not engage in the sale of fragrant things (like sandal-wood), fluids (like oils, ghee &c.), cooked food, sesame, hemp (and hempen articles like bags), kṣauma (linen), deer-skin, dyed and cleanly washed clothes, milk and its products (like curds &c.), roots, flowers, fruits, herbs (used as drugs), honey, meat, grass, water, deleterious drugs (like opium, poison), animals (for being killed), men (as slaves), barren cows, heifers and cows liable to abortion. He adds (Gautama VII. 15) that according to some a brāhmaṇa could not sell land, rice, yava, goats and sheep, horses, bulls, freshly delivered cows and

^{275.} षदकर्मनिरतो विप: कृषिकर्माणि कारथेत्। इलम्ष्यगं धर्म्यं षड्गवं मध्यमं स्मृतम्। चतुर्गवं चृशंसानां द्विगवं वृषधातिनाम् ॥ पराशरं II. 2; ब्राह्मणस्तु कृषिं कृत्वा महादोषमवामुयात्। राज्ञे द्वाता षड्भागं देवानां चैकविंशकम्। विप्राणां त्रिंशकं भागं कृषिकर्ता न लिप्यते॥ पराशरं II. 12–13. This last is ascribed to बृहस्पति by अपरार्क p. 936, गृष्ट. र. p. 431. The verse अष्टागवं धर्म्यहलं occurs in Atri 222–223, Apastamba (in verse) I. 22–23, Hārīta in Gr. R. p. 431.

^{276.} कृषिस्तु सर्ववर्णानां सामान्यो धर्म उच्यते । कृषिर्श्वतिः पाश्चपात्यं सर्वेषां निषिश्यते । बृद्धहारीत VII, 179, 182.

oxen that are yoked to carts. These restrictions did not apply to a ksatriya engaging in trade. Ap. Dh. S. I. 7. 20. 12-13877 has a similar list but adds among forbidden articles of sale 'weapons, sticky things (ślesma, like lac), young stalks (tokma), fermented liquids (kinva), the expectation of merit (sukrtāśā) and says that among corns sesame and rice are on no account Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 77-78 condemns the sale of to be sold. sesame and rice by saying that he who sells them sells respectively his pitrs (dead aucestors) and his pranas. This arose probably from the close connection of sesame with $\hat{s}r\bar{u}ddha$ and tarpana. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 24-29) gives a similar list and adds a prohibition against the sale of stones, salt, silk, iron, tin, lead, all wild animals, all tame animals with uncloven hoofs and those that have a mane, birds and animals having fangs. It quotes a verse at II. 27 (which is the same as Manu X. 92) 'a brahmana immediately becomes a sinner by the sale of meat, lac and salt and he becomes a śūdra by selling milk for three days'. About sesame, Baud, Dh. S. 278 (II. 1. 76), Manu (X. 91) and Vas. Dh. S. (II. 30) present the same verse 'If a man deals with sesame in any way other than eating them or using them for bathing (i. e. applying sesamum oil to the body before a bath) and making a gift of them, becomes a worm and sinks together with his pitrs in the ordure of a dog'. But it appears that Vasistha 279 (II. 31), Manu (X. 90) allow the sale of sesame if a man engages in agriculture and himself produces them (but sale must be only for purposes of religious duties, according to Manu). Yāj. (III. 39) and Nārada (rṇādāna 66) say that sesame may be bartered for an equal measure of other corn to raise means for religious purposes (and for medicine also according to Nārada). Manu (X. 86-89), Yāj. (III. 36-38), Nārada (rnādāna 61-63) give long lists of articles that Brāhmanas were forbidden to sell and that include a few more than those specified above. For example, Manu forbids the sale of bee's wax, kuśa, indigo, while Yai, adds soma, mud, blankets made of goat wool, hair (of camari deer) and oilcakes (pinyāka) to things forbidden to

^{277.} आपिद् व्यवहरेत पण्यानामपण्यानि ब्युद्स्यत् । मनुण्यान् रसान्रागान् गन्धानन्नं पर्म गर्वा वज्ञां श्लेष्मोद्के तोक्मिकिण्वे पिप्पलीमरीचे धान्यं मांसमायुधं सुकृताज्ञां च । तिल-तण्डुलांस्त्वेव धान्यस्य विशेषेण न विक्रीशीयात् । आप. ध. सू. 1. 7. 20. 11–13.

^{278.} भोजनाभ्यञ्जनाद्धानाद् यद्न्यत्कुरुते तिलै:। क्रमिभूतः श्वविष्ठायां पितृभि: सह मज्जति ॥ मसु X. 91; यम quoted in स्मृतिच. I. 180 has a similar verse.

^{279.} कामं वा स्वयं कुष्योत्पाद्य तिलान् विक्रीगीरन् । वसिष्ठ II, 31.

be sold. Śankha-Likhita, 280 Udyoga-parva 38. 5, Śantiparva 78. 4-6. Hārīta (as quoted by Aparārka p. 1113) contain long lists of things the sale of which was forbidden to brahmanas. Apart from these negative rules, there are some that are positive and prescribe what may be sold. For example, the Baud, Dh. S. 281 prescribes the sale of grass and wood in their natural state and quotes a verse 'Oh! Brāhmana, these are the articles you may sell, viz., domestic animals that have only one row of teeth, minerals except salt and threads (i. e. cloth) that are not coloured with some dye. 'Nārada²⁸² (rnādāna 64-65) states 'a brāhmana may sell dried wood and grass, except fragrant articles, $erak\overline{a}$ (a kind of grass), rattan, cotton, roots, kuśa grass; cereals that get split up of their own accord, badara and inguda among fruits, cords and threads of cotton provided they are not coloured'. Sankha-Likhita also (as quoted by Aparārka p. 933) have the same rules as Nārada and further enjoin upon the brāhmana not to higgle for the price but to have a fixed price.

Yāj. (III. 40) says that the sale of lac, salt and meat lead to a brāhmana's fall (i. e. he loses the right to perform the duties of dvijātis) and the sale of milk, curds and liquor reduces him to the status of a low class (i. e. of a śūdra). Manu (XI. 62), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (37. 14) and Yāj. (III. 234) include the sale of forbidden articles among upapātakas and Yāj. (III. 265) prescribes cāndrāyaṇa and other prāyaścittas for it. Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 1113 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 265) prescribes various prāyaścittas for the sale of various forbidden articles. Laghu-Śatātapa prescribes (v. 87) cāndrāyaṇa for the sale of honey, meat, wine, soma, lac, salt. Nārada (ṛṇādāna 67) calls upon

^{280.} न विक्रीणीयाद्विकेयाणि । तिलतेलद्विपक्षीद्रत्यवणलाक्षामद्यमांसकृताक्षक्री-पुरुषहस्त्यश्ववृषभगन्धरसङ्ख्णाजिनसे।मोद्दक्रनिलिविकयात्सद्यः पति बाह्मणः ॥ शङ्क्ष-लिखित quoted by अपरार्क p. 1113 and स्युतिचः । 180; अविकेयं लवणं पक्षमक्षं द्धिक्षीरं मधु तेलं घां विला मांसफलमूलानि शाकं रक्तं वासः सर्वगन्धा गुडाश्च ॥ उद्योगपर्व 38.5.

^{281.} तृणकाष्टमविकृतं विकेयम् । अथाण्युदाइरन्ति । पशवश्चेकतोद्गन्ता अझ्मा च लवणोद्ग्र्यतः । एतद् ब्राह्मण ते पण्यं तन्तुश्चारजनीकृतः ॥ बौ. ध. स्. II. 1. 81–82; sale of minerals would be opposed to Vasistha II. 24.

^{282.} ब्राह्मणस्य तु विकेयं छुण्कं दार हुणानि च । गन्धद्वच्यैरकावेत्रं तुलस्तूली-कृताहते (?)। स्वयं शीर्णं च विदलं फलानां बदरेङ्गुद्दे। रज्जुः कार्पासिकं सूत्रं तश्चेद्विकृतं भवेत् । नारद (ऋणादान 64-65); छुण्ककाष्टवदरेङ्गुद्विल्वरज्जुकार्पासिकस्त्रेरविकृतेर्दृश्यमा-हरेत् । शङ्खिलिखित quoted by अपरार्क p. 934; सकृदेवोक्तं मृल्यमिन्छेत् । शङ्खिलिखित quoted in अपरार्क p. 931.

^{283.} मधुमांससुरासोमं लाक्षां लवणमेव च । एतेषां विक्रयेणेव द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ लघुजातातप 87.

the king to inflict a heavy fine upon a brāhmaṇa who engages in the sale of articles forbidden to be sold and strays from the path (proper for brāhmaṇas) in the absence of distress.

Ap. Dh. S. (I. 7. 20. 14-15)²⁸⁴ states the general rule that exchange or barter also of those articles that are forbidden to be sold cannot be resorted to, but adds that barter is allowed of foods with foods, of slaves with slaves, of fragrant things with other fragrant things, of one kind of learning with another. Gaut.²⁸⁵ (VII. 16-21) allows the exchange of rasas with rasas, of domestic animals with other domestic animals, of cooked food with an equal measure of uncooked food for immediate use, but forbids the barter of salt, cooked food and sesame with other articles. Manu (X. 94) allows the exchange of one rasa (liquid like molasses) with another (like ghee), of cooked food with uncooked food, of sesame with an equal quantity of other corn, but does not allow the barter of salt for any rasa. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 37-39) has rules similar to Manu and Ap.²⁸⁶

Manu (X. 116)²⁸⁷ enumerates ten means of maintaining oneself in $\bar{u}pad$ (distress) viz. learning, arts and crafts, work for wages, service (i. e. carrying out another's orders), rearing cattle, sale of commodities, agriculture, contentment, alms, money-lending. Out of these some cannot be followed by a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya when there is no distress (e. g. a brāhmaṇa cannot engage in service). Yāj. III. 42 enumerates seven of these and adds 'cart' (i. e. driving carts for hire), mountain (subsisting on the price of grass and fuel taken from hills), a country full of water, trees and shrubs, king (i. e. resorting to or begging from a king). Chāgaleya quoted in Gṛ. R. p. 449²⁸⁸

- 284. अविहितश्चैतेषां मिथो विनिमयः । अन्नेन चास्तस्य मन्नुष्याणां च मनुष्ये समानां च रसोर्गन्धानां च गन्धेविद्यया च विद्यानाम् । आप. ध. सू. 1. 7. 20. 14-15.
- 285. नियमस्तु । रसानां रसैः । पशुनां च । न छनणकृतान्नयोः । तिछानां च । समेना-मेन तु पक्कस्य संप्रत्यर्थे । गौतम VII. 16–21.
- 286. रसा रसैर्महतो हीनतो वा विमातन्याः । न खेव लवणं रसेः । तिलवण्डुलपक्काश्चं विद्या मानुष्याश्च विहिताः परिवर्तकोन । वसिष्ट 11. 37–39.
- 287. विद्या ज्ञिल्पं भृतिः सेचा गोरक्ष्यं विपणिः कृषिः। धृतिर्भेक्ष्यं कुसीदं च द्रश जीव-नहेतवः॥ मनु X. 116; कृषिः ज्ञिल्पं भृतिर्विद्या कुसीदं शकटं गिरिः । सेचान्पं नृपो भैक्ष-मापत्तौ जीवनानि तु॥ या. III. 42.
- 288. शकटं शाकिनी गावो जालमस्यन्दनं वनम्। अनूपं पर्वतो राजा हुर्भिक्षे नव प्रत्यः। छागेलयं in गृह. र. p. 449. The बृहद्भेवता VI. 138 has the first half and reads the 2nd half as ससुद्रः पर्वतो राजा एवं जीवामहं वयम्. In some Mss. of the निकक्त this verse occurs in VI. 5 where the readings are आस्पन्दनं वनम्। उन्धिः पर्वतो राजा दृभिक्षे नव प्रत्याः॥. आस्पन्दन may be the same as स्यन्दन (रथ).

speaks of nine means of livelihood in a season of drought, viz. cart, plot of vegetables, cows, fishing, asyandana (maintaining oneself by the slightest effort possible?), forest, a country full of water, trees and shrubs, a mountain, king. Nārada (rnādāna 50-55) says that three modes of acquiring wealth are common to all, viz. inheritance, a gift of friendliness or affection and what comes to a man with a wife (at the time of marriage); that each of the three varnas has three special modes of acquiring wealth, viz., receiving gifts, fees as priest and fees for teaching in the case of brahmanas; booty in war, taxes and fines in judicial trials in the case of ksatriyas; agriculture, rearing cattle and sale of commodities in the case of vaisyas. Nārada (rņādāna verses 44-47) divides wealth into sukla (white, pure), sabala (dark-white, mixed) and krsna (dark) and each of these into seven varieties. The Visnu Dh. S. ohap. 58 also divides the wealth of householders into these three varieties and says that what is earned by the special modes prescribed for each varna, inherited wealth, gifts of affection and what comes with the wife-these are sukla (pure); what is obtained, by following the special avocation of the varna immediately lower than one's own varna and what is acquired by giving bribes or by sale of forbidden articles or from one who is under one's obligations is sabala; what is obtained by following the avocations of a varna other than the immediately lower one and what is acquired by gambling, theft, violence or fraud is called krsna. Baud, Dh. S. (III. 1.5-6) speaks of ten kinds of vrttis (means of livelihood) and III, 2 explains them at length. Manu (IV. 4-3) speaks of five ways of livelihood viz. rta (i. e. subsisting on grains left in the fields), amrta (what comes without begging), mrta (alms obtained by begging). pramṛta (agriculture), satyānṛta (sale of commodities) and forbids svavrtti (service, lit. living like a dog). Manu (IV. 9) further says that some brahmanas live by six means (i. e. adhyāpana, yājana, pratigraha, agriculture, rearing cattle and trade), some by three (viz. the first three), some by two (vajana and adhyāpana) and others again only by one (adhyāpana).

The avocations practised by brāhmaņas in the pursuit of wealth were many and varied, so much so that from very ancient times the lists of brāhmaṇas not eligible for invitation at śrāddhas because they followed unworthy callings were very formidable. Atri (Ānan. ed.) verses 373-383 names ten kinds of brāhmaṇas and briefly defines them, viz. deva-brāhmana (who

daily performs bath, samdhyā, japa, homa, worship of gods and honouring of guests and vaisvadeva), muni-br. (who is given up to staying in a forest, subsists on roots, fruits and vegetables performs daily śrāddhas), dvija-br. (who studies the Vedanta, gives up all attachments and is engaged in reflecting over Sāmkhya and Yoga), kṣatra-br. (who fights), vaiśya-br (who engages in agriculture, rearing cattle and trade), sudra-br. (who sells lac, salt, dyes like kusumbha, milk, ghee, honey, meat), nisāda-br. (who is a thief and robber, a backbiter and always fond of fish and meat), pasu-br. (who knows nothing about brahma and is only proud of his wearing the sacred thread), mleccha-br. (who obstructs or destroys wells, tanks, gardens, without any qualm)and candala-br. (who is a fool, devoid of prescribed rites, beyond the pale of all dharma and cruel). Atri (384) rather 289 humorously adds 'those who are devoid of Vedic lore, study the sästras (like grammar, logic &c.), those devoid of sastric lore study puranas (and earn money by reciting them), those who are devoid even of purana reading become agriculturists, those who are devoid even of that become bhagavatas (pose as great devotees of Siva or Visnu i. e. become what is called in modern Marathi 'buvā').' Devala quoted 290 by Apararka (pp. 284-285) speaks of eight kinds of brāhmanas (of whom each succeeding one is superior to each preceding one) viz. mātra (one who is only born in a brāhmana family but has not studied any part of the Veda nor performs the actions appropriate to brahmanas), brahmana (who has studied a portion of the Veda), śrotriya (who has studied one vedic sākhā with the six angas and performs the six duties of brähmanas), anucana (who knows the meaning of the Veda and the vedangas, is of pure heart and has kindled the sacred fires), bhrūna (who besides being anūcāna always performs yajūas and eats what is left after performing yajñas), rsikalpa (who has gained all worldly and Vedic knowledge, and has his mind

^{289.} वेद्दैर्विहीनाश्च यठिन्त शास्त्रं शास्त्रंण हीनाश्च पुराणवाठाः । पुराणहीनाः कृषिणो भवन्ति भ्रष्टास्ततो भागवता भवन्ति ॥ अत्रि 384.

under control), rsi (one who is celibate, of austere life, of truthful speech and able to curse or favour), muni (to whom a clod of earth and gold are the same, who has ceased from all activity, is devoid of desires and anger &c.). Satatapa 291 quoted by Apararka (pp. 286-287) speaks of six classes of persons who, though born brāhmaņas, are really not brāhmaņas viz. one who has taken service with a king, one who engages in sale and purchase (of commodities), one who officiates for many yajamānas, one who is the officiating priest for the whole village. one who is in the service of a village or town, one who does not perform samdhyā adoration in the morning and evening at the proper time. The Anuśasanaparva (33.11 ff) shows that some brāhmanas were great rogues, others engaged in austerities, some resorted to agriculture and rearing cattle, others subsisted by begging, some were thieves and others were false, some were acrobats and dancers (but it yet recommends that brahmanas must be honoured).

The smrtis teach that brāhmanas doing certain things are to be treated as śūdras. For example, Baud. 292 Dh. S. (II. 4. 20) requires a religious king to employ brāhmanas who do not perform the morning and evening adoration (sandhyā) in doing work appropriate to śūdras. Vas. 293 Dh. S. (III. 1-2) says that brāhmanas who are not śrotriyas (learned in the Veda), who do not teach the veda or who do not kindle the sacred fires become reduced to the status of śūdras and quotes a Mānava śloka (Manu II. 168) 'that a brāhmana who without studying the Veda works hard to master something else is quickly reduced while still living to the status of a śūdra together with his family.' Manu (VIII. 102 = Baud. Dh. S. I.

^{291.} अन्नाह्मणाश्च षद् मोक्ता ऋषिः शातात्तपोन्नवीत्। आद्यो राजाश्रयस्तेषां द्वितीयः क्रयविक्रयी। तृतीयो बहुयाज्यः स्यात् चतुर्थो प्रामयाजकः। पञ्चमस्तु सृतस्तेषां प्रामस्य नगरस्य च। अनागतां तु यः पूर्वो सादित्यां चैव पश्चिमाम्। नोपासीत द्विजः संध्यां स षष्ठोऽ-नाह्मणः स्मृतः॥ अपरार्क pp. 286–287; सायण in his भाष्य on ऐ. ना. chap. III. khanda 5 quotos with variations these very verses (viz. चतुर्थोऽश्रोतयाजकः। पञ्चमो ग्रामयाजी च षडो नद्वाचन्धुः स्मृतः॥).

^{292.} सार्थ मातः सदा संध्यां ये विमा नो उपासते । कामं तान धार्मिको राजा छूद-कर्मस योजयेत् ॥ बो. ध. सू. II. 4. 20 (this and the preceding verse are cited as प्रजापति's by some writers.)

^{293.} अश्रोतिया अनन्द्रवाक्या अनग्नयो वा शूद्रसधर्माणो भवन्ति । मानवं चात्र श्लोक-सुद्राहरन्ति । योनधीत्य द्विजो वेष्ट्रमन्यत्र कुरुते श्रमम् । स जीवसेव शूद्धत्वमाशु गच्छति सान्वयः ॥ वसिष्ठ III. 1-2; this verse is also ल्रह्माश्वलायन 22. 23; vide also मसिष्ठ V. 10 and ल्रह्माश्व० 22. 21-22; गायत्रीरहितो विमः शूद्धावृष्यशुचिर्भवेत् । पराश्र VIII. 24; but the very next verse is द्वःशीलोपि द्विजः पूज्यो न शूद्धो विजितेन्द्रियः ॥

5. 95) asks the king to treat as śūdras brāhmaṇas who engage in rearing cattle, in the sale of commodities, who are artisans and actors, who are mere servants and money-lenders. Vide Manu X. 92 quoted above (p. 127). Parāśara (VIII. 24) says 294 that a brāhmaṇa who does not repeat the Gāyatrī mantru is more impure than even a śūdra and that brāhmaṇas who do not offer oblations to sacred fires, who are bereft of saṃdhyā adoration and who do not study the veda are all śūdras and that therefore one should study at least a portion of the veda if he cannot study the whole. Manu (V. 4)²⁹⁵ sums up in one place the reasons why brāhmaṇas are seized by Death before the allotted span of human life 'on account of not studying the Vedas, on account of giving up the rules of conduct prescribed for them, through idleness and through the faults arising from (partaking forbidden) food, Death desires to kill brāhmaṇas.'

A few words must be said about begging. The smrtis prescribe begging as specially appropriate to brahmacarins (vedic students) and ascetics (yatis), which will be dealt with at length later on. Begging was not allowed to others except under considerable restrictions. The king of Kekaya 296 is made to boast in the Mahabharata (Santi 77. 22) that no one who is not a brahmacārin begs in his kingdom. Gifts of food were to be made daily while performing the five mahāvajñas (this will be treated under vaisvadeva). Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 1-4 recognizes that begging can properly be resorted to for the following reasons, viz. for the teacher, for (one's first) marriage, for a sacrifice, in anxiety to support one's parents, for warding off the non-observance of the duties of a worthy person; he enjoins that on these occasions there is a duty to give according to one's ability and according to the worth of the person begging and that if a man begs only for the gratification of his senses (and not for pressing wants) one should pay no heed to such 897

^{294.} अग्निकार्यात्परिश्रष्टाः संध्योपासनवार्जिताः । वेदं खैवानधीयानाः सर्वे ते वृष्ठाः स्मृताः ॥ अध्येतन्योप्येकदेशो यदि सर्वे न शक्यते । पराशर XII. 32-33.

^{295.} अनम्यासाच वेदानामाचारस्य च वर्जनात् । आलस्याद्श्वदोषाच मृत्युर्विपाञ्जिः षांसति ॥ मञ्ज V. 4

^{296.} नाबह्मचारी भिक्षावान् भिक्षवर्धिबह्मचर्यवान् । शान्तिपर्व 77. 22.

^{297.} भिक्षणे निमित्तमाचार्यो विवाहो यज्ञी मातापित्रोर्डभूषीऽईतश्च नियमविलीपः । तत्र छणान् समीक्ष्य यथाशक्ति देयम् । इन्द्रियपीत्यर्थस्य तु भिक्षणमनिभित्तम् । तस्मास्न तद्माद्मिये । आप. ध. II. 5. 10. 1-4; compare Manu IV. 251, XI. 1-2, Yaj. I. 216, Gaut. V. 19-20. ज्ञान्तिपर्व 165. 1-2 are ' हतार्थी यश्यमाणश्च सर्ववेदान्त- गश्च । आचार्यपितृकार्यार्थं स्वाध्यायार्थमथापि च । एते वे साधवो दृष्टा ब्राह्मणा धर्मभिक्षवः ॥. '

begging. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 2-3 says that 'a man oppressed by hunger may beg for a little viz. a cultivated or uncultivated plot, a cow, a sheep or ewe, and at last gold, corn or cooked food; but a snātaka should not faint through hunger; this is the instruction'. Vide Manu X. 114 for practically the same words and Visnu Dh. S. 3, 79-80. Baud Dh. S. II. 1, 64 includes begging by one who has finished his course of studenthood among actions that make a man impure (asucikara). Manu XI, 16-17 says that when a person has had no food for three days he may take away (by theft even) from one who is lower than himself in class as much corn as will be enough for one day, either from the threshing floor or from the field or from his house or from whatever place he can get it, but he should announce his action when the owner asks. Gaut. (18, 28-30) and Yaj. III. 43 are to the same effect. Angiras 298 quoted in Gr. R. (p. 450) allows begging to the diseased, the indigent, to one who is torn away from his family and who is on a journey. Śańkha-Likhita 899 as quoted in Gr.R. (p. 457) say 'when a man begs he should state the purpose (such as marriage. completion of sacrifice) of his begging; he should not beg of a woman or of those who are minors or unable to conduct their affairs, nor when the donor is not in a proper place or at a proper time. He should apply the alms to the purpose for which he begged. He should give that portion of the alms which remains unused to priests or any other excellent person'. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 4) and Parāśara 300 (I. 60) call upon the king to fine that village where persons of the higher classes wander about begging though they are not observers of vows (like brahmacarins) and are not studying the Veda. The foregoing will show that indiscriminate begging was never allowed or encouraged by the smrtis even for brāhmanas, much less for others.

It has been seen above how even during the Vedic period brāhmaņas had come to be highly eulogised as if they were gods and held superior merely on account of birth. The

²⁹⁸. न्याधितस्य दुरिद्रस्य कुदुम्बात्यच्युतस्य च । अध्यानं प्रतिपन्नस्य भिक्षाचर्या विधी-यते । अङ्किरस्र in मृह र. p. 450.

^{299.} भिक्षमाणो वा निभित्तान्तरं ब्रूयात्। न स्त्रीं नामाप्तस्यवहारान् । अपर्याप्त-संनिधानान् । अनुद्धिरयाश्चं भिक्षेत । यद्धं भिक्षेत तमेवार्थं कुर्यात् । शेषमृत्विग्न्यो निवेद्येत् । यो वान्यः साधुतमस्तरमे द्यात् । जङ्किलिखेत in गृहः र. p. 457.

^{300.} अवता ह्यनधीयाना यत्रं भैक्षचरा द्विजाः । तं ग्रामं दृण्डयेद्राजा चोरभक्तप्रदो हि सः ॥ वसिष्ठ 111. 4 and प्रशाहर I. 60.

Tai. Br. III. 7. 3 says 'One should sacrifice in the right hand of a brāhmana; the brāhmana indeed is Agni-vaisvānara'. Vide Śāntiparva 343. 13-14, Manu IV. 117, Likhita 31, Vas. Dh. S. 30. 2-5. The same ideas of the sacredness and the superiority of brahmanas were carried forward and further emphasized by the dharma-sastra works. Most exaggerated and hyperbolical descriptions of the greatness of brahmanas are sown broadcast over all the smrtis and the puranas. not possible to set out even a small fraction of them. But a few passages may usefully be cited here by way of samples. The Visnu Dh. S.³⁰¹ (19. 20-22) says 'the gods are invisible deities, but brāhmanas are visible deities; the worlds are supported by brāhmanas; the gods stay in heaven by the favour of brāhmanas; words spoken by brāhmanas never come to be untrue'. Manu (I. 109) declares 'whatever³⁰² wealth exists on this earth—all that belongs to the brahmana; the brāhmana deserves everything on account of his superiority due to his descent (from the mouth of the Creator).' Manu IX. 313-321 contain a hyperbolical eulogy of the power of brāhmaṇas, two of which may be set out 'who would prosper if he oppresses brahmanas that, when angered, might create other worlds and other guardians of the worlds and that might deprive the deities of their position as deities' (315); 'a brāhmana, whether learned or not, is a great deity' (verse 317). Manu XI. 84 is 'a brāhmana by the very fact of his birth is an object of honour even to the deities. Parāśara (VI. 52-53) holds 'whatever defects there may be in vratas, in austerities, or in sacrificial rites, they all vanish when brahmanas support them. Whatever words are spoken by brāhmaņas are spoken by the gods; brāhmanas have all the gods in them and therefore their words do not fail.'303 The Mahābhāreta indulges in very

^{301.} देवा: परोक्षदेवा: प्रत्यक्षदेवा ब्राह्मणाः । ब्राह्मणेळीका धार्यन्ते । ब्राह्मणानां प्रशा-देन दिवि तिष्ठन्ति देवता: । ब्राह्मणाभिहितं वाक्यं न मिथ्या जायते कचित् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 19. 20-22. With the first sutra note 85 above may be compared.

^{302.} This is a mere arthavāda. It means 'it is as if his', for Manu himself (in VIII. 338) prescribes for brāhmaņas who knowing everything are guilty of theft 64 or 100 or 128 times as much fine, as a sūdra guilty of the same theft has to pay if he unknowingly commits it, while the latter pays eight times as much if he knowingly commits it.

^{303. .} च्रतन्छिद्रं तपश्छिद्रं यन्छिद्रं यज्ञकर्मणि । सर्व भवति निश्चिद्रं बाह्मणैरुपपानि वित्तम् ॥ ब्राह्मणा यानि भायन्ते भाषन्ते तानि देवताः । सर्वदेवमया वित्रा न तद्वचनसन्यथा । पराश्चर VI. 52-53. ज्ञातातप (I. 30-31) has the same two verses with slight variations.

frequent eulogies of brahmanas. Adiparva (28. 3-4) says204 'a brāhmana, when provoked, becomes fire, the sun, poison, and weapon; a brāhmana is declared to be the guru of all beings.' Vanaparva³⁰⁵ (303. 16) says 'a brāhmana is the highest light, he is the highest tapas; the sun shines in heaven on account of the salutations made by the brahmanas'. This and similar dicta closely follow what was expressed in the Vedic period long before e. g. 'the sun would not rise if the brāhmana did not make sacrifice' (Satapatha II. 3. 1.5); the refrain of Rg. II. 15. 2-9 is that Indra performed his great and heroic works under the intoxication of the soma (offered by the priests in sacrifices). Rg. IV. 50.7-9 say that a king and others for whom the purchita offers prayers win battles, secure booty and help from gods. Anusasana-parva³⁰⁶ (33, 17) savs they may make a non-deity into a deity and a deity into a non-deity; that man may become a king whom they desire to be so, and he who is not desired by them may be defeated.' Santi (56, 22) declares In this world brahmana is the highest being '.

It should not be supposed that the brahmanas inserted these eulogies solely for the purpose of increasing their importance and tightening their hold on the other classes. the other classes had not themselves more or less shared these ideas, no amount of iteration on the part of brahmanas would have given them the influence which they as a matter of fact wielded. Their influence was a growth of centuries and they themselves were as much parts of the huge edifice of the caste system as the other varnas. Besides the brahmanas had no military force behind them. They could only succeed in influencing the other varpas by persuasion and their own The brahmanas were the creators and custodians of the vast literature that had grown up, they were the guardians of the culture of ages, they were expected to shoulder the burdens of teaching and preserving the vast literature on such gifts as were voluntarily made. Though many among them did not

^{304.} अभिरकों विषं शस्त्रं विमो भवति कोपितः। गुर्काई सर्वभूतानां बाह्मणः परिकीर्तितः॥ आदिपर्व 28. 3-4; vide आदि॰ 81. 23 and 25 and मत्स्यपुराण 30. 23 and 25 for a similar idea.

^{305.} ब्राह्मणो हि परं तेजो ब्राह्मणो हि परं तपः। ब्राह्मणानां नमस्कारैः सूर्यो दिवि विराजते॥ वनपर्व 303. 16.

^{306.} अदैवं देवतं कुर्युर्दैवतं चाप्यदेवतम्। यमिच्छेयुः स राजा स्यायो नेष्टः स पराभवेत्॥ अञ्चलासनपर्व 33. 17 and 152, 16.

live up to the high ideals set up for their order, there must have been not a few who made as near an approach to the fulfilment of the ideal as possible. It was the greatness of these latter that led to the glorification of the whole order to which they belonged. Learning and tapas are more or less elusive and impalpable, while birth from brahmana parents was quite an apparent and palpable thing. Therefore that was seized upon by some writers as the principal reason for the respect to be given For centuries human societies have everywhere to brāhmanas. acquiesced in the government and control exercised by small coteries of the elite, generally the elite of birth, who have guided the destinies of their societies on traditional lines of religious and social order. It must be remembered that the smrti works also extol the office of the king (which was generally hereditary and is so even now) to the skies. (VII. 4-11) propounds³⁰⁷ the theory that the king has in him the parts of such gods as Indra and that a king is a great deity in human form. The theory of varnas as conceived by Manu and other smrtikaras was based upon the idea of the division of labour, on the idea of balancing the rival claims of various sections of the community; it laid greatest emphasis upon the duties of the varnas rather than upon their rights and privileges. It raised the brahmana to the highest pinnacle of reverence, but at the same time it placed before him the ideal of not hankering after temporal power, of leading a life of comparative poverty and of making his knowledge available to the other classes for a scanty and precarious return. It made the military caste feel that they were not all-in-all, but had to look up to some other class as superior to themselves. European writers severely condemn brahmanas for their greed, selfishness and constant praises of gifts to themselves. they forget to take account of the circumstances under which the brahmanas were forced to sing the praises of gifts to them. The ideal before brahmanas was to lead a life of comparative poverty: they were forbidden to follow many worldly pursuits and depended on the generosity of their patrons. They did not live in monasteries as Buddhist and Christian monks did nor were they entitled to fixed and fat salaries like the bishops in some Christian countries. They had further to bring up their own families and pupils and had themselves also to make gifts to In modern capitalist societies those who have brains others.

³⁰⁷. महती देवता ह्येष नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥ मनु m VII.~8.

and knowledge tend to become financiers and capitalists, all wealth is centred in their hands, they reduce most other men to mere wage-earners who are often hardly better than helots. While finding fault with the brahmana writers of over two thousand years ago for the eulogies they bestowed upon themselves, one should not forget that even in the 20th century when the pursuit of scientific studies is professed to have reached its zenith, we hear ecstatic and arrogant eulogies of the white man's burden, of the great and glorious achievements of the Nordic race and the greater and more glorious future it is destined to attain (vide the very first sentence in Spengler's 'The Decline of the West', English translation by C. F. The brāhmanas never arrogated to themselves the authority to depose kings and to hand over vast territories for ever to whomsoever they liked, as Pope Alexander VI by his Bull of 1493 made over the New World to Isabella of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragon (vide Dean Inge's 'Christian Ethics' 1930 p. 160 where this astounding Bull is set out).

It has been seen already that brāhmaṇas had the special privileges of teaching, officiating as priests and accepting gifts made as a religious duty. It is desirable that a comprehensive list of all the privileges claimed by brāhmaṇas (though not always conceded as the sequel will show) should be set out once for all.

(1) The brāhmaṇa was to be guru (object of reverence)³⁸⁸ to all varṇas by the mere fact of birth. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 5) says so. Vas. Dh. S. (IV. 1) says 'the system of four varṇas is distinguished by its origin and by the special features of the sacraments (each of them undergoes)' and quotes Rg. X. 90.12 in support. Manu (I. 31 and 94) says that the Creator produced the four varṇas respectively from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet, that (I. 93) the brāhmaṇa is by right the master of this whole world on account of his birth from the best limb (i.e. the mouth) of the Creator, on account of his priority (in birth to the kṣatriya and others) and on account of possessing Vedic lore. Manu (X.3) uses almost the same words as Vasiṣṭha'the brāhmaṇa is the master of the varṇas on account of the peculiar excellence

^{308.} चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियचैश्यश्च्याः । तेषां पूर्वः पूर्वो जन्मतः श्रेयान् । आपः धः सः । 1.1.5; प्रकृतिविशिष्टं चातुर्वर्ण्यं संस्कारिवशेषाञ्च । ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीहाह्य राजन्यः कृतः इत्यपि निगमो भवति । विसष्ठ 1V. 1-2; जातीनां ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः । भीष्म 121. 35.

(of his caste), on account of his superiority of origin (from the mouth of the Creator), on account of his submitting himself to discipline (or holding up Vedic lore) and on account of the eminence of the sacraments (samskāras) in his case'. Bhīsmaparva (121, 35) says that the brāhmaṇa is superior among all castes. This sense of superiority was carried so far that Āpastamba 309 (I. 4, 14, 23), Manu (II. 135) and Visnu Dh. S. (32, 17) say that a brāhmaṇa only ten years old was to be honoured as a father by a kṣatriya 100 years old.

- (2) The brahmana was to expound the duties of all other classes, to indicate to them proper conduct and their means of livelihood and they were to abide by his directions and the king was to rule in accordance with such directions (Vas. Dh. S. I. 39-41, Manu VII. 37, X. 2). This is supported by the words of the Kāthakasainhitä 310 (IX. 16) and the Tai. Br. that the brahmana is indeed the supervisor over the people. The Ait. Br. (37.5) declares that where the might of ksatriyas is under the control (or direction) of brahmanas that kingdom becomes prosperous, that kingdom is full of heroes 311 &c. This idea is somewhat similar to the teaching of Plato who held that philosophers that had undergone a special training were to rule and were to be politicians, that the government of the best (aristocracy) was the ideal system. The problem is how to find out the best. Ancient India solved it by leaving the decision of knotty points to the learned brāhmaņas and the execution of the decisions arrived at by them to the king and the ksatriyas.
- (3) 'The king was the ruler of all, except brāhmaņas'—Gautama ³¹² XI. 1. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 4 explains that these words were only laudatory of the greatness of brāhmaṇas and were not to be taken literally and that the king could punish brāhmaṇas in appropriate cases. These words of Gautama are a mere echo of certain passages like those in the Vāj. S. (IX. 40) and the Sat. ³¹³ Br. (V. 4. 2. 3 and IX. 4. 3. 16), where it is said

^{309.} द्शवर्षश्च बाह्मणः शतवर्षश्च क्षत्रियः। पितापुत्री स्म ती विद्धि तयीस्तु बाह्मणः पिता। आप. ध. सु. I. 4. 14. 23.

^{310.} बाह्मणो नै प्रजानासुपद्रष्टा ॥ ते. बा. II. 2. 1 and काठकसंहिता IX. 16.

^{311.} तद्यत्र वे ब्रह्मणः क्षत्रं वशमीति तद्राष्ट्रं समृद्धं तद्वीरवद्गहास्मिन्वीरी जायते। ऐ. ब्रा. 37. 5.

^{312.} राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जम्। गी. XI. 1; न च राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जमिति गौतमवचनाच ब्राह्मणो दण्ड्य इति मन्त्रत्यम्। तस्य प्रशंसार्थस्यात्। मिता॰ on या. II. 4.

^{313.} सोमोऽस्माकं बाह्मणानां राजा। शतपथ V. 4. 2. 3; तस्माद् बाह्मणांऽनाद्यः सोमराजा हि भवति। शतपथ IX. 4. 3. 16.

'Soma is the king of us brāhmaṇas'. The idea was that brāhmaṇas had to prepare soma and offer it in sacrifices to the gods i.e. they held all wealth for Soma and owed all allegiance to Soma, while other people owed allegiance only to the king. The brāhmaṇas alone were to eat the sacrificial food and drink Soma (and kṣatriyas were to drink only a substitute for Soma). Vide Ait. Br. (chap. 35 khaṇḍa 4). In the Mahābhārata, however, many kings are described as Somapas. So the practice of not allowing the kṣatriyas to drink soma was not universally accepted. Further it was probably not a privilege at all, but only indicates that Soma sacrifices had been mostly neglected by all except brāhmaṇas.

(4) 'The king should exonerate (the brahmana) in the six matters, viz. (a brāhmaņa) should not be beaten (whipped). he should not have fetters put on him, he should not be mulcted in fines of money, he should not be driven out (of the village or country), he should not be censured, he should not be abandoned'-Gaut. VIII.314 12-13. The Mit. on Yāj, II. 4 explains that these words are not applicable to every brahmana, but only to deeply learned brāhmanas described in the preceding sutras (Gaut. VIII. 4-11). Haradatta adds that even a learned brāhmana is treated in this way only if he commits an offence without pre-meditation but only through ignorance or oversight. As to corporal punishment for brahmana offenders, the matter stands thus. Gaut XII.43 says that there is no corporal punishment for a brāhmana (even when he being a thief comes to the king confessing his guilt and asking the king to beat him with a heavy club on the head). Vide Manu XI, 99-100 also. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 10. 18-19) first lays down that a brahmana is to undergo no beating for any offence but allows for a brahmana guilty of the mortal sins (of brahmana-murder, incest, drinking liquor, theft of gold) the punishment of branding on the forehead with redhot iron and banishment from the country. Manu IX. 237 (= Matsyapurāna 227, 163-164), Visnu Dh. S. V. 4-7 prescribe the

^{314.} यत्तु षह्भिः परिहार्याः राज्ञाऽत्रध्यश्चावन्ध्यश्चावृण्ड्यश्चाविहण्कार्यश्चापरिवाद्यश्चान्धाः परिहार्यश्चेति (गी. 8. 12-13) तद्पि स एष बहुश्चतो भवति...विनीत इति (गीतम 8. 4-11) मित्रावित्वहुश्चतविषयं न ब्राह्मणमात्रविषयम् ॥ भिता॰ on या. II. 4, न झारीरी ब्राह्मणदृण्डः । गीतम 12. 43, अवध्यो वे ब्राह्मणः सर्वापराधेषु । ब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्महत्या- एक्तल्यामनसुवर्णस्तयसुरापानेषु कुसिन्ध-भगसुगालसुराध्वजास्ततेनायसा ललाटेऽङ्कवित्वा विषयाश्चिमनम्। बी. ध. सू. I. 10. 18-19; the verse in the मुच्छकदिक (IX) 'अयं हि पातकी विभो न वध्यो मसुरावशीत् । राष्ट्राद्यस्मात्तु निर्वास्यो विभवेरस्रतैः सह ॥' pointedly refers to मन्न VIII. 280.

various figures that were to be branded on the forehead of a in the case of various offences. Manu (VIII. 379-380) prescribes shaving of the head for brahmana offenders where others would have had to suffer the extreme penalty of death and adds that a brahmana was not to be sentenced to death whatever offence he might have committed and that he is to be banished from the country taking with him all his possessions. Even on this the Mit. (on Yaj. II. 81) observes that it applies only when it is the brahmana's first offence (i.e. he may be fined for repeating an offence). Yāj. (II. 270), Nārada (sāhasa, verse 10) and Śankha³¹⁵ prescribe branding and banishment as punishment for brahmanas (particularly in the case of theft). The brahmana was never above being fined. Manu (VIII. 123) prescribes fine and banishment for a perjured brahmana witness. while Manu VIII. 378 prescribes heavy fines for a brahmana guilty of rape or adultery. The Mit. on 316 Yaj. II. 302 quotes a verse of Manu (not found in the extant Manusmrti) that in the case of the brahmana corporal punishment takes the form of complete shaving of the head, he is liable to banishment from the town, he may be branded on the forehead and he may be made to ride through the town on the back of an ass (looked upon at all times as the highest form of indignity). Kaut. also 317 (IV. 8) forbids corporal punishment for brāhmanas in all offences but prescribes branding on the forehead in the same way as Manu(IX, 237) and also banishment and labour on mines. But Kaut, makes an exception, viz. he allows a brahmana to be drowned in water if he is guilty of high treason, or of forcible entry in the king's harem or of inciting the enemies of the king &c. Kātyāyana 318 (quoted by Viśvarupa on Yāj. II. 281) prescribes death sentence even for a brāhmana when the latter is guilty of the destruction of a foetus, of theft, of

^{315.} त्रयाणां वर्णानां धनापहारवववन्यक्रिया विवासनाङ्कारणं बाह्मगस्य । शङ्क quoted by the भिता on या. 11, 270.

^{316.} ब्राह्मणस्य पुनः 'न शारीरो ब्राह्मणे दण्डः इति निषेधाद्वधस्थाने शिरोमुण्डनादिकं कर्तव्यम् । बाह्मणस्य वधो मीण्ड्यं पुरानिर्वासनाङ्कने । ललाटे चाभिशस्ताङ्कः प्रयाणं गर्दभेन त । ' इति मनुस्मरणात् । भिताः on या 11. 302; the latter half is नारद (साहस 10), the first half being शिरसो सुण्डनं दण्डस्तस्य निर्वासनं प्ररात ।

^{317.} सर्वापराधेष्वपीडनीयो बाह्मणः । तस्याभिशस्ताङ्को छलाटे स्याद्रव्यवहारपतनाय । स्तेये श्वा सुरापाने मद्यध्वजः । बाह्मणं पापकर्माणसुद्भव्याङ्ककृतव्रणम् । कुर्याक्षिविषयं राजा वासयेदाकरेषु वा ॥ कौदिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र IV. 8

तथा च कात्थायनः । गर्भस्य पातने स्तेनो बाह्मण्यां शस्त्रपातने । अद्दर्श योषितं इत्वा इन्तच्यो ब्राह्मणोपि हि ॥ कात्या. quoted by विश्वस्तप on या. II. 281.

striking a brahmana woman with a weapon and of killing an innocent woman. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 257 thinks it possible that kings sentenced brahmanas to death in spite of the prohibition of corporal punishment and we have a classical illustration in the death sentence passed on the brahmana Carudatta by king Pālaka in the Mṛcchakaṭika (IX). The foregoing discussion shows that the only special privilege claimed for the brahmana in the law courts of the land was freedom from death sentence or other corporal punishment like whipping, though rarely he was liable to be sentenced to death also. He was subject to the indignities of branding and being paraded on the back of an ass, to fines and banishment. These claims were very moderate as compared with the absurd lengths to which the doctrine of 'benefit of clergy' was carried in England and other western countries.319 The clergyman in England was not by birth, he had to be ordained. Yet clergymen claimed that an ordained clerk, a monk or nun charged with serious offences called felonies could be tried only by an ecclesiastical court and this was conceded by the ordinary courts; this privilege was gradually extended to persons not ordained viz. to doorkeepers, readers, exorcists (all of whom merely assisted the clergy) and finally to all who could read or pretended to read a few words from the Bible. Holdsworth, Pollock and Maitland admit that the procedure in the ecclesiastical courts was little better than a farce (P and M vol. I. p. 426, Holdsworth vol. III p. 296). The ecclesiastic courts never pronounced a judgment of blood, the bishop only deprived the offending clerk of orders, and relegated him to a monastery, or kept him in prison for life or a shorter period and very rarely whipping and branding were ordered. Even in the first quarter of the 20th century, European British subjects and Europeans and Americans in general could claim in British India some startling privileges when charged with criminal offences which even the brahmanas of over two thousand years ago did not claim. For example, under Sec. 443 of the Criminal Procedure Code of India (as it existed before 1923) they could not be tried by any Indian Magistrate (however senior and experienced) and that in serious cases like murder, even a Sessions Judge who was himself an European British

^{319.} Vide Pollock and Maitland's 'History of English Law' (1895) vol. I. pp. 424-440 and Holdsworth's History of English Law 4th Ed.) vol. 1. pp. 615-616, vol. III. pp. 294-302 for the history of the doctrine.

subject could not sentence an European British subject to more than one year's imprisonment (Section 449). Any European or American could claim to be tried by a mixed jury of which not less than one half had to be Europeans or Americans, while an Indian offender could not claim the privilege in his own country that not less than one half of the jury that tried him must be Indians. In England even now a peer indicted for treason or felony must be tried by his peers and not by the tribunals that try ordinary men (vide Halsbury's Laws of England, 2nd Ed. vol. 25 p. 46). The brāhmunas had to submit to trial in the ordinary courts and the smrtis do not generally provide for trial of brahmanas in special ecclesiastical courts of their own class. The only approach to this western doctrine of benefit of clergy is to be found in the Ap. Dh. S. 320 where it is said that the teacher and others who have authority over a brahmana guilty of transgressions should prescribe prayascittas for him: if he does not abide by their orders, he should be taken to the king who should hand him over to his own purchita: the latter was to prescribe pravascittas (penances for atonement) for brāhmana offenders. If the latter did not carry out the penances then he was to break them by disciplines according to their ability except that he (the purchita) was not to prescribe corporal punishment and slavery for brahmana offenders.

(5) Most smrtis lay down that a śrotriya (a brāhmana learned in the Veda) was to be free from taxes. passages of the Sat. Br. suggest that even in those times brāhmanas were not taxed. 321 Āp. Dh. S. 322 II. 10, 26, 10, Vas. Dh. S. 19. 23, Manu VII. 133 say this. Some claimed this exemption for all brāhmanas e.g. Vas. Dh. S. (I. 42-43) says "a king ruling over his subjects according to the rules of the śastra should take the sixth part of all wealth except from brāhmanas"; the Visnu Dh. S. III. 26 says 'a king should

^{320.} तस्य चिच्छास्त्रमतिपर्वतरन् । राजानं गमयत् । राजा पुरोहितं धर्मार्थकुशलम् । स बाह्मणासियुक्रयात् । बलाविशेषेण वधदास्यवर्ज नियमैरुपक्षीषयत् ।। आप. ध. मू. II. 5, IO 14-18.

^{321.} अधातो दक्षिणानाम् । मध्यं प्रति राष्ट्रस्य यदन्यञ्जूमेश्च बाह्मणस्य च वित्तात् । शतपथ XIII, 6. 2. 18.

अकरः श्रोत्रियः । आप. ध. स्. II. 10 26. 10. ; राजा तु धर्मणानुसासत षष्ट धनस्य हरेत । अन्यत्र बाह्मणात् । चिसष्ठ 1. 42-43 ; बाह्मणेम्यः करादानं न कुर्यात् । ते हि राज़ी धर्मकरदाः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III. 25-27.

not recover taxes from brāhmanas'. Kaut. 323 (II. 1) requires the king to make gifts of brahmadeya lands to rtvike (who officiate at solemn sacrifices), teachers, purchitas, śrotriyas, that will yield substantial produce and on which no fines and taxes will be levied. The reason assigned was the belief that the king shared in the religious merit accumulated by the brahmanas. Vas. 324 (I. 44-46) explains '(freedom from taxation is there) because he (the king) secures the sixth part of the iştāpūrta (the merit due to sacrifices and performing charitable works of public utility) and it is declared (in a Brāhmana text) that the brahmana enriches the Veda, he relieves (others) from calamities and therefore the brahmana is not a source of subsistence (i. e. should not be taxed by the king) since Soma is his king; and it is further declared that bliss awaits after death (the king who does not tax brahmanas).' The Visnu Dh. S. III. 27 says 'they render unto him the tax of religious merit'. Manu VII. 136 says 'by the religious merit which the śrotriya accumulates every day when protected by the king, the king's life, wealth and kingdom increase.' Vide Manu 8. 305. This sentiment is expressed even by a great poet like Kālidāsa 325 'forest-dwellers give a sixth part of their tapas (merit due to austerities) to the king and that is an inexhaustible treasure'. It is further to be noted that not only śrotriyas, but also many other persons were free from taxation. Ap. Dh. S. (II. 10. 26. 11-17) exempts from taxation all women of the four varnas, all boys before they show signs of manhood (i. e. before they attain majority), those who stay with their teachers for learning (even though they may be grown up), those engaged in austerities and devoted to right practices, a sudra who washes the feet (of men of the three higher classes), the blind, the dumb and the diseased, those who are forbidden to possess wealth (i. e. ascetics etc.). The Vas. Dh. S. (19. 23.) 326 exempts from taxation the king's servants, helpless

^{323.} ऋत्विगाचार्य-पुरोहित-श्रोत्रियेभ्यो ब्रह्मद्यान्यदण्डकराण्याभिरूपदायकानि प्रय-च्छेत् । कोटिल्य II. 1.

^{324.} इष्टापूर्तस्य तु षष्ठमंशं भजतीति ह। बाह्मणो चेदमाट्यं करोति बाह्मण आपद उद्धरित तस्माद् बाह्मणोनाधः। सामोस्य राजा भवतीति ह। प्रेत्य चान्युद्यिकमिति ह विज्ञायते। वसिष्ठ I. 44-46; compare the passage from the Śatapatha quoted above in note 313.

^{325.} यहुत्तिष्ठति वर्णेभ्यो चृपाणां क्षयि तत्फलम् । तपःषङ्गागमक्षय्यं दृदृत्यारण्यका हि नः ॥ शाकुन्तल II. 13

^{326.} अकरः श्रोत्रियो राजधुमाननाथपत्रजितवालवृद्धतक्णप्रजाताः । वसिष्ठ 19. 23

persons, ascetics, minors, senile men (above 70), young men, and women who are recently delivered. Manu VIII. 394 contains a similar provision. Brhat-Parāśara 327 (chap. III. Jiv. part II p. 113) says 'a brāhmana engaged in agriculture had to pay nothing to anybody'. It is extremely doubtful whether in actual practice kings respected all these rules. Note 275 shows that a brāhmana engaging in agriculture had to pay th of the produce just as others did. An inscription of Vikramāditya V. found near Gadag dated sake 934 (1012 A. D.) refers to taxes levied even on upanayana, marriages and vedic sacrifices (E. I. vol. XX. pp. 64 and 70). The Santiparva (76. 2-10) contains an interesting disquisition on the taxation of brahmanas. Those brahmanas who have mastered all the lores and who treat all equally well are called brahmasama. Those brāhmanas who have studied the Rgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda and who stick to the peculiar duties of their class are styled devasama (verses 2 and 3). A religious king should make those who are not śrotriyas and who do not kindle the sacred fires render taxes and forced labour (verse 5). Then certain brāhmaņas are described as ksatrasama and vaisyasama. A king whose treasury is empty should levy taxes from all brahmanas except those that are described as brahmasama and devasama. 328 Even if these rules were honoured, the claim was not very excessive. The brahmanas who ministered to the religious wants of the people and who were to conserve the religious literature and spiritual inheritance of the country and to teach without the liberty to make a contract for fees were never entitled to raise taxes from the people for their benefit. According to the practice of the Roman Catholic Church 'the clergy owed no allegiance to the secular power; they were not under the laws of the land, they paid no taxes to the State. All benefices were put under the Holy See and the Roman chancery compiled a tariff of prices for which each might be bought'. It would take too long to

^{327.} ब्राह्मणस्तु कृषि कुर्वन्वाहयदिच्छया धराम् । न किंचित्कस्य चिद्यात्स सर्वस्य प्रभुर्यतः ॥ बृहत्यराक्षर III.

^{328.} विद्यालक्षणसंपन्नाः सर्वत्र समद्भिनः। एते ब्रह्मसमा राजन् ब्राह्मणाः परि-पीर्तिताः॥ ऋग्यज्ञःसामसंपन्नाः स्वेषु कर्मस्ववस्थिताः। एते देवसमा अश्रीत्रियाः सर्व एव सर्वे चानाहिताग्रयः। तान् सर्वान् धार्मिको राजा बाहें विष्टें च कारयेत्॥ एतेम्यो बहिमाद्द्याद्धीनकोशो महीपतिः। ऋते ब्रह्मसमेम्यश्र्च देवकल्पेम्य एव च॥ शान्तिपर्व 76. 2-3, 5, 9.

enumerate the other exactions of the same kind—the Tithes, Annates, Procurations, Subsidies and Dispensations.³²⁹

- (6) In the matter of treasure trove the brāhmaṇa was more favourably treated than members of other classes. If a treasure was found by a learned brāhmaṇa he was entitled to keep the whole of it; in other cases the treasure belonged to the king, except a sixth part which was given to the finder if he honestly informed the king about the finding of the treasure. If a king himself found buried treasure, he was to distribute half of it among brāhmaṇas and was to keep for himself the other half. Vide Gautama (X. 43-45), Vas Dh. S. (III. 13-14), Manu (VIII. 37-38), Yāj. II. 34-35, Viṣṇu Dh. S. (III. 56-64), Nārada (asvāmivikraya verses 7-8).
- (7) The general rule about the property of one dying heirless is that it escheats to the king, but there was an exception in the case of an heirless brāhmaṇa. Such property was to be distributed among śrotriyas or brāhmaṇas. Vide Gautama ³³⁰ 28. 39-40, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 84-87, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 118-122, Manu IX. 188-189, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 17. 13-14, Śankha. ³³¹
- (8) The rule of the road was in favour of brāhmaṇas even as against the king. If on a road there was a crowd or obstruction, precedence was to be given to the cartman, to a very old man, to one suffering from a disease, to a woman, to a snātaka, to the king; but a king was to give precedence to a śrotriya-Gaut. VI. 21-22. Āp. adds that one carrying 332 a burden should be given precedence and all who desire their own welfare should
- 329. Vide Dean Inge in 'Christian Ethics' chap. IV pp. 160-161 for the enormous greed of the Romish Church.
- 330. श्रोत्रिया ब्राह्मणस्यानपत्यस्य रिक्धं भजेरन्। राजेतरेषाम्। गौतम 28. 39-40; न तु ब्राह्मणस्य राजा एरेत्। ब्रह्मस्यं तु विषं घोरम्। न विषं विषामित्याहुर्बह्मस्यं विषमुच्यते। विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मस्यं पुत्रपौत्रकामिति। त्रेविद्यसाधुम्यः संप्रयच्छेत्। वसिष्ठ 17. 84-87.
 - 331. परिषद्गामि वा श्रोत्रियद्व्यं न राजगामि। शङ्क quoted in वि. र. p. 598.
- 332. चिक्रिदशमिस्थान्जयाद्यवधूरनातकराजभ्यः पथो दानम्। राज्ञा त श्रोत्रिया । गौतम VI.21-22; राज्ञः पन्था बाह्मणेनासमेत्य । समेत्य त बाह्मणस्थैव पन्थाः। यानस्य भाराभिनिहितस्यातुरस्य स्त्रिया इति सर्वेद्रांतन्यः। घर्णज्यायसां चेतरेर्वर्णेः । अशिष्टपतितमत्तोन्मन्तानामात्मस्वस्त्ययनार्थेन सर्वेरेव दातन्यः। आप. ध. स्. II. 5. 11. 5-9; अन्धस्य पन्था बाह्मरस्य पन्थाः स्त्रियः पन्था भारताहस्य पन्थाः। राज्ञः पन्था बाह्मणेनासमेत्य समेत्य त बाह्मणस्यैव पन्थाः॥ वनपर्व 133. 1; पन्था देयो बाह्मणाय गोभ्यो राजभ्य एव च। बृद्धाय भारतसाय गर्भिण्ये दुर्वरुस्य च। अनुज्ञासन्त 104. 25-26. This is almost the same as चौ. ध. स्. II. 3. 57 (which reads गवे राज्ञे ह्यचक्षुषे); the latter half of Vanaparva 133. 1 is the same as Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 5. 5-6. Vide ज्ञङ्ख 'अध्य बाह्मणायाम्ने पन्था वेयो राज्ञ इत्येके। तच्चानिष्टं ग्रक्चर्येष्टश्च बाह्मणो राजानमितिशेते तस्मै पन्थाः। १ quoted by the मिता. on या. I. 117.

give precedence to fools, patita, the intoxicated and lunatics and a person of a lower varna should give precedence to one of a higher varna. The Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 133. 1) adds the blind and the deaf, (Anuśāsana 104. 25-26) cows, a pregnant woman and a weak man. Vas. Dh. S. (13.58-60) enumerates the same persons, but says that the snataka (one who has just returned from his stay with his guru) has precedence over the king and that the bride has precedence over all when being taken in a procession (to the house of the bridegroom). Manu II. 138-139 has the same list and prefers the snataka to the king; Yāj. I. 117 has the same rules. Sankha (quoted in the Mit. on Yāj I. 117) mentions the view of some that the king has precedence over the brāhmana, but disapproves of it. Vide Brahmapurāna 113, 39 for a list. The Mārkandevapurāna (34. 39-41) has a long list which includes a prostitute and one who is an enemy. The Visnu Dh. S. (V. 91) prescibes a fine of 25 kārsāpanas for him who does not give precedence on the road to one who deserves it. It will be conceded by every one that the above rules (except the one about the precedence of brahmanas over even the king) are quite reasonable and are informed by a spirit of humanity and chivalry. The rule about learned brāhmaņas probably owes its origin to the emphasis laid on the importance of the diffusion of learning (which was not the direct concern of the state in those days, but of the brahmanas) and the superiority of knowledge over mere brute force or military achievements.

- (9) The person of the brāhmaṇa was regarded as very sacred from ancient times and so brahmahatyā (killing a brāhmaṇa) was looked upon as the greatest sin. The Tai. S.³³³ (V. 3. 12.1-2) says that he who performs the horse-sacrifice goes beyond (i. e. gets rid of) all sins, even the sin of brāhmaṇamurder. The Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 1 narrates how Indra incurred the sin of brahmahatyā by killing Viśvarūpa and how all beings ran him down as 'brahmahan'. In the Sat. Br. XIII. 3. 1. 1 we read (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 328) 'thereby the gods redeem all sin, yea, even the slaying of a brāhmaṇa they thereby redeem' and 'whosoever kills a human brāhmaṇa here he forsooth is deemed guilty, how much more so who strikes him (Soma), for Soma is god' (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 243). The Chāndogya Up. V. 10.9 quotes
- 333. अपि वैतेन बह्महत्यामतरन् सर्वे पाप्मानं तरित तरित बह्महत्यां योश्वमेधन यजते॥ ते. सं. V. 3. 12. 1-2. The words सर्व यजते are quoted by Gaut. 19. 9. and Vas. 22. 6.

a verse declaring brāhmaṇa murder as one of the five mortal sins (mahūpūtakas). Gaut. (21. 1) places the murderer of a brāhmaṇa at the head of his list of patitas (persons guilty of mortal sins). Vas. Dh. S. (I. 20) uses the word bhrūṇahatyū. Manu XI. 54, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 35. 1, Yāj. III. 227 enumerate five mahāpātakas of which brāhmaṇa-murder is one. Manu VIII. 381 declares that there is no worse sin in the world than brāhmaṇa-murder.

A question that very much exercised the minds of all smrtikāras and writers of digests335 was whether a brāhmana who was himself guilty of violence or serious offences could be killed in self-defence by one attacked. The dicta of the smrtis are somewhat conflicting. Manu IV. 162 lays down a general rule prohibiting himsā (death or injury) of one's teacher (of Veda), expounder (of the meaning of the Veda), one's parents, one's other teachers (or elders), brāhmanas, cows and all persons engaged in austerities. Manu XI. 89 lays down that there is no expiation (prayascitta) that will wipe off the sin of intentionally killing a brāhmana. But Manu himself (VIII. 350-351=Visnu Dh. S. V. 189-190=Matsyapurāna 227. 115-117 = Vrddha-Hārīta IX, 349-350) says one may surely kill without hesitation a man who comes down upon one as an ātatāyin³³⁶ (a desperate character or violent man), whether he be a teacher, a child or an old man or a learned brahmana. In killing an ātatāyin, the killer incurs no sin (or fault), whether he kills him in the presence of people or alone; (in such a case) wrath meets wrath'. Vas. Dh. S. (III, 15-18) expressly says by killing an ātatāyin they say the killer incurs no sin whatever' and quotes three verses 'an incendiary, a poisoner, one armed with a weapon, a robber, one who wrests a field or carries away one's wife-these six are called atatayin. When

^{334.} The word 'bhrūṇa' has several meanings. Baud. Gr. (I. 4. 8) says that bhrūṇa is one who knows the whole Vedic lore of his śākhā up to sūtra and pravacana (bhāṣya?); Vaik. (I. 1) says that bhrūṇa is a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda who has performed soma sacrifices. Vide note 290 above. Gaut. 21. 9 uses the word in the sense of 'garbha (foetus),' while in Gaut. 17. 9 'bhrūṇahā' is equal to 'brahmahā'. Both Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 94 and Vas. Dh. S. II. 42 quote a verse where bhrūṇahā means brahmaḥā, while Vas. Dh. S. 20. 23 gives two meanings to it.

^{335.} Vide Visvarūpa on Yāj. III. 222 and the Mit. on Yāj II. 21, Aparārka pp. 1042-44, Sm. C. (Vyavahāra pp. 313-15.).

^{336. &#}x27;Atatāyin' literally means 'one who goes with his bow strung (i. e. ready to kill or fight). Siva is called atatāyin in Vāj. S. 16. 18 and Kāthaka-samhitā 17. 12.

an atatayin comes (to attack) with the desire to kill (or harm), one may kill him even though he be a complete master of Vedānta; by so doing one does not become a brāhmanamurderer. If a person kills one who has studied the Veda and who is born of a good family, because the latter is an ātatāvin, he does not thereby become a brahmana-murderer as in that case fury meets fury.' 837 In the Santiparva (34, 17 and 19)388 we have similar verses 'If a brahmana approaches wielding a weapon in a battle and desirous of killing a person, the latter may kill him even if the former be a complete master of the Veda. If a person kills a brāhmana ātatāyin who has swerved from right conduct, he does not thereby fury '. Udyogaparva (178. 51-52) says that, if a man kills in a battle a brāhmana who fights like a ksatriya, it is a settled rule that he does not incur the sin of brāhmana-murder. Śānti (22.5-6) is to the same effect. The Visnu Dh. S. (V. 191-192) speaks of seven persons as ātatāyin viz. one who has a weapon ready to strike, one who is about to set fire or administer poison, one who has raised his hand to give a curse, who sets about to kill by the magic rites mentioned in the Atharvaveda (e.g. such sūktas as I. 19, II. 19, III. 1-2, VII. 108), one who is a backbiter and informs the king, one who violates or assaults another's wife.' The Matsyapurāna (227. 117-119) is practically to the same effect, Sumantu as quoted by the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 21) and by Apararka (p. 1043) says 'there is no sin in killing an ātatāvin except a cow or a brāhmana'.339 This implies that a brāhmana even if an ātatāyin should not be killed, but if he be killed sin is incurred. Kātyāyana³⁴⁰ (quoted in the Sm. C. and other digests) declares that one should not kill a brahmana who is eminent by reason of his tapas, Vedic study and birth. even though he be an atatavin: Bhrgu allows killing when the offender is of a lower caste than that of brahmana'. Brhaspati³⁴¹ also savs that he who would not kill a brāhmana ātatāyin

^{337.} This last verse is also quoted in Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 14 and the latter half of it is the same as Santiparva 15. 55.

^{338.} प्रमुद्ध शस्त्रमायान्तमपि वेदान्तमं रणे । जिघांतन्तं जिवांसीयात्र तेन ब्रह्महा भवेत् ॥ शान्ति 34. 17.

^{339.} नाततायिवधे दोषोऽन्यत्र गोबाह्मणात् । सुमन्तु in मिता, on या. II. 21.

^{340.} आततायिनि चोत्कृष्टे तपःस्वाध्यायजनमतः। वधस्तत्र तु नैव स्यात्यापे हीने वधो भूगुः॥ कात्यायन in स्मृतिच॰ (ध्यवहार p. 315)

^{341.} आततायिनसुस्कृष्टं दृत्तस्वाध्यायसंयुतम् । यो न हन्याद्वधपातं सोऽश्वमेधफलं लभेत्। बृहस्यति quoted in स्मृतिच॰ (य्य. p. 315)

deserving to be killed for his violence would obtain the merit of an Asvamedha sacrifice.

Commentators and writers of digests differ in their interpretations. Viśvarūpa 342 (on Yāj. III. 222) remarks that he is guilty of brāhmana-murder who kills a brāhmana except in battle or except when the latter is an atatayin, or who kills a brāhmaņa (not an ātatāyin nor fighting) on his own account without being employed by another or who brings about the death of such a brahmana by hiring another to perpetrate the murder for money. He further adds that the man who kills a brāhmana at the instigation of another for money is not guilty of the sin of brāhmana-murder, but it is the instigator who is so guilty on the analogy of the rule that the merit or fruit of a sacrifice belongs to him on whose behalf the rtviks perform it. The Mit. 343 on Yai. (II. 21) says that the real purport of Manu VIII. 350-351 is not to ordain that a brahmana must be killed if he is an ātatāyin, but those two verses are only an arthavāda (laudatory or recommendatory dicta), the real meaning being that even a guru and a brāhmana who are most highly honoured and who are not fit to be killed at all, may have to be killed if ātatāyins (then what of others?). The final conclusion of the Mit, is that if a brāhmana who is an ātatāyin is being opposed in self-defence without any desire to kill him and if he dies through mistake or inattention, then the killer incurs no punishment at the hand of the king and has to undergo a slight prāyaścitta i. e. there is really a prohibition to kill an ātatāvin brāhmana and verses like Manu VIII. 351 refer to an ātatāvin who is not a brāhmana. Medhātithi appears to have held the same view (on Manu VIII. 350-351). Kullūka explains Manu VIII. 350 as meaning that 'a guru or a brāhmana or others coming as ātatāyins may be killed when it is impossible to save oneself even by fleeing from them'. Apararka is of opinion 344

^{342.} आतताथिसंग्रामध्यतिरेकेण यो ब्राह्मणमन्येनाप्रयुक्तः स्वातन्त्र्येण हन्याद्, अन्यं वा द्रध्यद्वानादिना वशीकृत्य घातयति स प्रत्येतच्यः। यस्तु धनकीतः परप्रयुक्तो हन्यात् तस्य स्वामिगामित्वात्क्रियाफलानामृत्विज्ञामिव ब्रह्महत्याजन्यफलसंबन्धो नास्त्येव। विश्वरूप on या. 111. 222.

^{343.} नाततायिवधे दोषो इन्तुर्भवति कश्चनेत्येतद्दापे ब्राह्मणादिस्यतिरिक्तविषयमेव। अतश्च ब्राह्मणाद्दय आततायिनश्च आत्मादिचाणार्थे हिंसानिभसंधिना निवार्यमाणाः प्रमाद्दाचिद् विषयेरस्तत्र लघु प्रायश्चित्तं राजदण्डाभावश्चेति निश्चयः। मितार on या. II. 21.

^{344.} तद्रयापारनिवारणं च यत्र वधमन्तरेण न संभवति तत्रेव तद्वधालुज्ञा । यत्र तु व्यव्हासादिमहारमात्रेणैव शक्यो निवारियतुं तत्र तु तद्वधो दोषनिमित्तमेव । अपरार्क on या III. 227 p. 1043.

that where an ātatāyin brāhmaņa cannot be prevented from his wicked intent except by killing him, there only the śāstras allow the killing of a brahmana but where it is possible to ward him off by a mere blow (i. e. without actually killing him) there would be the sin of brahmana-murder if he were actually killed. The Sm.C. in a long note appears to hold that an ātatāvin brāhmana rushing upon a man to kill him may be killed by the person attacked (there is no sin and no punishment nor penance for it). that a brāhmaņa ātatāyin (who does not come to kill but) who only siezes one's fields or wife should not be killed (but lesser harm may be done to him with impunity) and that ksatriyas and others if atatayin may be killed outright. Vyavahāra-Mayūkha 345 adds a rider that, on account of the prescription contained in the section on kalivariya (actions forbidden in the Kali age) viz. 'the killing in a properly conducted fight of brāhmaņas that are ātatāyin' (is forbidden in Kali), an ātatāyin brāhmaņa even when about to kill a person should not be killed by that person in the Kali age, that such a brāhmana was allowed to be killed in former ages, that an ātatāyin brāhmana other than one bent upon killing another was not be killed in all ages. The Viramitrodaya (pp. 19-27) has a long disquisition on this subject but space forbids us from giving even a brief summary of it. It will have been noticed how the sacredness of the brāhmana's person went on increasing in later ages.

- (10) Even threatening a brāhmaṇa with assault, or striking him or drawing blood from his body drew the severest condemnation from very ancient times. The Tai. 346 S. (II. 6. 10. 1-2) contains these words 'He who threatens a brāhmaṇa should be fined a hundred, he who strikes a brāhmaṇa should be fined a thousand, he who draws blood would not reach (or find) the abode of pitṛs for as many years as the dust particles that may be made into a paste by the quantity of blood drawn. Therefore one should not threaten a brāhmaṇa with assault, nor strike him nor draw his blood'. Gaut. (22, 20-22) has a
- 345. किं च 'आततायिद्विजाग्न्याणां धर्मयुद्धेन हिंसनम् ' इति करों वधोद्यतस्यातता-यिनो विप्रस्य इननं निषिद्धम् । व्यवहारमयूख p. 242; for कलिवर्ज्य texts vide Appendix.
- 346. योऽपग्रस्ते शतेन यातयाद्यो निहनत् सहस्रेण यातयाद्यो छोहितं करवद्यावतः मस्कद्य पासून् संग्रह्मीयात् तावतः संवत्सरान् पितृछोकं न प्रजानादिति। तस्मात् ब्राह्मणाय नापग्रस्त न निहन्यास छोहितं कुर्यात्। ते. सं. II. 6. 10. 1-2.

similar ⁸⁴⁷ dictum, viz. that threatening a brāhmaṇa with assault in wrath prevents entry into heaven for a hundred years (or leads to hell for a hundred years) &c. Jaimini III. 4. 17 considers the question whether the passage in the Tai. S. is kvatvartha or purusārtha.

- (11) For certain offences a brāhmaṇa received lesser punishment than members of other classes. For example, Gaut. says 348 'if a kṣatriya reviled a brāhmaṇa the fine was one hundred (kārṣāpaṇas), if a vaiśya did so it was 150; but if a brāhmaṇa reviled a kṣatriya the fine was 50; if he reviled a vaiśya it was only 25, and if a brāhmaṇa reviled a śūdra he was not to be fined.' Vide Manu VIII. 267-268 (but Manu prescribes a fine of twelve for a brāhmaṇa reviling a śūdra) which are the same as Nārada (vākpāruṣya verses 15-16), Yāj. II. 206-207. But in the case of certain crimes the brāhmaṇa was to receive heavier punishment. For example, in the case of theft, if a śūdra thief was fined 349 eight, a vaiśya 16 and a kṣatriya 32, a brāhmaṇa was fined 64, 100 or 128. Vide Gaut. 21. 12-14 and Manu VIII. 337-338.
- (12) According to Gaut. 350 (XIII. 4) a brāhmaṇa could not be cited as a witness by a litigant who was not a brāhmaṇa and the king would not summon him, provided he (the brāhmaṇa) was not an attesting witness on a document. Nārada (rṇādāna verse 158) lays down that 351 'śrotriyas, those engaged in austerities, old men, those who have become ascetics, are not to be witnesses because the authoritative texts so prescribe but there is no cause assigned for this rule. 'So Nārada's view was that a śrotriya could never be cited as a witness by any litigant (even by a brāhmaṇa litigant). Gaut. impliedly shows that even a śrotriya could be cited as a witness by a brāhmaṇa. Manu VIII. 65, Viṣṇu Dh. S. VIII. 2 also forbid citing a śrotriya as a witness.
- 347. अभिकुद्धावगोरणं ब्राह्मणस्य वर्षशतमस्वर्ग्यम् । निघाते सहस्रम् । लोहितदृर्शने यावतस्तरमस्त्रद्य पासून् संग्रह्णीयात् । गीतम 22. 20-22.
- 348. इतं क्षत्रियो ब्राह्मणाकोशे। अध्यधे वैश्यः। ब्राह्मणस्तु क्षत्रिये पञ्चाशत्। तद्धीं वश्ये। न शुद्धे किंचित्। गौतम 21. 6–10.
- 349. अष्टापाद्यं स्तेयिकिल्बिषं श्रूद्रस्य । द्विग्रणोत्तराणीतरेषां प्रतिवर्णम् । विदुषोऽ तिक्रमे दण्डभूयस्त्वम् । गोतम 21. 12-14
 - 350. ब्राह्मणस्त्वब्राह्मणवचनादनवरोध्योऽनिषद्धश्चेत । गौ. XIII. 4.
- 351. श्रोत्रियास्तापसा वृद्धा ये च प्रविजता नराः । असाक्षिणस्ते व**चकात्र हेतुरुद्**र- त्हृतः ।। नारद् (ऋणादान 158).

- (13) Only certain brāhmaņas were to be invited for dinner in śrāddhas and in rites for gods. Vide Gaut. 15. 5 and 9, Ap. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 4, Manu III. 124 and 128, Yāj. I. 217. 219. 221.
- (14) Certain sacrifices could be performed only by brāhmaṇas. For example, the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice and the sacrifices called sattras could be performed only by brāhmaṇas. 352 But it has to be noted that the Rājasūya sacrifice could performed only by kṣatriyas and that according to Jaimini VI. 6. 24-26 even brāhmaṇas of Bhṛgu, Śunaka and Vasiṣṭha gotras could not perform a sattra.
- (15) The periods of mourning were less in the case of brāhmaṇas. Gaut. 14. 1-4 prescribes ten days of mourning for brāhmaṇas, eleven for kṣatriyas, twelve for vaisyas and a month for śūdras. Vas. Dh. S. IV. 27-30, Viṣnu Dh. S. 22. 1-4, Manu V. 83, Yāj. III. 22 contain similar provisions. Later on ten days' mourning came to be prescribed for all castes. 353

Several other lesser privileges are enumerated by Nārada (prakīrṇaka, verses 35-39) 'The king shall show his face in the morning before brāhmaṇas first of all and shall salute them all. When nine or seven persons (of different rank) meet, they shall first make room for the brāhmaṇa to pass 354 by. Further privileges assigned to brāhmaṇa are: free access to the houses of other people for the purpose of begging alms; the right to collect fuel, flowers, water and the like without its being regarded as a theft 355 and to converse with other men's wives without being restrained (in such conversation) by others; and the right to cross rivers without paying any fare for the ferry-boat and to be conveyed (to the other bank) before other people. When engaged in trading and using a ferry boat, they shall have to pay no toll. A brāhmaṇa who is engaged in travelling, who is tired and has

^{352.} सत्राणि ब्राह्मणानामृत्विक्शुत:। कात्या. श्री. I. 6. 13; so also Jaimini VI. 6. 16-23 for सत्रs and VI. 6. 24-26 for the proposition that ब्राह्मणंs of भृग्न, श्रुनक and विसेष्ठ gotras were not entitled to perform सत्रs.

^{353.} सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां स्तके मृतके तथा। दृशाहाच्छुद्धिरेतेषामिति शातातपोऽ-नवीत् ॥ अङ्किरस् in मिता॰ on या. III. 22.

^{354.} Vide privilege No. 8 (rule about making way) above. Gautama (VI. 21-22 quoted above p. 146) names seven persons, while Vasiatha (13. 58-60) mentions nine persons about this rule. Narada has probably these two sutra works in view here.

^{355.} Vide आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 3, मह VIII. 339, या. II. 166.

nothing to eat, commits no wrong by taking two canes of sugar or two esculent roots.

There were some disabilities also in the case of brāhmanas which have been indicated in the above discussion (viz. as to avocations, selling articles &c.).

It may be convenient to bring together the disabilities of the sudra:

- (1) He was not allowed to study the Veda. Many of the smrtikāras and writers of digests356 quote several Vedic passages on this point. A sruti text reads '(The Creator) created the brahmana with Gayatri (metre), the rajanya with Tristubh, the vaisya with Jagati, but he did not create the śūdra with any metre; therefore the śūdra is known to be unfit for the samskara (of upanayana)'. The study of the Veda follows after Upanayana and the Veda speaks of the Upanayana of only three classes357 'one should perform upanayana for a brāhmana in spring, for a rājanya in summer and in sarad (autumn) for a vaisya. Not only was the sūdra not to study the Veda, but Veda study was not to be carried on in his presence (vide note 75 above). This attitude need not cause wonder. The sacred Vedic literature was largely created and preserved entirely by the brāhmanas (the ksatrivas contributing if at all a very small share in that task). If the brāhmanas desired to keep their sacred treasure for the twiceborn classes in these circumstances, it is understandable and for those ages even excusable. In the 20th century there are vast majorities who are not allowed by small minorities of imperialistic and capitalistic tendencies to control the just and equitable distribution of the material goods produced mostly by the labour and co-operation of those majorities and doctrines are being openly professed that certain races alone should be imparted higher and scientific knowledge while other so-called inferior races should be only hewers of wood and drawers of water.
- 356. गायज्या ब्राह्मणमसुजत त्रिष्टभा राजन्यं जगत्या वैश्यं न केन चिच्छन्दसा शूद-मित्यसंस्कार्यो विज्ञायते । वसिष्ठ IV. 3, quoted by अपरार्क p. 23 who quotes यम 'न केन चित्समसुजच्छन्दसा तं प्रजापतिः। ग
- 357. वसन्ते बाह्मणसुपनयीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं शरिद वैश्यमिति। This is the basis of Jaimini VI. 1. 33 and is relied on by Sabara. Vide Ap. Dh. S. I. 1.1.6.
- 358. अथापि यमगीताञ्ज्रहोकान्तदाहरन्ति । इमशानमेतः प्रत्यक्षं ये श्रूद्धाः पादचारिणः । तस्मान्त्वस्यक्षं ये त्र्याः पादचारिणः । तस्मान्त्वस्यक्षेत्रे त नाध्येतस्यं कदाचन ॥ वसिष्ठ 18. 13. Vide गौ. 16. 18-19, आपः ध. स. 1. 3. 9. 9 (इमशानवच्छूद्रपतितौ), या. 1. 148, आदिपर्व 64. 20.

There are however faint traces that in ancient times this prohibition of Veda study was not so absolute and universal as the smrtis make it. In the Chandogya Upanisad IV. 1-2, we have the story of Jānaśruti Pautrāyana and Raikva where the latter addresses Jānaśruti as śūdra and imparts to him the Samvarga (absorption) vidyā. 359 It appears that Jānaśruti was a śūdra to whom the vidyā embodied in the Chāndogya (which is also Veda) was imparted. It is no doubt true that in the Vedāntasūtra 360 (I. 3. 34) the word śūdra is explained not as referring to the class, but as meaning that sorrow ($\dot{s}uc$) arose in Jānaśruti on hearing the contemptuous talk of the flamingoes about himself and he was overcome (from dru) by that (i. e. $\dot{s}\bar{u}dra$ is derived from $\dot{s}uc$ and dru). But this far-fetched explanation had to be given because of the practice current in the times of the Vedāntasūtras that the śūdra is not entitled to study the Veda. Gaut. XII. 4 went so far as to prescribe 'if the sudra intentionally listens for committing to memory the Veda, then his ears should be filled with (molten) lead and lac; if he utters the Veda, then his tongue may be cut off; if he has mastered the Veda his body should be hacked '361.

Though the sūdra could not study the Veda, he was not debarred from hearing the itihāsas (like the Mahābhārata) and the Purāṇas. The ³⁶² Mahābhārata (Śānti 328. 49) expressly says that the four varṇas should hear the Mahābhārata through a brāhmaṇa as reader. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa ²⁶³ says that as the three Vedas cannot be learnt by women, śūdras and brāhmaṇas (who are so only by birth), the sage (Vyāsa) composed the story of the Bhārata out of compassion for them. The Śūdrakamalākara ³⁶⁴ (pp. 13-14) cites several passages from the purāṇas

- 359. तसु ह परः परयुवाचाह हारेत्वा सूद तवैव सह गोभिरस्तिति। छान्दोग्य IV.2.3.
- 360. शुगस्य तद्नाद्रश्रवणात्तदाद्रवणात्स्च्यते हि। वेदान्तस्त्र I. 3. 34; vide धायपुराण vol. I. 8. 158 where this derivation is followed.
- 361. अथ हास्य वेदसुपशृण्यतस्त्रपुजतुम्यां श्रोत्रपूरणसुदाहरणे जिह्नाच्छेदो धारणे शरीरभेदः । गौतम 12.4; vide मुच्छकटिक 1X.21 'वेदार्थान् प्राकृतस्त्वं वदिस न च ते जिह्ना निपतिता'
- 362. आवयेच्चतुरो वर्णान्कृत्वा बाह्मणमयतः । ज्ञान्तिपर्व 328. 49; vide also आदिपर्व 62. 22, and 95. 87.
- 353. स्त्रीशुद्धद्विजवन्धूनां त्रयी न श्वितगोचरा । इति भारतमाख्यानं सुनिना कृपया कृतम् ॥ भागवत 1.4.25; vide त्रिकाण्डमण्डन 1V.28 ब्रह्मध्याकरणे कृत्वा दुत्वा वै पावके हिवः । शालग्रामशिलां स्पृष्ट्वा शुद्धो गच्छत्यधोगितम् ॥
- 364. तत्सिद्धं शूद्धस्य विपद्वारा पुराणश्रवणेन ज्ञानमिति। शूद्धकम. p. 17; पुराण-श्रवणं विपासर्सिंहस्य प्रजनम् । सुसिंहपुराण । 58. 13.

to the effect that the śūdra could not study the smrtis and purānas Even Manu II. 16 seems to suggest that only the dvijātis had the privilege to listen to the Manusmrti (and not śūdras). The only privilege conceded by the Śūdrakamalākara to the sudra is that he can acquire knowledge by listening to the puranas read by a brahmana (p. 17); the Kalpataru and other works allowed the sudra to read and repeat Purana mantras. Śamkarācārva on Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 38) guotes Śānti 328. 49 and says that the sūdra has no adhikūra (eligibility) for brāhmavidyā based upon a study of the Veda, but that a śūdra can attain spiritual development (just as Vidura and Dharmavyādha mentioned in the Mahābhārata did) and that he may attain to moksa, the fruit of correct knowledge. In certain digests we find a smrti quotation to the effect that śūdras are Vājasa-This is 365 explained as meaning that the śūdra should follow the procedure prescribed in the grhyasütra of the Vājasaneva Sākhā and a brāhmana should repeat the mantra for him-This is probably based on the Harivamsa (Bhavisyat-parva, chap, III, 13) "all will expound brahma; all will be Vajasaneyins; when the yuga comes to a close śūdras will make use of the word 'bhoh' in address" (sarve brahma vadisvanti sarve Vājasanevinah).

(2) The sūdras were not to consecrate sacred fires and to perform the solemn Vedic sacrifices. Vide note 73 above. Jaimini (I. 3. 25-38) elaborately discusses this question and arrives at the conclusion that the sūdra cannot consecrate the three sacred fires and so cannot perform Vedic rites. Among the reasons given are that in several Vedic passages only the three higher classes are referred to in the case of the consecration of fires, about the sūmans to be sung, about the food to be taken when observing vrata. It is however interesting to note that at least one ancient teacher (Bādari) 367 was found who advocated that

^{365.} तेन बाह्मणेन तत्र मन्त्रः पठनीय इति तात्पर्यम् । तत्र यञ्जविको मन्त्रः । तथा स्मृतिः । आर्षक्रमेण सर्वत्र सूद्धा वाजसनेथिनः । अस्मान्द्ध्द्धः स्वयं कर्म यञ्जविद्धीव कारयेत् ॥ आर्षक्रमेण सुन्युक्तक्रमेण यञ्जविद्धां विविध्यद्यादिना । सूद्धकृत्यतस्व (p. 634). The धर्षिक्रयाकोसुदी (p. 575) quotes the words सूद्धा वाजसनेथिनः as from कूर्मपुराणः, while सूद्धकमः p. 51 says सूद्धा वाजसनेथिन इति गौडनिवन्धे दक्षीकः।

^{366.} वसन्ते बाह्मणोऽभीनाद्धीत मीष्मे राजन्यः शरिव वैश्यः। पयो व्रतं बाह्मण्यस्य यवाग् राजन्यस्य आमिक्षा वैश्यस्य। These are the vedic texts relied upon by Jaimini (I. 3, 25-38) and Sabara.

^{367.} निमित्तार्थन बादिस्तस्मात्सर्वाधिकारं स्यात । जे I. 3. 27.

even śūdras could perform Vedic sacrifices. The Bhāradvāja Śrauta sūtra ³⁶⁸ (V. 2. 8) states the opinion of some that the śūdra can consecrate the three sacred Vedic fires. The Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra (I. 4.5) prescribes that all can perform Vedic rites except those who are deficient in a limb, who are not learned in the 369 Veda, who are impotent and sūdras; but the commentary thereon states by way of purvapaksa that there are certain Vedic texts which lead to the inference that the Sudra had the adhikāra for Vedic rites e. g. in Sat. Br. I. 1. 4. 12 (S. B. E. vol. XII. p. 28) it is said with reference to the Haviskrt call "Now there are four different forms of this call, viz. 'Come hither' (chi) in the case of a brāhmana; 'approach' (āgahi) and 'hasten hither' (ādrava) in the case of a vaisya and a member of the military caste and 'run hither' (ādhāva) in that of a śūdra." Similarly in the Somayaga in place of the payovrata (vow to drink milk only) mastu (whey) is prescribed for śūdra (indicating thereby that the śūdra could perform Somayāga) and in Sat. Br. (XIII 8. 3. 11, S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 435) with reference to sepulchral mounds it is said 'for the ksatriya he may make as high as a man with upstretched arms, for a brahmana reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a vaisya up to the thighs, for a südra up to the knee'. The commentary on the Kātvāvana Śrauta I. 1.6 savs that the word śūdra here stands for rathakāra because (acc. to Yāi, I. 91) his mother's mother is a sūdra woman.

Though the śūdra was not authorized to perform Vedic rites, he was entitled to perform what is called $p\bar{u}rta$ -dharma ²⁷⁰ i. e. the building of wells, tanks, temples, parks and distribution of food as works of charity and gifts on such occasions as eclipses and the Sun's passage from one zodiacal sign into another and on the 12th and other tithis. He was allowed to perform the five daily sacrifices called Mahāyajñas

^{368.} विद्यते चतुर्थस्य वर्णस्याग्न्याधेयमित्येके न विद्यत इत्यपरम् । भारद्वाजश्रीतसूत्र V. 2. 8. (Journal of Vedic studies, Lahore, vol I for Sep. 1934).

^{369.} अङ्गृहीनाश्रोतियषण्ढशूद्भवर्जम् । कात्या. श्रो. सू. I. 4. 5; com. आधावित शूद्भरय मस्तु शूद्भरेयेति मोमे पयोवतस्थाने । अष्ठीवद्भद्भं शूद्भरेयेति पितृमेधे । . The first is शतपथ I. 1. 4. 12 and the last is शतपथ XIII. 8. 3. 11.

^{370.} इष्टापूर्तो द्विजातीनां सामान्यौ धर्मसाधनौ। अधिकारी भवेच्छूद्रः पूर्वधर्मे न वैदिके ॥ अत्रि verse 46; लघुराङ्क verse 6; अपरार्क p. 24 'वापीळूपतडागादि देवसा-पतनानि च । अक्षप्रदानमारामः पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते ॥ ब्रह्मेपरागे यहानं सूर्यसंक्रमणेषु च । द्वाद्रश्यहौ च यहानं पूर्वमित्यभिधीयते ॥. The first verse is quoted from the महाभारत and the second from जातुकर्ण्य.

in the ordinary fire, he could perform śrāddha, he was to think of the devatās and utter loudly the word 'namah' which was to be the only mantra in his case (i. e. he was not to say 'Agnave syāhā' but to think of Agni and say 371 'namah'). Manu X. 127 prescribes that all religious rites for the śūdra are without (Vedic) mantras. According to some the śūdra could also have what is called Vaivāhika fire (i. e. fire kindled at the time of marriage) in Manu III 67 and Yaj. I. 97, but Medhātithi (on the same verse), the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 121), the Madanapārijāta (p. 231) and other works say that he should offer oblations in the ordinary fire and that there is no Vaivāhika fire for the śūdra. All persons including the śūdras and even candalas were authorized to repeat the Ramamantra of 13 letters (Śrī Rāma jaya Rāma jaya jaya Rāma) and the Siva mantra of five letters (namah Śivāya), while dvijātis could repeat the Siva mantra of six letters (Om namah Sivaya). Vide Śūdra-kamalākara pp. 30-31, where passages of Varāha, Vāmana and Bhavisva Purānas are cited to show that śūdras are entitled to learn and repeat mantras of Visnu from the Pancaratra texts and of Siva, the Sun, Sakti and Vinayaka. The Varahapurana (128. 22-31) describes the initiation (diksā) of a śūdra as a devotee of Visnu (as a bhāgavata).

(3) As to Samskāras, there is some apparent conflict among the authorities. Manu X. 126 says 'The śūdra incurs no sin (by eating forbidden articles like onions and garlic), he is not fit for samskāras, he has no adhikāra for (authority to perform) dharma nor is he forbidden from performing dharma' and in IV. 80 (which is the same as Vas. Dh. S. 18. 14 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 48-52) we see 'one should not give advice to a śūdra, nor give him leavings of food nor of sacrificial oblations, one

^{371.} अनुज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्रः। पाक्रयज्ञैः स्वयं यजेतत्येके । गौ. 10. 66-67; पञ्चयज्ञविधानं तु ज्ञूद्रस्यापि विधीयते। तस्य प्रोक्तो नमस्कारः छुर्विक्तत्यं न हीयते ॥ लघुविष्णु V. 9; दानं च दधाच्छूद्रोपि पाक्रयज्ञैर्यजेत च। पित्र्याद्किं च वे सर्वे ज्ञूद्रः छुर्वीत तेन वे ॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 8. 33.; स्वाहाकारवषद्वकारो मन्त्रः ज्ञूद्रे न विद्यते । तस्माच्छूद्रः पाक्र्यज्ञैर्यजेताव्रतवान् स्वयम् ॥ ज्ञान्तिपर्व 60. 37-38; या. I. 121 'भार्यारतिः छुचिर्शृत्यभर्ता आद्धिक्तयारतः। नमस्कारेण मन्त्र्रेण पश्च यज्ञाक हापयेत् ॥ ग on which the मिता gives the view of some that the namaskara mantra is 'देवतास्यः पितृस्यश्च महायोगिस्य एव च। नमः स्वधाये स्वाहाये नित्यमेव नमो नमः ॥' मेधा. (on मन्तु III. 121 सायं त्वक्तस्य सिद्धस्य पत्त्यमन्त्रं बिल्लं हरेत्।) remarks यथा ज्ञूद्रो नमस्कारमञ्ज्ञारयित अनुज्ञातो मन्त्र इति (गौ. X. 66) इति नमस्कारेण प्रत्यास्त्रातः ज्ञूद्रस्य मन्त्र इति नमस्कारोन्त्रज्ञातोस्य न देवतापद्वम्।'. The Vişpu Dh. S. 21. 20 says about sapiṇ्त्रो-karapa क्षाव्रतीकि कारम्य स्वाप्ति अनुज्ञातो स्वाप्ति भारति कार्यास्व क्षाव्यक्ति भारति कार्यास्व क्षाव्यक्ति भारति विद्यास्य क्षाव्यक्ति भारति विद्यास्य विद्यास्य क्षाव्यक्ति भारति विद्यास्य क्षाव्यक्ति भारति विद्यास्य क्षाव्यक्ति भारति विद्यास्य क्षाव्यक्ति भारति विद्यास्य विद्यास्य विद्यास्य विद्यास्य विद्यास्य क्षाव्यक्ति विद्यास्य विद्य

should not impart religious instruction to him nor ask him to perform vratas'. Laghuvisnu 378 (I. 15) contains the dictum that the śūdra is devoid of any samskāra. The Mit. on Yāi, III. 262 explains the words of Manu IV. 80 about vratas in the case of śūdras as applicable only to those śūdras who are not in attendance upon members of the three higher castes and establishes that śūdras can perform vratas (but without homa and muttering of mantras). Aparārka on the same verse (Manu IV. 80) explains that the śūdra cannot perform vratas in person. but only through the medium of a brahmana. The Śūdrakamalākara (p. 38) holds that śūdras are entitled to perform vratas, fasts, mahādānas and prāyaścittas, but without homa and japa. Manu X. 127 allows religious śūdras to perform all religious acts which dvijātis perform, provided they do not use Vedic mantras. On the other hand Sankha (as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 13) opines that samskāras may be performed for śūdras but without Vedic mantras. Yama quoted in Sm. C. (I. p. 14) says the same. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 17) prescribes that ten samskāras (viz. garbhādhāna, pumsavana. sīmantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakarana, niskramana, annaprāśana, caula, karnavedha and vivāha) can be performed in the case of sudras, but without Vedic mantras. Haradatta (on Gautama X. 51) quotes a grhyakāra to the effect that even in the case of the sudra the rites of niseka, pumsavana, simantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakarana, annaprāsana and caula are allowed but without Vedic mantras. When Manu prescribes (II. 32) that the śūdra should be given a name connected with service, he indicates that the śūdra could perform the ceremony of nāmakaraņa. So when Manu (IV. 80) states that he deserves no samskāra, what he means is that no samskāra with Vedic mantras was to be performed in his case. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 80 says that the prohibition to give advice and impart instruction in dharma applies only when these are done for making one's livelihood, but if a sudra is a friend of the family of a brāhmana friendly advice or instruction can be given. Vide Śūdrakamalākara p. 47 for several views about the samskāras allowed to śūdras.

(4) Liability to higher punishment for certain offences. If a śūdra committed adultery with a woman of the three

^{372.} ज्ञूदश्चतुर्थो वर्णस्तु सर्वसंस्कारवर्जितः । उक्तस्तस्य तु संस्कारो द्विजेष्वातमनिवेद्-नम् ॥ लज्जविष्णु I. 15.

higher castes, Gaut. 373 (XII. 1-2) prescribed the cutting off of his penis and forefeiture of all his property and if he was guilty of this offence when entrusted with the duty of protecting her, he was to suffer death in addition. Vas. Dh. S. 21, 1. Manu VIII. 366 prescribe death in the case of a śūdra having intercourse with a brahmana woman whether she was willing or unwilling. On the other hand, if a brahmana committed rape on a brāhmana woman he was fined a thousand and five hundred if he was guilty of adultery with her (Manu VIII. 378) and if a brāhmana had intercourse with a ksatriya, vaiśya or śudra woman, who was not guarded, he was fined five hundred (Manu VIII, 385). Similarly in the case of Vākpārusya (slander and libel) if a śūdra reviled a brāhmaņa he received corporal punishment or his tongue was cut off (Manu VIII. 270), but if a ksatriva or vaisva did so they were respectively fined 100 or 150 (Manu VIII. 267) and if a brāhmana reviled a śūdra, the brāhmana was fined only 12 (Manu VIII, 268) or nothing (acc. to Gaut. XII. 10). In the case of theft, however, the sudra was fined much less. Vide above p. 152 (No. 11 among the privileges of brahmanas).

- (5) In the matter of the period for impurity on death or birth the śūdra was held to be impure for a month, while a brāhmaṇa had to observe ten days' period only. Vide above p. 153 (No. 15 among the privileges of brāhmaṇas).
- (6) A śūdra could not be a judge or propound what dharma was. Manu (VIII. 9) and Yāj. I. 3 lay down that when the king does not himself look into the litigation of people owing to pressure of other business, he should appoint a learned brāhmaṇa as a judge. Manu (VIII. 20) further says that a king may appoint as his judge even a brāhmaṇa who is so by birth only (i. e. who does not perform the peculiar duties of brāhmaṇas), but never a śūdra. Kātyāyana (as quoted

^{373.} आर्यस्थिभमने लिङ्गोद्धारः स्वहरणं च । गोता चेह्रधोधिकः । गौतम 12. 1-2. In parts of America the penalty for an attempt to commit a rape on a white woman is burning alive, but only if the offender has a black skin. As to Rome vide Westermarck's 'The Origin and Development of moral Ideas' (1912) vol. I. p. 433 "from the beginning of Empire the citizens were divided into privileged classes and commonalty-ulerque ordo and plebs—and whilst a commoner who was guilty of murder was punished with death, a murderer belonging to the privileged classes was generally punished with deportation only."

in ⁸⁷⁴ the Mit. on Yāj. I. 3) says that when a brāhmaṇa is not available (as a judge) the king may appoint as judge a kṣatriya or a vaisya who is proficient in dharmaśāstra, but he should carefully avoid appointing a śūdra as judge.

- (7) A brāhmaņa was not allowed to receive gifts from a sūdra except under great restrictions. Vide above note 239.
- (8) A brāhmana could take³⁷⁵ food at the houses of members of the three classes who performed the duties prescribed for them by the sastras (according to Gaut.), but he could not take food from a śūdra except when the śūdra was his own cowherd, or tilled his field or was a hereditary friend of the family, or his own barber or his dasa. Vide Gaut. XVII. 6 and Manu IV. 253 (=Visnu Dh. S. 57. 16), Yāj. I. 166, Parāsara IX. 19. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 16. 22 says 376 'that food which is brought by an impure śūdra should not be eaten by a brāhmana; but Apastamba allows śūdras to be cooks in brāhmana households provided they were supervised by a member of the three higher classes and observed certain hygienic rules about paring nails, the cutting of hair. Manu IV. 211 forbade in general the food of a sudra to a brāhmana and by IV. 223 he laid down that a learned brāhmana should not take cooked food from a śūdra who did not perform śrāddha and other daily rites (mahāyajñas) but that he may take from such a śūdra uncooked grain for one night, if he cannot get food from anywhere else. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 1) requires a brahmana to avoid the food of vrsalas (sudras). Gradually rules about taking food from sūdras became stricter. The Sankhasmrti (13.4) remarks that brahmanas fattened on the food given by śūdras are Pańktidūsaka. Parāśara 377 XI. 13 ordains that a brahmana may take from a śūdra ghee, oil, milk. molasses and food fried in oil or ghee, but should eat it on a river bank and not in the śūdra's house and the Par. M. adds
- 374. **ब्राह्मणो** यत्र न स्यात्तु क्षत्रियं तत्र योजयेत् । वैश्यं या धर्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूदं यत्नेन धर्जयेत ॥ कास्यायन (quoted by मिता॰ on या. I. 3)
- 375. प्रशस्तानां स्वकर्मस् द्विजातीनां नाह्मणो भुजीत । ...पञ्जपालक्षेत्रकर्षककुलसंगत॰ कारियनुपरिचारका भोज्याकाः । गौतम 17. 1 and 6.
- 376. अप्रयतेन तु शूद्रेणीपहृतमभोज्यम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 16. 23; आर्थाधिष्ठिता वा शूद्धाः संस्कर्तारः स्युः । आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 4.
- 377. भृतं तैलं तथा क्षीरं छडं तैलेन पाचितम् । मन्ता नदीं तटे विमो भुक्षीयाच्छ्द-भोजनम् ॥ प्राज्ञर XI. 13 and 'एतच्च क्षित्रयादिवर्णत्रयभोजनस्याम्यन्तज्ञानं मार्गश्रान्त्यादौ पूर्ववर्णासंभवे चेदितम्यम् । आपदि यावता विना माणरक्षणं न भवति तावद्श्वमभ्यन्जज्ञायते स त ततोऽधिकम् । परा. मा. II. part 1 pp. 411-12.

- (II. 1. pp. 411-12) that this permission is meant to apply only when the brāhmaṇa is tired by travelling and no food from a member of another class is available. Haradatta on Gaut. XVII. 6 remarks that a brāhmaṇa could take food from a sūdra who was a cowherd &c. only in the case of very extreme calamities. Aparārka also (p. 244 on Yāj. I. 168) says the same. In the kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the kali age) the old practice of eating the food of cowherds, barber &c. was forbidden. 378
- (9) The śūdra gradually came to be so much looked down upon that he could not touch a brahmana, though at one time he could be a cook in a brahmana household and a brahmana could eat food from his house. In the Anusasanaparva (59.33) it is said 379 'a brāhmana should be served by a sūdra from a distance like blazing fire; while he may be waited upon by a ksatriya or vaisya after touching him.' Aparārka (p. 1196) quotes two smrti texts 'a brāhmaņa on touching a śūdra or nisāda becomes pure by ācamana (ceremonial sipping of water); on touching persons lower than these. he becomes pure by bathing, pranayama and the strength of tapas; on seeing a ram, a cock, a crow, a dog, a śūdra and an antyāvasāyin (an antyaja), one should stop the rite that is being performed and on touching them one should take a bath'. On this Aparārka explains that if a man who touched a śūdra cannot bathe then he may resort to sipping water, but if able he must take a bath or that on touching a sat-śūdra one may have recourse to ācamana and on touching an asat-śūdra one must take a bath. We find from the Grhyasūtras 380 that in Madhuparka offered to a snataka the feet of the guest (even if he was a brāhmana) were washed by a śūdra male or female. So there could have been no ban against a śūdra touching a brāhmana then. The Ap. Dh. S. (II. 3. 6. 9-10) says that two śūdras should wash the feet of a guest, according to some teachers (in the case of a householder who has several dasas), while Apastamba

^{378. &#}x27; सूदेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्धसीरिणाम् । भोज्यासता गृहस्थस्य ' quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (I. p. 12), परा. मा. I. part 1 pp. 134–137 and the उद्घाहतस्य of रघुनन्दन.

^{379.} दूराच्छूद्रेणोपचर्यो बाह्मणोग्निरिव ज्वलन् । संस्पृश्य परिचर्यस्तु बैश्येन क्षत्रियेण च ॥ अनुशासन 59. 33.

^{380.} e.g. हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 12. 18-20 'अधास्मै पाद्यामिति प्राप्त । तेनास्य शृद्धः भूदा वा पादौ प्रकालयति सभ्यमग्रे नाह्यणस्य दक्षिणमितस्योः'.

himself says that one sudra should wash the guest's feet and another should sprinkle him with water. 381

- (10) As the śūdra could not be initiated into Vedic study, the only āśrama out of the four that he was entitled to was that of the householder. In the Anuśāsanaparva (165.10) we read 382 'I am a śūdra and so I have no right to resort to the four āśramas'. In the Śāntiparva 383 (63.12-14) it is said, 'in the case of a śūdra who performs service (of the higher classes), who has done his duty, who has raised offspring, who has only a short span of life left or is reduced to the 10th stage (i. e. is above 90 years of age), the fruits of all āśramas are laid down (as obtained by him) except of the fourth.' Medhātithi on Manu VI. 97 explains these words as meaning that the śūdra by serving brāhmaṇas and procreating offspring as a house-holder acquires the merit of all āśramas except mokṣa which is the reward of the proper observance of the duties of the fourth āśrama.
- (11) The life of a śūdra was esteemed rather low. Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66 include the killing of a woman, a śūdra, a vaiśya and a kṣatriya among upapātakas; but the prāyaścittas and gifts prescribed for killing these show that the life of the śūdra was not worth much. On killing a kṣatriya, the prāyaścitta prescribed was brahmacarya for six years, gift of 1000 cows and a bull; for killing a vaiśya, brahmacarya for three years and gift of 100 cows and a bull; for killing a śūdra brahmacarya for one year, gift of 10 cows and a bull. Gaut. XXII. 14-16, Manu XI, 126-130, Yāj III. 266-267 say practically the same thing. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 25. 14-I. 9. 26. 1) says that on killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a cakravāka, flamingo, bhāsa, a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog, a cow and draught ox the prāyaścitta is the same as that for killing a śūdra. Manu (XI. 131) says 'on killing a cat, an ichneumon,

^{381.} तस्य पादौ प्रक्षालयेच्छुद्रमिथुनावित्येको। अन्यतरोऽभिषेचने स्यात्। आपः धृ स्. II. 3. 6. 9-10.

^{382.} शूद्रोहं नाधिकारों में चातुराश्रम्यसेवने । अनुशासनपर्वे 165, 10,

^{383.} ह्युश्रूषोः कृतकार्यस्य कृतसंतानकर्मणः । अम्यद्भज्ञातराजस्य स्ट्र्स्य जगतीपते । अल्पान्तरगतस्यापि द्वधर्मगतस्य वा । आश्रमा विहिताः सर्वे वर्जयित्वा निरामिषम् । शान्ति॰ 63. 12–14; सर्वे आश्रमास्तु न कर्तत्याः किं तर्हि ह्युश्रूषयापत्योत्पादनेन च सर्वाश्रमफलं लभते द्विजातीन् ह्युश्रूषमाणो गार्हस्थ्येन सर्वाश्रमफलं लभते परिवाजकफलं मोक्षं वर्जयित्वा । मेधा-तिथि on मनु. VI. 97.

cāṣa, a frog, a dog, iguana, owl and crow, the prāyaścitta is the same as that for killing a śūdra. 384

If the śūdra laboured under certain grave disabilities, he had certain compensating advantages. He could follow almost any profession except the few specially reserved for brahmanas and ksatriyas. Even as to the latter many śūdras became kings and Kaut, in his Arthaśāstra (IX. 2) speaks of armies of śūdras (vide note 266 above). The śūdra was free from the round of countless daily rites. He was compelled to undergo no samskāra (except marriage), he could indulge in any kind of food and drink wine, he had to undergo no penances for lapses from the rules of the śāstras, he had to observe no restrictions of gotra and prayara in marriage. Those western writers who turn up their nose at the position of the śūdras in ancient and medieval India conveniently forget what atrocious crimes were perpetrated by their people in the institution of slavery and in their dealings with the Red Indians and other backward coloured races; how nations of Europe out of false pride of race have passed in the 20th century laws prohibiting marriages between the so-called Aryans and non-Arvans and preventing the latter from holding state offices and carrying on several occupations and how discrimination is made against coloured men on railways, in hotels and other places of public resort and how even in India separate third class compartments were reserved on railways for Europeans, for entering which Indians were prosecuted and sentenced in their own country. Vide Emperor vs Narayan 25 Bom. L. R. 26 for such a case.

^{384.} Those who are familiar with the cases decided in India in which Indian servants or coolies were kicked by European employers and died as a result and in which the offenders were either acquitted or let off on a small line (on the ground that the deceased had an enlarged spleen) need not feel surprised at the above statement of affairs in India over two thousand years ago.

CHAPTER IV

UNTOUCHABILITY

Those who have written on the Indian caste system have always been struck by the fact of the existence of certain castes that are treated as untouchables. But it should not be supposed that this is something confined only to India. nations that have no caste system at all have often carried out complete segregation of certain people dwelling in their midst. which in essentials is the same as the system of untouchability The Encyclopaedia of social sciences vol. XI, p. 339 says that in the southern States of U.S. A. discrimination against Negroes took the form of 'residential segregation. separation of the races in public conveyances and places of amusement, exclusion of Negroes from public institutions and educational discrimination. Disenfranchisement and social discrimination had their economic counterpart in all branches of industry except agriculture and domestic and personal service, 385 occupations to which Negroes had been habituated under the slave regime.' It is also within living memory that Mahatma Gandhi had to lead a movement of satyāgraha in South Africa against the discriminating treatment of Indians and even now in Natal and other parts of British Africa there is legislation restricting Indians in the matter of residence and purchases of land.

In the early Vedic literature several of the names of castes that are spoken of in the smrtis as antyajas occur. We have carmamna (a tanner of hides?) in the Rgveda (VIII 5.38), the Cāṇḍāla and Paulkasa occur in the Vāj. S., the Vapa or Vaptā (barber) even in the Rg., the Vidalakāra or Bidalakāra (corresponding to the buruda of the smrtis) occurs in the Vāj. S. and the Tai. Br., Vāsaḥpalpūlī (washerwoman) corresponding to the Rajaka of the smrtis in the Vāj. S. But there is no

^{385.} Vide Westermarck's 'The Origin and Development of the moral ideas' vol. I. pp. 370-371 for the treatment of Bushmen in Africa and Australia and of Negroes in America. Vide 'Satyagraha in South Africa' by Mahatma Gandhi translated by Mr. Valji Govindji Desai (published by S. Ganesan, 1928).

indication in these passages whether these, even if they formed castes, were at all untouchables. The utmost that can be said is that as the Paulkasa is assigned to $b\bar{\imath}bhats\bar{a}$ (in Vaj. S. 30. 17) and Candala to Vayu (in the Purusamedha), the Paulkasa lived in such a way as to cause disgust and the Cāṇḍāla lived in the wind (i. e. probably in the open or in a cemetery). The only passage of Vedic literature on which reliance can be placed for some definite statement about candalas is in the Chandogya Up. 386 V. 10. 7. where while describing the fate of those souls that went to the world of the moon for enjoying the rewards of some of their actions it is stated 'those who did praiseworthy actions here, quickly acquire birth in a good condition, viz. in the condition of a brahmana, a ksatriya or vaisya, while those whose actions were low (reprehensible) quickly acquire birth in a low condition i. e. as a dog, or a boar or a candala. This occurs in Pañcagnividya, the purpose of which is to teach vairagya and disgust with the transmigratory world. passage does not enjoin anything, it is a bare statement by way of explanation or elucidation. All that can be legitimately inferred from this is that the first three varnas were commended and that candalas were looked upon as the lowest in the social scale. It is to be noticed that the śūdra varna does not occur in this passage at all. So probably even in the times of the Chāndogya the candāla was looked upon as a śūdra, though lowest among the several śūdra subcastes. The candāla is equated with the dog and the boar in this passage, but this leads hardly anywhere. It is no doubt stated in the Sat. Br. XII. 4. 1. 4 387 that three beasts are unclean in relation to a sacrifice viz. the vicious (filthy) boar, the ram and the dog. ' Here it is clear that every boar is not unclean, but probably only that variety that subsists on the village offal. On the other hand the flesh of boars was said to cause great delight to the Pitrs when offered in śrāddha (vide Manu III. 270 and Yāj. I. 259). Therefore this Upanisad passage does not say anything on the point whether the Candala was in its day untouchable. This passage may be compared with another in which the sūdra is said to be a walking

^{386.} तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीयां योनिमापश्चेरत ब्राह्मणयोनि षा क्षत्रिययोनि वा वैश्ययोनि वाथ य इह कपूयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूयां योनिमापश्चेरत श्वयोनि वा स्करयोनि वा चण्डालयोनि वा छान्दोग्य V. 10. 7. The Vedantas utra III. 1.8-11 deals with this passage.

^{387.} त्रयो ह त्वाव पश्चविद्योध्याः । दुर्वराह एडकः श्वा । तेषां यद्यधिश्रितेऽग्निहोत्रेऽ-त्तरेण कश्चित्सञ्चरेत्कि तत्र कर्म का तत्र पायश्चित्तिरिति । शतपथ XII.4. 1.4.

cemetery. If the sūdra was not untouchable in the Vedic literature, and if he was allowed to be a cook for brahmanas and to wash the feet of brahmana guests in spite of that passage (as stated in the Dharmasütras quoted above pp. 161-162), there is no reason to suppose that the Chandogya passage indicates that the candala was untouchable in the remote ages. Another passage is relied upon by orthodox writers to support the theory that untouchability of candalas is declared in Vedic writings. In the Br. Up. I. 3 the story is narrated that gods and asuras had a strife and the gods thought that they might rise superior to the asuras by the Udgitha. In this vidyā occurs the passage 388 'this devata (Prana) throwing aside the sin that was death to these devatās (vāk etc.) sent it to the ends of these quarters and he put down the sin of these devatās there; therefore one should not go to people (outside the Aryan pale) nor to the ends (of the quarters) thinking 'otherwise I may fall in with papman i, e. death'. In the first place there are no peoples expressly named here. Samkara explains that by 'end of the quarters' are meant regions where people opposed to Vedic culture dwell. This description can only apply to people like the mlecchas and not to candalas who are not opposed to Vedic knowledge (but who have no adhikāra to learn it). Besides candalas might stay outside the village, but they do not stay at the end of the quarters 389 (or at the end of the arya territory). Hence this passage does not help in establishing the theory of untouchability for Vedic times.

Next comes the consideration of the evidence derived from the sūtras and smrtis. But certain preliminary observations must be made to clarify the position. The theory of the early smrtis was that there were only four varnas and there was no fifth varna. Vide Manu X. 4 and Anuśāsanaparva 47.18.³⁹⁰ When in modern times the so-called untouchables are referred

^{388.} सा वा एषा देवतेतासां देवतानां पाप्मानं मृत्युमपहत्य यत्रासां दिशामन्तस्तद्गम-यांचकार। तद्गासां पाप्मानो विनयद्धात्तस्मान जनमियान्नान्तमियान्नेत् पाप्मानं मृत्युमन्ववा-यानीति। बृह. उ. I. 3. 10.

^{389.} The Mlecchas were known to the Sat. Br. (III. 2. 1. 24 'tasman na brahmano mlecchet). Vide Ait. Br. 33. 6 'antān valu prajābhakṣīṣṭa' quoted above in note 118 for the meaning of 'disām antah'.

^{390.} चतुर्थ एकजातिस्तु छूद्रो नास्ति तु पञ्चमः । मन्नु 10.4 ; स्मुताश्च वर्णाञ्चत्वारः पञ्चमो नाधिगम्यते । अनुज्ञासन् 47.18.

to as the pañcamas, 391 that is something against the smrti tradi-Pān. II. 4. 10 and Patanjali392 say that a Samāhāradvandva compound can be formed from several subdivisions of śūdras that are not niravasita e. g. we can have the compound 'takṣāyaskāram' meaning carpenters and blacksmiths, but not 'candāla-mrtapam', because candālas and mrtapas are niravasita śūdras (and so the compound will be 'candalamṛtapāḥ). Therefore it follows that Pan, and Patanjali included candalas and mrtapas among śūdras. When Angiras (note 171 above) includes ksatr, sūta, vaidehika, māgadha and āyogava (that are pratiloma castes) among antyāvasāyins along with cāndāla and svapaca, he makes it clear that he regarded candalas as included among śūdras, for Manu X. 41 declares that all pratiloma castes are similar to sudras in their dharma and because the Śāntiparva 297.28393 expressly says that the vaidehika is called śūdra by learned dvijas. Gradually however, a distinction was made between sudras and castes like candalas. Fresh castes were then added to the list of untouchables by custom and usage and the spirit of exclusiveness, though there is no warrant of the sastras for such a procedure.

Untouchability did not and does not arise by birth alone. It arises in various ways. In the first place, persons become outcasted and untouchable by being guilty of certain acts that amount to grave sins. For example, Manu IX. 235-239 prescribes that those who are guilty of brāhmana-murder, theft of brāhmana's gold or drinkers of spirituous liquors should be excommunicated, no one should dine with them or teach them, or officiate as priests for them, nor should marriage relationship be entered into with them and they should wander over the world excluded from all Vedic dharmas. But if they perform the proper prāyaścitta they are restored to caste and become touchable. Secondly, persons were treated as untouchables simply through religious hatred and abhorrence because they belonged to a different sect or religion. For example, Aparārka

^{391.} N. P. Dutt in 'Origin and growth of caste in India' vol. I. p. 105, (1931) speaks of 'Nishadas, chandalas and paulkasas as the fifth varna'.

^{392.} Vide note 200 above for the quotation from the Mahabhasya.

³⁹³ श्वाणां सु सधर्माणः सर्वेऽपर्ध्वसजाः स्पृताः ॥ मनु X. 41; वैदेहिकं श्वास्यदाः हरन्ति द्विजा महाराज श्वतोषपन्नाः । ज्ञान्तिपर्व 297. 28.

(p. 923) and Sm. C. 894 (I. p. 118) quote verses from the Sattrimsan-mata and Brahmandapurana that 'on touching Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas (Sāmkhyas) and brāhmanas guilty of doing actions inconsistent with their caste one should enter water with the clothes on and also on touching Śaivas and atheists'. It is worthy of note that Aparārka³⁹⁵ p. 923 quotes a verse of Vrddha-Yājñavalkya that on touching cāndālas, pukkasas, mlecchas, Bhillas and Pārasīkas and persons guilty of mahāpātakas one should bathe with the clothes on. Thirdly, certain persons, though not untouchable ordinarily. became so, if they followed certain occupations, e. g. if a person touches a brāhmana who is devalaka (i. e. has been doing worship to an image for money for three years) or who is a priest for the whole village, or a person who sells a soma plant, then he has to bathe with his clothes on. 396 Fourthly, persons become untouchable when in certain conditions e. g. a person if he touches even his wife in her monthly period or during the first ten days after delivery or if he touches a person during the period of mourning on the death of some relative or a person who has carried a corpse to the cemetery and has not yet bathed, he then has to take a bath with his clothes on (vide Manu V. 85). Fifthly, certain races such as mlecchas and persons from certain countries and the countries themselves were regarded as impure (vide notes 40, 42, 49). Further the smrtis say that persons following certain filthy, low and disapproved avocations were untouchable e. g. Samvarta 297 quoted

- 394. पद्भिंशन्मतात्। बौद्धान् पाशुपतांश्चेव लोकायतिकनास्तिकान्। विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् स्पृष्ट्वा सचैलो जलमाविशेत्॥ अपरार्क p. 923, स्मृतिच्व. I. p. 118; मिता॰ on या. III. 30 quotes it as from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (reading होवान् for बौद्धान् and सूद्धान् for स्पृष्ट्वा); vide वृद्धहारीत IX. 359, 363, 364 for bath on touching होवड and entering Bauddha or Saiva temples; स्पृष्ट्वा देवलकं चैव सवासा जलमाविशेत्। quoted by मिता॰ on या. III. 30 and अपरार्क p. 923; शान्तिपर्व 76. 6 has 'आह्वा-पका देवलका नाक्षत्रा ग्रामयाजकाः। एते ब्राह्मणचाण्डाला महापांथकपञ्चमाः।
- 395. चण्डालपुक्कसम्लेच्छभिल्लपारासिकादिकम् । महापातिकनश्चेव स्षृष्ट्रा स्नायात्सचै-लकम् ॥ बृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क p. 923.
- 396. च्यवनः । श्वानं श्वपाकं प्रेतधूमं देवद्रव्योपजीविनं ग्रामयाजकं सोमविक्रयिणं यूपं चितिं चितिकाष्ठं शवस्पृशं रजस्वतां महापातिकनं शवं स्पृष्टा सचैत्रमम्भोवगाद्योत्तीर्यान् ग्रिसुपस्पृश्य गायव्यष्टशतं जपेद् पृतं प्राश्य पुनः स्नात्या त्रिराचमेत् । मिता॰ on या. III. 30 and अपरार्क p. 922.
- 397. कैवर्त-मृगयु-च्याध-सौनिशाकुनिकानापि । रजकं च तथा स्पृष्टा स्नाव्वेवाशन-माचरेत् ॥ संवर्त quoted by अपरार्क p. 1196.

by Aparārka p. 1196 says 'on touching a fisherman, a deer-hunter, a hunter, a butcher, a bird-catcher, and a washerman one must first bathe and then take one's meal'. It is to be remarked that such texts do not expressly make a man of those castes untouchable even if he does not pursue the occupation stated, but they have rather the occupation in view. Such occupations were thought impure, as it was believed that if one was to secure the final goal of liberation, one must cultivate purity of mind as well as body, and as great importance came to be attached to cleanliness and the ceremonial purity of the body for spiritual purposes; and emphasis was laid upon not coming in contact with persons carrying on filthy or impure pursuits, but also with animals and even inanimate objects. These restrictions were not inspired by any hardness of heart or any racial or caste pride as is often said, but they were due to psychological or religious views and the requirements of hygiene. Ap. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 16 says 'a person touched by a dog should take a bath with his clothes on'. Vide also Vas. Dh. S. 23, 33, Visnu Dh. S. 22. 69. Vrddha-Hārīta (chap. 11. 99-102) enumerates certain vegetables and herbs (such as leek) and other articles on touching which one was to bathe. Ap. Dh. S. (II. 4. 9. 5) requires every house-holder to give food after Vaisvadeva to all including candalas, dogs and crows. And this practice is followed even now by those who perform Vaisvadeva. The ancient Hindus had a horror of uncleanliness and they desired to segregate those who followed unclean professions like those of sweepers, workers in hide, tanners, guardians of cemeteries &c. This segregation cannot be said to have been quite unjustifiable. Besides those who are not familiar with ancient or even modern Hindu notions must be warned against being carried away by the horror naturally felt at first sight when certain classes are treated as untouchable. The underlying notions of untouchability are religious and ceremonial purity and impurity. A man's nearest and dearest women relatives such as his own mother and wife or daughter are untouchable to him during their monthly periods. To him the most affectionate friend is untouchable for several days when the latter is in mourning due to death in the latter's family. A person cannot touch his own son (whose thread ceremony has been performed) at the time of taking meals. In this latter case there is no idea of impurity and in most of these cases there is no idea of superiority or inferiority. As many professions and crafts were in ancient times hereditary, gradually the idea arose

that a man who belonged to a caste pursuing certain filthy or abhorred avocations or crafts was by birth untouchable. Medieval and modern usage had no doubt reached the stage that if a man belonged by birth to a caste deemed by custom to be untouchable he remained an untouchable whatever profession or craft he may pursue or even if he pursued no profession. But ancient and medieval writers thought otherwise and there was also great divergence of view as to who were untouchables and to what extent. The only caste that is said by the most ancient Dharmasūtras to be untouchable by birth is that of candalas and the word candala has a technical meaning in these works as stated above (p. 81) under candala. Gaut. (IV. 15 and 23) says that the candala is the offspring of a śūdra from a brahmana woman and that he is the most reprehensible among the pratilomas. Ap. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 8-9 398 states that on touching a candala one should plunge into water, on talking to him one should converse with a brahmana (for purification), on seeing him one should look at the lumināries (either the Sun or moon or stars). We have seen above that there were three kinds of candalas and they were all so by virtue of the circumstances of their birth. Manu (X. 36, 51) makes only the andhra, meda, candala and svapaca stay outside the village and makes the antyavasayin (X. 39) stay in a cemetery. That leads to the inference that other men even of the lowest castes could stay in the village itself. Harita 399 quoted by Apararka (p. 279) states 'if a dvijāti's limb other than the head is touched by a dyer, a shoemaker, a hunter, a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a dancer (nața), a man of actor caste, oilman, vintner, hangman, village cock or dog, he becomes pure by washing that particular limb and by sipping water (i. e. he need not bathe)'. Here most of the seven antvaias are included and it is expressly said that their touch is not so impure as to require a bath. Angiras (verse 17) states that a dvija when he comes in contact with a washerman, a shoemaker, a dancer (nata), a fisherman or a worker in bamboo becomes pure by merely acamana (by

^{398.} यथा चाण्डालोपस्पर्शने संभाषायां दर्शने च दोषस्तत्र प्रायाश्चित्तम् । अवगाहनम-पासुपस्पर्शने संभाषायां ब्राह्मणसंभाषणं दर्शने ज्योतिषां दर्शनम्।आपः धः सूः 11, 1, 2, 8-9.

^{399.} हारीतः। रजकश्चर्मकृञ्चेत्र व्याधजालोपजीतिनौ। निर्णेजकः सौनिकश्च नटः शैलूषकस्तथा॥ चक्री ध्वजी वध्यघाती आम्यकुक्षुटस्करौ। एभिर्यदृङ्गं खृष्टं स्याच्छिरो-वर्ज द्विजातिषु। तोयेन क्षालनं कृत्वा आचान्ताः प्रयता मताः। अपरार्क p. 279; the same verses are quoted as श्रीतातपं by स्मृतिचं । p. 119.

sipping water). The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 130) quotes a verse 400 to the effect that even on coming in contact with candalas and pukkasas one need not bathe, if the latter stand near a temple of Visnu and have come for the worship of Visnu. Alberuni in his work on India (tr. by Sachau vol. I. chap. IX) refers to two classes of antyajas, the first of which had eight guilds (seven of which were practically the same as the seven in note 170 above, the eighth being the weaver) and a second group of four viz. Hadi, Doma, Chandala and Bhadatau. As to the first group he says that they intermarried except the fuller, shoemaker and weaver. Alberuni seems to have been misinformed as to this and what caste he means by Bhadatau is not clear. Medhātithi 401 in his commentary on Manu X. 13 is positive that the only pratiloma who is untouchable is the candala and no bath is necessary on coming in contact with the other pratilomas (viz. sūta, māgadha, āyogava, vaidehika and ksatr). Kullūka also says the same. Therefore it follows that in spite of the smrti texts (notes 170, 171, 173) including the pratilomas among antyajas along with the candalas, such authoritative and comparatively early commentators as Medhātithi (about 900 A. D.) were firmly of opinion that they were not untouchable. Manu⁴⁰⁸ V. 85 and Angiras 152 prescribe a bath for coming in bodily contact with a divākirti (a cāndāla), udakyā (a woman in her monthly period), patita (one outcasted for sin &c.), sūtikā (a woman after delivery), a corpse, one who has touched It follows therefore that the only antyaja who was asprsya according to Manu was the candala. But gradually the spirit of exclusiveness and ideas of ritual purity were carried to extremes and more and more castes became untouchable. very orthodox writers of smrtis went so far as to hold that on touching even a śūdra a dvijāti had to bathe.403 Among the

- 400. विष्णवालयसमापस्थान विष्णुसेवार्थमागतान्। चाण्डालपुक्कसान्वापि सृष्टुा न स्नानमाचरेत्॥ quoted by नित्याचारपद्धति p. 130.
- 401. चण्डाल एक: प्रतिलोमोऽस्पृश्यः। मेधा॰ ০n मनु X. 13.; अतश्चाण्डाल एवँकः प्रतिलोमतः स्पर्शास्त्रे निरस्यते। कुलूकः
- 402. दिवाकीर्तिसुद्क्यां च पतितं स्तिकां तथा। शवतत्स्पृष्टिनं चैव स्पृष्टा स्नानेन शुध्यति॥ मनु V. 85 on which मेधा॰ says दिवाकीर्तिश्चाण्डालः न नापितस्तस्य स्पृश्यत्वाद्धोज्यास्तवाद्धाः
- 403. एडकं कुक्कुटं काकं श्वञ्चदान्त्यावसायिनः। दृष्ट्वेतान् नाचरेत्कर्म स्षृष्ट्वेतान्सानमाः चरेत्॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 1196.

earliest occurrences of the word asprsya (as meaning untouchables in general) is that in Visnu Dh. S. V. 104; Kātyāyana also uses the word in that sense 404. It will have been seen from the quotations above that candalas, mlecchas and Parasikas are placed on the same level as regards being aspráya. Atri 405 (267-269) says 'if a dvija comes in contact with a candala, patita, mleccha, a vessel containing intoxicating drink, a woman in her monthly course, he should not take his meals (without first bathing) and if he comes in contact with these while taking his meal, he should stop, throw away the food and bathe'. Vide Visnu Dh. S. 22. 76 about talking with mlecchas and candalas. But so far as mlecchas are concerned these restrictions of untouchability have been given up long ago at least in public. Similarly the washerman, the worker in bamboo, the fisherman, the nata, among the seven well-known antyajas, are no longer untouchable in several provinces (though not in all) and were not so even in the times of Medhātithi and Kullūka.

Once the spirit of exclusiveness and exaggerated notions of ceremonial purity got the upper hand they were carried to extremes. It does not appear from the ancient smrtis that the shadow of even the candala was deemed to be polluting. V. 133 (which is nearly the same as Visnu Dh. S. 23, 52) declares 'flies, spray from a reservoir, the shadow (of a man). the cow, the horse, the sun's rays, dust, the earth, the wind and fire should be regarded as pure. Yaj. I. 193 is a similar verse (Mark, Purana 35, 21 is almost the same). Manu IV. 130 prescribes that one should not knowingly cross the shadow of the image of a deity, of one's guru, of the king, of a snātaka, of one's teacher, of a brown cow or of a man who has been initiated for a Vedic sacrifice. Here no reference is made to the shadow of a cāndāla. Medhātithi on Manu V. 133 expressly says that 'shadow' means 'shadow of a candala and the like'. Kullūka, however, adds on Manu IV. 130 that on account of the word 'ca' in that verse the shadow of candalas was included in the injunction of that verse. Therefore it is legitimate to infer that Manu and Yaj, did not prescribe that even the shadow of

^{404.} Vide कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार (ed. by me) verses 433, 783 that are quoted by the मिता. on या. II. 99 and by अपरार्क p. 813.

^{405.} चाण्डालं पतितं म्लेच्छं मद्यभाण्डं राजस्वलाम् । द्विजः स्पृष्ट्वा न भुश्रीत भुश्रानो यदि संस्पृश्लोत् । अतः परं न भुश्रीत त्यक्त्वाकं स्नानमाचरेत् । अत्रि (आनन्दाश्रम ed.) verses 267–269.

a candala was impure and caused pollution. Not only so, Aparārka 406 quotes a verse 'the shadow of a candala or patita, if it falls on a man, is not impure'. But Aparārka himself 407 adds on this verse the comment that this favourable rule about the shadow of a candala or natita is applicable only if he is at a greater distance from a man than the length of a cow's tail. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī (para 8) describes how the cāṇḍāla girl entered the royal assembly-hall though she was untouchable and stood at some distance from the king. It appears that there was no difficulty about her entering the hall of audience or polluting the assembly by her shadow. Gradually some smrtis prescribed a bath for a brahmana coming under the shadow of a candala. The Mit. on Yai. III. 30 quotes a verse of Vyaghrapada that if a candala or patita comes nearer to a person than the length of a cow's tail, then the latter must take a bath and another verse of Brhaspati to the effect 'a patita, a woman in her monthly period, a woman freshly delivered and a candala should be kept respectively at a distance of one yuga, two, three and four'. As yuga is four cubits, this means that a candala cannot approach within 16 cubits of a caste Hindu. 408

As regards public roads Yāj. I. 194 says that they become pure by the rays of the sun and the moon and by the wind even when they are trodden by cāṇḍālas. In Yāj. I. 197 it is stated that the mud and water on public roads and on houses built of baked bricks, though touched by cāṇḍālas, dogs and crows, are rendered pure by the mere blowing of the wind over them.⁴⁰⁹

- 405. चण्डालपतितच्छाया स्पर्शे दुष्टा तु नो भवेत् । भस्म क्षौद्रं सुवर्णे च सदर्भाः फुतपासितलाः॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 275.
- 407. पतितचाण्डालयोगोंपुच्छपरिमितदेशाद्विपकृष्टदेशस्थयोश्छायानुग्रहोऽयम् । अप-रार्क p. 275.
- 408. यस्तु छायां श्वपाकस्य बाह्मणो हाधिरोहति। तत्र स्नानं प्रकुर्वात पृतं पाश्य विद्युः ध्यति ॥ अत्रि 288-289, अङ्गिरस् quoted by the मिता॰ on या III. 30, अपरार्क p. 923; अपरार्क p. 1195 ascribes a similar verse to Satatapa. औशनसस्मृति (ed. Jiv. chap. IX part 1 p. 552) also says the same. युगं च द्वियुगं चैव त्रियुगं च चतुर्युगम् । चण्डालस्तिकोद्क्यापतितानामधः क्रमात् ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by मिता॰ on या. III. 30; स्तिकापतितोद्क्याश्वण्डालश्च चतुर्थकः। यथाक्रमं परिहरेदेकाद्वित्रिचतुर्थकम् ॥ स्यास quoted by स्मृतिच. part I. p. 17. क्षीरस्वामी on 'युगं युग्मं कृता-दिश्च' in the अमरकोश remarks 'हस्तचतुष्कं च यथा विचरेग्र्गमात्रहरू '
- 409. रथ्याकर्बमतोयानि स्पृष्टान्यन्त्यश्ववायसैः । मास्तेनैव शुक्ष्यन्ति पक्केष्टिकचितानि च ॥ या I. 197; अक्निरस् (verse 144) is almost the same.

These rules show that the smrtis followed a reasonable rule about the public roads and do not countenance the restrictions maintained in some parts of South India, particularly in Malabar, about the use of public roads by the untouchables viz. that an untouchable must not approach within a certain distance of a high caste Hindu, must leave the road to allow him passage or must sheut to give warning of his presence in order to avoid pollution to the caste Hindu. Vide Wilson's 'Indian Castes' vol. II p. 74 (footnote) for details of the distance. In South India also there are various grades of distances within which members of the several lowest castes cannot approach high caste Hindus.

Certain provisions were made in the smrtis by way of exceptions to the general rules about the untouchability of Atri⁴¹⁰ (verse 249) says 'there is no taint of certain castes. untouchability when a person is touched by an untouchable in a temple, religious processions and marriages, in sacrifices, and in all festivals'. Satatapa quoted in the Sm. C. declares that there is no dosa (lapse) in touching (untouchables) in a village (i. e. on the public road), or in a religious procession or in an affray and the like, and also when the whole village is involved in a calamity. 411 Brhaspati also remarks that there is no fault (and so no prayascitta) if one comes in contact (with untouchables) at a sacred place, in marriage processions and religious processions, in battle, when the country is invaded, or when the town or village is on fire. The Sm. C. adds that these verses were variously interpreted; some saying that they apply only where one does not know that the man who has touched him is an untouchable, while others hold that they apply to the touch of impure persons who are not ucchista (i. e. risen from meals without washing their hands &c). The Smrtyarthasara 418

^{410.} देवयात्राविवाहेषु यज्ञत्रकरणेषु च। उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिनं विद्यते ॥ अत्रि 249. In the स्मृतिच॰ I. pp. 121-122 this is quoted as from षद्भिंदान्मत (v. l. यज्ञेषु प्रकृतेषु च and स्पृष्टा स्पृष्टिनं). The first word must be taken to be formed of three separate members as the quotation from the Smrtyarthasara will show.

^{411.} ग्रामे तु यत्र संस्पृष्टिर्यात्रायां कलहादिषु। ग्रामसन्द्रुषणे चैत्र स्पृष्टिदोषो न विद्यते। ज्ञातातप quoted by स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 119.

^{412.} संग्रामे हहमार्गं च यात्रादेवग्रहेषु च । उत्सवक्रतृतीर्थेषु विष्ठवे ग्रामदेशयोः ॥ महाजलसमीपेषु महाजनवरेषु च । अग्न्युत्पाते महापत्सु स्पृष्टासपृष्टिने दुष्यति ॥ प्राप्य-कारीन्द्रियं स्पृष्टमस्पृष्टि त्वितरेन्द्रियम् । तयोश्च विषयं प्राहुः स्पृष्टास्पृष्टचिभित्रानतः ॥ समृत्यर्थसार p. 79.

(p. 79) summarises the places where no blame in incurred on the ground of mixing with untouchables viz. in battle, on public roads leading to a market, in religious processions, in temples, in festivals, in sacrifices, at sacred places, in calamities or invasions of the country or village, on the banks of large sheets of water, in the presence of great persons, when there is a sudden fire or other great calamity. It is somewhat remarkable that the Smṛtyarthasāra speaks of untouchables entering temples. The Par. M. (vol. II part I p. 115) says that there is no doṣa when cāṇḍālas take water from a large tank (used by higher castes), but as regards small reservoirs the same rules apply to them that apply to the purification of wells touched by untouchables. Vide Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 405-406 for the purification of a well.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 104)⁴¹⁴ prescribed that if an untouchable deliberately touched a man of the three higher castes he should be punished with beating, while Yāj. II. 234 prescribes that if a cāṇḍāla (deliberately) touches any one of the higher castes the cāṇḍāla should be fined one hundred paṇas.

Elaborate rules are laid down about the penance for drinking from the wells or vessels of untouchables, for partaking of their food (either cooked or uncooked), for staying with them and for having sexual intercourse with untouchable women. These matters will be briefly dealt with under prayascitta.

The so-called untouchables were not entirely excluded from worship. When it is said (as in Yāj. I. 93 or Gaut. IV. 20)415 that the cāṇḍāla is outside all dharma, the meaning is that he is outside such Vedic rites as upanayana, not that he cannot worship the Hindu deities nor that he is not bound by the moral code. He could worship images of the avatūras of Viṣṇu (vide note 364 above). The Nirṇayasindhu quotes a passage of the Devipurāṇa that expressly authorizes antyajas to establish a temple of Bhairaya. The Bhāgayatapurāṇa⁴¹⁶ X.70. 43 says that 'even the

^{413.} महत्सु तु तटाकादिषु चाण्डालादिसंबन्धेपि नास्ति कश्चिद्दोषः। अल्पेषु तु कूपन्यायः। तदाह विष्णुः। जलाशयेष्वयथाल्पेषु स्थावरेषु महीतले। कूपवत्कथिता सुद्धिमहत्सु तु न वृषणम्॥ पराः माः vol. II. part 1 p. 115.

^{414.} कामकारेणास्पृद्यस्त्रेवर्णिकं स्पृशन् वध्यः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 104.

^{415.} प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः । गौतम IV. 20.

⁴¹⁶. श्रवणास्कीर्तनाद् ध्यानात्पूयन्तेन्तवसायिनः । तव ब्रह्ममयस्येश किस्तेक्षानिमार्शनः ॥ भागवत X.70.43; अत्राधिकारिण उक्ताः सुत्यकल्पतरौ देवीपुराणे । चतुर्वर्णेस्तथा विष्णुः प्रतिष्ठाप्यः सुखाधिभिः । भैरवोपि चतुर्वर्णेस्न्त्यज्ञानां तथा मतः ।...... निर्णयसिन्धु Π (:under देवप्रतिष्ठा).

antyāvasāyins are purified by listening to the praises or names of Hari, by repeating the names of Hari and by contemplation on Him, much more therefore will those (be purified) who can see or touch your images'. This however shows that to the author of the Bhāgavata it never occurred that an untouchable could see or touch the image of Viṣṇu enshrined in a temple of caste Hindus. In south India among the famous Vaiṣṇava saints called Āļvārs, Tiruppāṇa Āļvār was a member of the depressed classes and Nammāļvār was a Veļļāla. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 remarks that the pratiloma castes (which include cāṇḍāla) have the right to perform vratas.⁴¹⁷

In modern times the eradication of the system of untouchability is engaging the minds of great leaders like Mahatma Gaudhi whose fast for 21 days for effecting a change of heart among caste Hindus is famous throughout the world. The principal matters of concern to the so-called untouchables or depressed classes are facility for education in schools, removal of restrictions about places of public resort such as public wells. roads, restaurants and eating houses and entry in public A good deal has been done by a few zealous workers temples. among the higher castes in these respects. Christian missionaries have been doing good work among the untouchables, but their efforts are mainly devoted to direct or indirect proselytization. The conscience of the educated among the higher castes has been roused. But the total removal of untouchability is yet a matter of the distant future. The greatest draw-back is illiteracy among the masses of India. Hardly twelve per cent of the population are literate. The diffusion of literacy and the spread of the idea of the equality of all men before the law and in public are the only sure solvents of the evils associated with untouchability which have existed for ages. Popular Governments in the provinces are doing what they with their limited resources can do to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables. The Government of India Act (of 1935) has given special representation to the Scheduled Castes (the name given to the depressed classes or untouchables) in the Provincial and Federal Legislatures of The Government of India Scheduled Castes Order of 1936 India

^{417.} अतः स्त्रीज्ञ्द्रयोः मतिलोमजानां च 'त्रैवर्णिकवर् व्रताधिकार इति सिद्धम् । यनु गौतमवचनं प्रतिलोमा धर्महीना इति तदुपनयनादिविशिष्टधर्माभिप्रायम् । मिता॰ on पा. III. 262.

sets out the names of the numerous scheduled castes in the several provinces of British India. The Provincial Governments have issued circulars to enforce the rule that no discrimination be made against the scheduled castes in places of public resort and have tackled to some extent the question of the entry of untouchables in temples by passing such acts as the Bombay Act XI of 1938 viz. Bombay Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of disabilities Act) and the Madras Temple Entry Authorisation and Indemnity Act of 1939. Much will depend upon the untouchables themselves. As am ong the caste Hindus. the untouchables also have inter se numerous divisions and subdivisions each of which regards itself as superior to several others of them and will not condescend to mix with them in the public or dine with them. They must also throw up from among themselves selfless and capable leaders. This is a vast problem and the appalling evils which have been growing for ages cannot be wholly removed in a day. The leaders of the so-called untouchables also should not make exaggerated claims. the present they should rest content with equality in public places, public services and before the law and at the most entry into public temples. But if they indulge in the tall talk of destroying the caste system at one stroke and requiring that all caste Hindus should dine with them and inter-marry with them, they may find that at least two hundred millions of caste Hindus will be dead opposed to them, and the cause of the removal of the evils of untouchability is bound to suffer a set-back. Besides it should not be forgotten that the amelioration of the condition of untouchables is bound up with the problem of the poverty of the entire rural population of India. It should not be supposed that all the untouchables are the poorest of the poor. I know from personal knowledge that many among certain classes of untouchables like the Mahars and Chambhars of the Deccan are economically better off than the ordinary cultivators in many villages. mahars are hereditary village servants in the Deccan and they recover from every householder bread every day as part of their remuneration or a certain measure of corn from the threshing floor. Vide Grant Duff's 'History of the Marathas' (ed. of 1863 vol. I p. 23) for the balutedars (village servants) among whom the mahar occupies an important place and Hereditary Offices Act (Bombay Act III of 1874, section 18) for Legislative recognition of their ancient rights. The population of untouchables in India has been estimated at various figures from three

crores to six crores. The Simon Commission Report (1930) vol. I. p. 40 estimated that there were about 43 millions of untouchables in the whole of India, the criterion adopted being whether pollution by touch or approach within a certain distance is caused. The ratio of untouchables to the total population of India or to the Hindu population varies greatly in different parts of India. The total Harijan (the name given to untouchables by Mahatma Gandhi) population is 14 per cent of the whole population of India. In the Bombay Presidency the ratio of Harijans to Hindus is only about eleven per cent being the lowest of all provinces and States in India, while in Bengal the ratio is about 32 per cent which is the highest in India except in Assam.418 The High Courts in India have held that the untouchables are included among sūdras for purposes of marriage. Vide Sohan Singh vs. Kabla Singh 10 Lahore 372, Muthusami vs. Masilamani 33 Mad. 342.419

^{418.} Vide Census of India (1931), vol. I part 1, p. 494.

^{419.} Several books and papers have been recently published on the question of untouchables in India. Vide "The Psychology of a suppressed people" (1937) by Rev. J. C. Heinrich; 'Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra' by M. G. Bhagat.

CHAPTER V

SLAVERY

Slavery has existed as a constant element in the social and economical life of all nations of antiquity such as Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome and also of many nations of Europe. 420 It was however left to such Christian nations of the West as England and the United States of America to carry on the institution of slavery in the most horrible manner possible never dreamt of by any nation of antiquity, viz. by sending out kidnapping expeditions to Africa to collect slaves, to huddle them in ships in such unspeakably filthy conditions that half of them died on the voyage, to sell them to plantation owners and others like chattel. Westermarck in his 'Origin and Development of the moral ideas' vol. I (1912) p. 711 was constrained to observe 'This system of slavery, which at least in the British colonies and slave states surpassed in cruelty the slavery of any pagan country ancient and modern, was not only recognised by Christian Governments but was supported by the large bulk of the clergy, Catholic and Protestant alike. Slavery was abolished in the British Dominions only in 1833 and in British India by Act V of 1843.

It has been seen above (pp. 26-27) that the word 'dāsa' in the Rg. generally stands for the opponents of the āryas. It is possible that when the dāsas were vanquished in battle and taken prisoners they were treated as slaves. In the Rgveda, however, there are not many passages where the word 'dāsa' can be said to have been used in the sense of slave. In Rg VIII. 56. 3 421 we

- 420. Vide Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, vol. XIV, p. 74 'To the ancient mind slavery was a fixed and accepted element of life and no moral problem was involved. That slavery already was established as a recognized institution in the Sumerian culture of the Babylonian area in the 4th millenium B. C. may be confidently assumed from the fragments of Sumerian legislation upon slaves which date from the first half of the 3rd millenium'.
- 421. शतं मे गर्दभानां शतमूर्णावतीनाम्। शतं दासाँ अति स्रजः ॥ ऋ. VIII. 56. 3; यो मे हिरण्यसन्दृशो दश राज्ञो अमंहत । अधस्पदा इश्वैद्यस्य कृष्टयश्चर्मम्ना अभितो जनाः॥ ऋ. VIII. 5. 38; अदान्त्रे पौरुकुत्स्यः पञ्चाशतं त्रसद्स्युर्वधूनाम् । ऋ. VIII. 19. 36.

read 'thou madest a gift to me of one hundred donkeys, of one hundred fleece-bearing ewes and one hundred dasas '. It appears that here dasa means slaves or serfs. In Rg VIII. 5.38 the sage praises his patron Caidya Kaśu 'the common people sit down at the feet of Caidya Kasu like men crowding round tanners of hides. (Caidya) who honoured me by giving me ten noblemen that were like gold in appearance'. Here probably there is an allusion to the gift of ten captured nobles made to the sage by Caidva Kasu, the victor. A sage declares in Rg. VIII. 19, 36 'Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, gave me fifty young women'. This probably refers to the gift of female slaves (dasis). Tai, S. VII. 5. 10. 1 says 'dasis (girl slaves) place on their heads jars full of water and singing this madhu and beating their feet against the ground dance round the mārjālina' &c.422 The Tai. S. II. 2. 6. 3. refers to the gift of a horse or a male (slave). 'He obtains a portion of himself who accepts (in gift) a being with two rows of teeth, (such as) a horse or a human male: on accepting an animal with two rows of teeth one should offer to Vaiśvānara a mess cooked on twelve potsherds '423'. The Ait. Br. 39.8 mentions large gifts such as 10,000 girls (dasi) and 10,000 elephants made by a king to his purchita performing coronation. When the angel of Death tries to dissuade Naciketas from his curiosity to know the destiny of a person after death, he tempts the inquirer (Katha Up. I. 1. 25) 'Here are such handsome women with chariots and musical instruments as cannot be secured (ordinarily) by men; make them, when gifted by me, serve you; do not ask me what happens after death'. The women referred to were probably meant to be serving (or slave) girls who attended on a man as maids and who could dance and sing. In the Br. Up. IV. 4. 23 Janaka after receiving instruction in Brahmavidyā from Yājñavalkya exclaims 'I make a gift to your honour of the Videhas together with myself for being your slave'. We read in the Chan. Up. 'In this world they speak of cows and horses, elephants and gold, wives and slaves, fields and houses as $mahim\bar{a}$ (greatness).

- 422. उद्कुम्भानधिनिधाय दास्यो मार्जालीयं परिचृत्यन्ति पदो निघ्नतीरिदं मधु नायन्त्यो मधु वै देवानां परममन्नाद्यम् । तै. सं. VII. 5. 10. 1.
- 423. आत्मनो वा एष मात्रामाप्नेति यो उभयाद्द्यतिगृह्णात्यश्वं वा पुरुषं वा वेश्वानरं द्वाद्शक्षपालं निर्वेषेद्रभयाद्द्यतिगृह्ण । ते. सं. II. 2. 6. 3; सोहं भगवते निर्देहान् द्दामि मां चापि सह दास्याय । बृह. उ. IV. 4, 23; गो अश्वाभिह महिमेत्याचक्षते हस्तिहिरण्यं दासभार्ये क्षेत्राण्यायतनानीति । छा. उ. VII. 24. 2.

Vide also Chān. Up. V. 13. 2 and Br. Up. VI. 2.7 for references to dāsis. These passages show that in the Vedic period men and women had become the subjects of gifts and so were in the condition of slaves.

Though Manu ordained (I. 91, VIII. 413, 414) that the principal duty of the śūdra was to wait upon the three higher castes or that the śūdra was created by the Creator for the service of brāhmaṇas, the śūdra who thus served a dvijāti as a duty was not his slave. Jaimini (VI. 7. 6)⁴²⁴ makes this perfectly clear by saying that when a man makes a gift in the Viśvajit sacrifice of everything belonging to himself he cannot make a gift of the śūdra who waits upon him as his duty. Śabara in his bhāṣya adds 'the śūdra may not desire to serve the man to whom the sacrificer gives his all and the latter has no power over him if he is unwilling.'

We have seen how the Grhya Sūtras speak of dūsas being employed to wash the feet of honoured guests. appears that the ideal placed before the masters was to treat the slave humanely. Ap. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 11425 says that one may indeed stint oneself, one's wife or son (as to food) if guests come, but never a dasa who does one's menial work (or a dāsa and hired servants). In the Anuśāsanaparva426 it is stated one should not sell a human being who is a stranger; how much more one's own children'. In the Mahābhārata gifts of dāsas and dāsīs are very frequently mentioned. In Sabhaparva 52.45, Vanaparva 233.43 and Virāta 18. 21 gifts of 30 dasis to each of 88000 snātaka brāhmaņas are spoken of. In Vanaparva 185. 34 Vainya is said to have given a thousand handsome dasis with ornaments on to Atri. Vide Dronaparva 57. 5-9. Manu (VIII. 299-300) places a slave on the same level as one's son in the matter of corporal punishment 'the wife, the son, the slave, a menial servant, one's full brother—these when guilty of wrong may be beaten with a rope

^{424.} शूद्रश्च धर्मशास्त्रत्वात्। जै. VI. 7. 6; 'शूद्रश्च न देय इत्यान्वादेशः। क्रुतः। धर्मशास्त्रत्वात्। धर्मशास्त्रत्वात्तरयात्तरयात्तरय। एवमसौ तस्मै त्रैवर्णिकायोपनत इमे शुश्रूषमाणो धर्मेण संभन्तरस्य इति। सोन्यस्मै दीयमानी नेच्छेद्पि। न चानिच्छतस्तस्य स प्रभवति। श्रवरः

^{245.} काममात्मानं भार्यी पुत्रं वोपरुन्ध्याम त्वेव द्वासकर्मकरम् । आपः धः सू. II.

^{426.} अन्योप्यथ न विक्रेया मनुष्यः किं पुनः प्रजाः। अधर्ममूलैहि धनैस्तेन धर्माथ कश्चन॥ अनुजासनपर्व 45,123.

or a thin piece of split bamboo, but only on the back and never on the head and if a person beat them otherwise he would be punished as a thief.'

Slavery was probably not much 427 in evidence in India in the 4th century B. C. or the treatment of slaves in India was so good that a foreign observer like Megasthenes accustomed to the treatment of slaves in Greece thought that there was no Megasthenes (MacCrindle, p. 71) states that none of the Indians employs slaves (vide Strabo XV. 1.54). slavery existed then admits of no doubt. The Emperor Asoka when proclaiming his Law of Piety enjoins in his 9th Rock Edict that the Law of Pietv consists (among other things) in the kind (or proper) treatment of slaves (dasas) and hired servants. In the Arthaśastra (III, 13) Kautilya 428 gives verv important provisions about slaves. He says that the mlecchas are not punishable if they sell or pledge their children, but an arya cannot be reduced to slavery. He then prescribes that if a relative sells or pledges a śūdra (who is not born as a slave) or a vaisya or ksatriya or a brāhmana (all being minors), he should be respectively fined 12, 24, 36 and 48 papas and that if a stranger sells or pledges the above then the vendor, the vendee and the abettors will be liable to the first, middle and highest ammercements and whipping respectively (i. e. first ammercement for sale of a sadra by a stranger and whipping for the sale of a brahmana). But he allows the pledge of even an arya in family distress. He refers to several kinds of slaves viz. dhvajāhrta (captured in battle), ātmavikrayin (who sells himself), udaradāsa (or garbhadāsa, one who is born to a dasi from a slave) or those so made for a debt (āhitika), or for a fine or court's decree (dandapranīta). then prescribes how they are set free from slavery. One who sells himself or is pledged or is born a slave becomes a free man by paying off respectively the amount for which he was purchased or pledged or what would be a proper price. One who is made a slave for a fine may pay off the fine by doing work. One captured in war may become free by paying according to the time he has been in bondage and the work he did or by paying half of it. The child of one who sells himself

^{427.} Vide Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (1903) p. 263.

^{428.} म्लेच्छानामदोषः प्रजां विकेतुमाधातुं वा। न त्वेवार्यस्य दासभावः। कोदिल्य III. 18.

remains an arya (free man). He prescribes that if a master makes a pledged slave carry a corpse or sweep ordure, urine or leavings of food, or keeps him naked, beats him or abuses him or violates the chastity of a female slave, he forfeits the price paid by him. He prescribes the first ammercement for a master having intercourse with a pledged slave girl against her will and middle ammercement for a stranger doing so.

Manu (VIII. 415) speaks of seven kinds of dāsas, viz. one captured in battle, one who becomes so for food (i. e. in scarcity or in a famine), one born in the house (i. e. of a female slave), one bought, one given (by his parents or relatives), one inherited (as part of the patrimony), one who becomes so for paying off a fine or judicial decree. He states the general rule 429 that the wife, the son and the slave have no wealth and whatever they earn belongs to him whose wife, son or slave they are. Manu prescribes a fine of 600 panas for a brāhmaṇa making a member of the dvijāti castes after his upanayana a slave against his will.

Nārada (abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā) and Kātyāyana among the smṛtikāras contain the most elaborate treatment on slavery. Nārada first says that a śuśrūṣāka (one who serves another) is of five kinds viz. a Vedic student, an antevāsin (an apprentice who is learning a craft), adhikarmakṛt (a supervisor over workmen), bhṛtaka (hired servant) and dāsa. The first four are called karmakara. They can be called upon to do only work that is pure, while a dāsa may have to do impure work 480 such as cleaning the entrances to the house, filthy pits (for leavings of food), the road, dunghill heaps, touching (or scratching) private parts, taking up and throwing away ordure and urine (verses 6-7), doing bodily service to the master if he so desires. Nārada mentions 15 kinds of slaves viz. one born in the house, one bought, one acquired (by gift or other means),

^{429.} भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः। यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्त ते तस्य सद्धनम् ॥ मन् VIII. 416. This is the same as उद्योगपर्च 33. 64 where the first half is त्रय एवाधना राजन भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः; compare नारव् (अम्युपेत्याशुश्रूषा) verse 41.

⁴³⁰. गृहद्वाराद्युचिस्थानस्थ्यावस्करशोधनम् । ग्रह्याङ्गस्पर्शनोच्छिष्टविण्मूत्रग्रहणो- ज्झनम् ॥ इच्छतः स्वामिनश्चाङ्कैदपस्थानमधान्ततः । अद्युभं कर्म विक्रेयं श्वभमण्यद्वत परम् ॥ नारव् (अम्युः 6-7).

one inherited, one saved in a time of famine, one pledged by the master, one discharged from a large debt, one captured in a battle, one vanquished in a bet, one who accepts slavery by saying 'I am yours', an apostate from the order of asceticism, one who stipulates to be a slave (for a certain time), one who is a slave for food (as long as food is given to him), one who is tempted to become a slave out of love for a female slave, and one who sells himself. Nārada says that the first four of these are not freed from slavery except by the favour of the master (v. 29), while one who sells himself is the worst kind of slave and he also does not become free from slavery (v. 37). Nārada (v. 39) and Yāj. (II. 182) state a rule applicable to all slaves, viz. that when a slave saves a master from imminent danger to the latter's life the slave becomes a free man and (Närada adds) that he gets a share in the inheritance as a son. One who is an apostate from the order of ascetics is a slave of the king till the former's death (Yāj. II. 183). One saved in a famine becomes free by giving a pair of cows, one pledged 431 if the master who pledged him repays the debt, the slave in lieu of discharge of debt by paying off the debt with interest, one who accepted slavery or who was captured in battle or became so under a bet is freed by giving a substitute who is equal to him in work, one for a stipulated period by the lapse of the period, one who is a bhakta-dūsa becomes free by the master ceasing to give food, one who is 'vadavāhrta' (tempted by a female slave) by abandoning his intercourse with her (Nārada vv. 31-34, 36). Yāj. (II. 182) and Nārada (v. 38) say that one who was made a slave by force or was carried away by raiders and sold should be set free by the king. Yāj. (II. 183) and Nārada (v. 39) prescribe that a man can be a slave to a master only in the proper order of varnas 432 i. e. the three varnas next to a brāhmana may be slaves to a brāhmana, a vaišya or a śūdra may be a slave to a ksatriya but a ksatriya cannot be the slave of a vaisya or a śūdra, nor a vaiśya of a śūdra. There is one exception viz. an apostate from asceticism may be the slave of a vaisya or a śūdra

^{431.} A slave who is pledged becomes the slave of two till the pledge is redeemed.

^{432.} स्वतन्त्रस्यात्मनो दानाद् दासत्वं दासवद्भगः । त्रिषु वर्णेषु विज्ञेयं दास्यं विप्रस्य न किचित् ॥ वर्णानामानुलोम्येन दास्यं न भितलोमतः । कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 788; compare नारद (अम्यु. 39).

king. Kātyāyana emphasizes that a brāhmana⁴⁸⁸ cannot be made a slave even to a brāhmaṇa, but if he himself chooses, he may do pure work for a brāhmaṇa endowed with character and Vedic learning, but no impure work. Kātyāyana (v. 721) says that when a brāhmaṇa becomes an apostate from the order of asceticism he should be banished from the kingdom and the kṣatriya or vaiśya apostate may become a slave to the kingdomsate (VII. 33) quoted by Aparārka (p. 787) adds that the apostate's head should be branded with the mark of dog's foot.

Kautilya⁴³⁴ and Kātyāyana (v. 723) both declare that if a master has sexual intercourse with a female slave and she is delivered of a child, both the slave and the child should be given freedom by the master.

Kautilya declared that the heirs to the wealth of a slave are his relatives and if none of them exist then the master, while Kātyāyana⁴³⁵ says that the only wealth that the slave can call his own is the price he received for selling himself or what the master gave as a gift through favour.

Nārada (vv. 42-43) describes the ceremony of the manumission of a slave "when a master being pleased with a slave desires to make him a free man, he should take, from the slave's shoulder, a jar full of water and break it, he should sprinkle water mixed with whole grains of rice and flowers on the slave's head and thrice uttering the words 'you are no longer a slave' he should dismiss him with the (slave's) face to the east."

The Vyavahāramayūkha 436 quotes a verse from the Kālikāpurāṇa about an adopted son, which is very interesting 'persons adopted and the like on whom the samskāras of $c\bar{u}d\bar{u}$ (tonsure) and Upanayana are performed by the golra of the adopter, become sons of (the adopter), otherwise the person (on whom such ceremonies are not performed) is held to be a slave

- 433. समवर्णीपि विश्रं तु द्वासत्वं नैव कारयेत् । ब्राह्मणस्य हि दासत्वास्नृपतेजो विहन्यते ॥ शीलाध्ययनसंपन्ने तदूनं कर्म कामतः । तत्रापि नाशुभं किंचित्पकुर्वीत द्विजोत्तमः ॥ कात्यायन (vv. 717 and 719) quoted by अपरार्क p. 789 and स्मृतिच॰.
 - 434. स्वामिनस्तस्यां दास्यां जातं समातृकमदासं विद्यात्। कौटिल्य III. 13.
- 435. दासस्य तु धनं यत्स्वामी तस्य प्रमुः स्मृतः । प्रसाद्विकयाद्यनुं न स्वामी धनमहंति॥ कात्यायन 724 (quoted by वि. र. p. 150 and वि. चि. p. 46).
- 436. यत्तु कालिकापुराणे चूडोपनयनसंस्कारा निजगोत्रेण वै कृताः । दत्ताधास्तनया ते स्युरन्यथा दास उच्यते ॥ व्यवहारमयूख p. 114 (of my edition). This verse occurs in the दसकमीमांसा also where the reading is चूडाधा यदि संस्कारा

(of the adopter).' The Vyavahāramayūkha remarks that this passage is not reliable as it is not found in several mss. of the Kālikāpurāṇa. Nārada mentions 15 kinds of slaves, but this is not one of them. All that the Kālikāpurāṇa probably means is that when a boy is adopted into another family after his cūḍā and upanayana are performed in the family of birth, he is not fully affiliated in the family of adoption, he does not become a son and so does not take the inheritance but is only entitled to maintenance in the family of adoption, just as a slave is to be fed. No digests have recognised such a person as a slave proper.

Nārada *** (ṛṇādāna 12) and Kātyāyana declare that a debt contracted by a Vedic pupil, an apprentice, a slave, the wife, a menial servant and a workman for the benefit of the family even though it was incurred in his absence, was binding on the owner of the house. Ordinarily a slave was not a competent witness, but Manu VIII. 70 and Uśanas (quoted in Vyavahāramayūkha p. 37) say that when no other witness is available, a minor, an old man, a woman, a pupil, a relative, a slave or a hired servant may be a witness.

There are numerous works dealing with slavery in its various aspects. The latest book on the subject is 'Slavery through the ages' by Sir George Mac Munn (1938). Mr. D. R. Banaji has published a very painstaking and interesting study on 'Slavery in British India' from 1772 to 1843 (2nd ed. 1937) The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published studies on several aspects such as 'Judicial Cases' (by Mrs. Catterall in 1926) and 'Documents of the history of the Slave Trade to America, 1930' by Prof. Elizabeth Donnan. Dr. H. J. Nieboer's 'Slavery as an Industrial System' (1910) is a well-documented study of slavery in various countries and at various times.

^{437.} शिष्यान्तेवासिदासस्त्रीपेष्यकृत्यकरेश्व यत् । कुटुम्बहेतोरुव्सिप्तं दातन्यं तत्कुटुन् म्बिना ॥ नारद् (ऋणादान v. 12); पोषितस्यामतेनापि कुटुम्बार्थमुणं कृतम् । दासस्त्री-मातृशिष्येर्वा द्यात् पुत्रेण वा भूगुः ॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 648, वि. र. p.56.

CHAPTER VI

SAMSKĀRAS

Gautama (II. 1) says that before upanayana, a boy may act, speak and eat as and what he likes (i. e. may follow his inclinations). Haradatta explains that this does not mean that he can kill a brāhmana or drink liquor, but that there is no restriction, although he be a brahmana's son, to his selling what is forbidden to a brahmana to sell, or he may eat onions and garlic or stale food or may eat four or five times a day. Ap. Dh. S. 438 (II. 1. 6. 15. 17-20) states several views on this point. 'Up to the time when they begin to take cooked food infants do not become impure (by the touch of a rajasvalā &c.); according to some (teachers) up till they are one year old; or till they are not able to distinguish the cardinal points; another view is that till upanayana (they do not become impure)'. Aparārka (p. 28) also explains that a boy may (before upanayana) cat the leavings of the food of his parents, but he cannot eat or drink what would cause loss of caste as in that case he may become unfit to have the samskara of upanayana performed on him. The Smrtvarthasara gives the view of some that in case an infant touches a candala before it reaches the age of taking cocked feed, only water need be sprinkled on it, before caula acamana need be done by it and after caula (and before upanayana) a bath would be necessary. Vas. Dh. S. (II 6) quotes a verse of Hārīta to the effect 'up till investiture with the girdle of munia grass (i. e. till upanayana) there is no action that is obligatory on him, as long as he is not born again for Vedic study he may be in his conduct like a śūdra '439. This verse occurs also in Baud. Dh. S. I. 2, 6 and Manu II. 171 and 172. Daksa I. 3-4 says 'Till a bey is eight years old he is like one newly born and only indicates the caste in which he is born. As long as his upanayana is not performed the

^{438.} आजप्राशनादुर्भा नाप्रयता भवान्ति । आ परिसंवत्सरादित्येके । यावता वा न विशः प्रजानीयुः । ओपनयनाद्वित्यपरम् । आप. ध. सू. 11. 6. 15. 17-20.

^{439.} हारीतोप्युदाहरति। न हास्मिन् विद्यते कर्म किंचिदामौक्षिबन्धनात्। वृत्त्या सूद-समो होष यावद्वेदे न जायते। इति। विसष्ठ II. 6; बौधः धः सूः reads नास्य कर्म नियच्छन्ति; compare विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 28. 40 प्राह्मौक्षीबन्धनाद् द्विजः सूदसमो भवति।

boy incurs no blame as to what is allowed or forbidden to be eaten, as to what should (or should not) be drunk, as to what he should or should not speak, as to telling a falsehood'. 440 But this does not hold good as to mahāpātakas. As to prāyascitta when a child is guilty of the commission of a mahapātaka, see under prāyaścitta later on and the Mit. on Yāj. III. 253. The smrtis look upon upanayana as the second birth of a boy (the first being his physical birth) 441. Gaut. (X, 1 and 51) says that the three higher classes are called dvijātis (having two births), while the śūdra is only ekajāti. 448 Āp. Dh. S. says (I. 1. 1.16-18) 'the teacher causes him (the boy who is initiated into Vedic study) to be born from vidyā (i.e. by imparting Vedic knowledge), that birth is superior, the parents produce only the body'443. Upanayana is like Baptism and St. John (3.3) also says' except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.' Manu II. 147-148 (= Visnu Dh. S. 30, 45-46) convey the same idea. Manu (II. 169) speaks of three births in the case of a man, first birth from his mother, the second when the girdle is tied (i. e. on upanayana) and the third when he is initiated for a Vedic sacrifice. Upanayana is the foremost of the samskāras. Atri (141-142) says 'a person is known as a brāhmana by birth, he is said to be a dvija (twice-born) on account of samskāras, he reaches the position of a vipra by learning (study of the Veda); he is called srotriya on account of all these three'.444 Parāśara (VIII. 19) contains a fine image to illustrate this 'just as a work of painting gradually unfolds itself on account of the several colours (with which it is drawn), so brāhmanya (the status of a brāhmana) is similarly

^{440.} जातमात्रः शिशुस्तावद्यावद्धी समा वयः। स हि गर्भसमा ज्ञेयो जातिमात्रपदर्शकः॥ भक्ष्याभक्ष्ये तथापेये वाच्यावाच्ये तथान्नते । अस्मिन्वाले न दोषः स्यादस यावस्रोपनीयते । दक्ष I. 3-4, quoted in अपरार्क (p. 28) and the second cited as from विष्णुपुराण in परा. मा. I part 2 p. 29.

^{441.} तद्र द्वितीयं जन्म । तद्यस्मात्स आचार्यः । वेदानुवचनाञ्च । गौ. र्रा. 9-11.

^{442.} द्विजातीनामध्ययनभिज्या दानम् । श्रूद्श्चतुर्थो वर्ण एकजातिः । गी. x. 1 and 51. Vide आए. ध. सू. I. 1. 6.

^{443.} स हि विद्यातस्तं जनयति । तच्छ्रेष्ठं जन्म । शरीरमेव मातापितरौ जनयतः । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 16-18.

^{444.} जन्मना बाह्मणो ज्ञेयः संस्कारिद्धिज उच्यते। विद्यया याति विपत्नं श्रोश्रियिश्वि-भिरेष च ॥ अत्रि 141-142; ब्रह्मपुराण reads जन्मना...। विद्यया वापि विपत्नं त्रिभिः ओत्रिय उच्यते ॥ quoted in सं. प्र. p. 404. चित्रकर्म यथानेके रङ्गेष्टमील्यते हानैः। बाह्मण्यमपि तद्वत्स्यारसंस्कारितिधिपूर्वकेः। पराहार VIII. 19; quoted as Devala's by Apararka (p. 25) and as of Angiras in Par. M. II. part I. p. 22, संस्कारतस्य p. 857 and सं. प्र. p. 136.

brought out by samskāras performed according to prescribed rites.

Therefore it is now time to speak of samskāras.

The word samskara hardly ever occurs in the ancient Vedic literature, but the root 'kr' with 'sam' and the past passive participle 'samskrta' occur often enough. In Rg. V. 76. 2 the word samskrta is applied to 'gharma' (vessel) 'the two Asvins do not harm the gharma that has been purified.' In Rg. VI. 28. 4 we have the word samskrtatra' and Rg. VIII. 33. 9 has 'ranāya samskrtah'. Śat. 445 Br. I. 1. 4. 10 speaks of preparing (or purifying) offering (havis) for the gods. So in Sat. Br. III. 2. 1. 22 'therefore a woman approaches a man who stands in a well-trimmed (samskrta) house. Vide Vāj. S. IV. 34 for a similar use of samskrta. Chān, Up. IV. 16. 2, we 446 read "of that sacrifice there are two ways, by mind, by speech; the Brahma (priest) prepares (or polishes) one of them by his mind." The word samskāra is used several times in the sūtras of Jaimini (as in III. 1. 3, III. 2. 15 and 17, III. 8. 3, IX. 2. 9, 42, 44, IX. 3. 25, IX. 4. 33. IX. 4. 50 and 54, X, 1. 2 and 11 &c.). It generally means some purificatory act in a sacrifice e. g. in Jaimini III. 8. 3 the word is applied to the actions of shaving the head, washing the teeth and paring the nails on the part of the sacrificer in Jyotistoma; in IX. 3. 25 the word samskara is applied to proksana (sprinkling with water), in X. 2. 49 it is applied to the shaving of the head and face. In Jaimini 447 VI. 1. 35 the word samskāra stands for upanavana. Sabara explains 448 samskāra as that which being effected makes a certain thing or person fit for a certain purpose and the Tantravārtika says that samskāras are those actions and rites that

^{445.} स इदं देवेम्या हिवः संस्कुरु साधु संस्कृतं संस्कृतित्येवैतदाह। शतपथ I. 1. 4. 10: तस्माद् स्त्री पुमांसं संस्कृते तिष्ठन्तमभ्येति। शतपथ III, 2. 1. 22.

^{446.} तस्मादेष एव यज्ञस्तस्य मनश्च वाक् च वर्तनी । तयोरन्यतरां मनसा संस्करोति ब्रह्मा वाचा होता । छान्दोग्य IV. 16. 1-2. The Brahma priest remains silent and watches the whole sacrifice to see if there be any mistake, which he corrects by prayascitta.

^{447.} संस्कारस्य तदर्थत्वाद्विद्यायां पुरुषश्चतिः। जै. VI. 1. 35.

⁴⁴⁸. संस्कारो नाम स भवित यस्मिक्षाते पदार्थी भवित योग्यः कस्यचिद्र्थस्य । शबर on जै. III. 1.3 ($p.\ 660$); योग्यतां चाद्धानाः क्रियाः संस्कारा इत्युच्यन्ते । तन्त्रवार्तिक $p.\ 1078$; संस्कारो हि नाम गुणाधानेन वा स्याद् द्रोषापनयनेन वा । शंकर on वेदान्ति सूत्र $I.\ 1.\ 4.$

impart fitness and it further says 449 'fitness is of two kinds; it arises by the removal of taints (sins) or by the generation of fresh qualities. Samskāras generate fresh qualities, while tapas brings about the removal of taints. He who performs such sacrifices as Jyotistoma and others has certain blemishes in him due to not doing in this life or a previous life duties laid down for him or doing what is forbidden. If they (blemishes) are not removed they obstruct the (acquisition of the) reward of the sacrifice even if it be entirely free from any defects whatever, as they (blemishes) produce (for the sacrificer) the experience of their own fruits that are opposed to the (fruit of the) sacrifice.' The Viramitrodaya 450 (on samskara) defines 'samskāra' as 'a peculiar excellence due to the performance of rites ordained (by the sastra) which resides either in the soul or the body and says that it is of two kinds, one kind making a person eligible for performing other actions (e.g. upanayana renders a person eligible for Vedic study), while another kind removes the evil taint that may have been generated (e.g. Jātakarma removes the taint due to seed and uterus). The word samskara does not occur in most of the grhyasūtras (it occurs in Vaik.), but it occurs in the Dharmasütras (vide Gaut. VIII. 8, Ap. Dh. I. 1. 1. 9, Vas. IV. 1).

The principal matters that fall to be discussed under samskāras are: the purpose of samskāras, the classification of samskāras, the number of samskāras, the procedure of each of the samskāras and the persons authorized to perform them and the persons for whom they are to be performed.

First as to the purpose of samskāras. Manu (II. 27-28) says 'In the case of dvijātis, the taints (or sins) due to seed and the uterus (i. e. derived from parents) are wiped off by the homas (burnt oblations) performed during pregnancy and by jātakarma (ceremonies on birth), caula (tonsure) and the tying of the girdle of muñja grass. This (human) body is rendered fit for the attainment of brahma by the study of the Veda, by (observance of) vratas, homas (oblations in fire), by the vrata called traividya, by worship (of gods, sages and manes), by generation of sons, by the performance of the five daily

^{449.} योग्यता च सर्वत्र द्विप्रकारा दोषापनयनेन ग्रुणास्तरोपजननेन च भवति । तन्त्र-धार्तिक p. 1115 on जे. III. 8. 9.

^{450.} इद्रस्तन्व on खादिरगृद्ध II. 3. 33 'एते गर्भाधानाद्यः संस्काराः शरीरं संस्कुर्वन्तः सर्वेषु अदूष्टार्थेषु कर्मसु योग्यतातिशयं कुर्वन्ति। फलातिशयो योग्यतातिशयं च।.

sacrifices and by (solemn Vedic) sacrifices.' The view of Yāj. (I. 13) is that 'thus (i.e. by the performance of samskāras) the taint arising from the seed and uterus (i. e. from the physical defects of parents) is removed.' These words of Manu and Yai, are variously interpreted by the commentators. Medhātithi says 'seed and uterus are not the causes of sin and therefore all that is meant by enas (in Manu II. 27) is impurity.' Kullūka explains that blemishes of seed are those arising from intercourse in a prohibited manner and the 'gārbhika' blemish is what arises from having to stay in the womb of an impure mother. The Mit. 451 on Yāj. I. 13 makes it clear that samskaras are deemed to remove bodily defects transmitted from parents (such as defective limbs, diseases &c.) and are not intended to remove the taint of being born of sinful Manu II. 66 also states that all the samskāras are performed on a woman also for the purification of the body. Hārīta 458 as quoted in the Samskāratattva says 'when a person has intercourse according to the procedure of garbhādhāna he establishes in the wife a foetus that becomes fit for the reception of the Veda, by the rite of pumsavana he makes the garbha become a male, by the ceremony of Simantonnayana he removes from the foetus the taint derived from the parents and the accumulated taints (which are five) due to seed, blood and womb are removed by jātakarma, nāmakarana, annaprāśana, cūdākarana and samāvartana. By these eight samskāras (from garbhādhāna) purity arises.' The exact significance of samskāras in the development of higher human personality was left rather vague in our authorities and their treatment of the purpose of samskāras is not very elaborate or exhgustive. The samskāras had been treated from very ancient times as necessary for unfolding the latent capacities of man for development and as being the outward symbols or signs of the inner change which would fit human beings for corporate life and they also tended to confer a certain status on those who underwent them. we look at the list of samskaras we shall find that the purposes

^{451.} बीजगर्भससुद्धवं शुक्रशोणितसंबद्धं गात्रव्याधिसंक्रान्तिनिमित्तं वा न तुपति-तोरपन्नत्वादि। मिता. on या. I. 13; एनोऽत्राप्रायत्यं मातुः पीताशनादे्रत्यन्नमित्यर्थः। अपरार्कः

^{452.} तत्र हारीतः। गर्भाधानवदुपेतो ब्रह्मगर्भे संद्धाति । पुंसवनात्पुंसीकरोति फल-स्थापनान्मातापितृजं पाप्मानमपोहति रेतोरक्तगर्भोपघातः पञ्चगुणो जातकर्मणा प्रथममपोहति मामकरणेन द्वितीयं प्राक्षतंन तृतीयं चूडाकरणेन चतुर्थे स्नापनेन पञ्चममेतैरष्टाभिः संस्कारेगे-भौपघातात् पूतो भवतीति। संस्कारतस्व (p. 857).

of samskāras were manifold. Some like Upanayana served spiritual and cultural purposes, they brought the unredeemed person into the company of the elect, they opened the door to Vedic study and thus conferred special privileges and exacted duties. They have also psychological values impressing on the mind of the person that he has assumed a new role and must strive to observe its rules. Other samskāras like nāmakarana, annaprāśana, and niskramana were more or less of a popular They afforded opportunities for the expression of nature. love and affection and for festivities. Other samskaras like garbhādhāna, pumsavana, sīmantonnayana had also mystical and symbolical elements. Vivāba (marriage) was a sacrament which brought about a union of two personalities into one for the purpose of the continuance of society and for the uplift of the two by self-restraint, by self-sacrifice and mutual co-operation.

The samskāras were divided by Hārīta into two kinds, brāhma and daiva. The samskāras of garbhādhāna and others which are described only in the smṛtis are called brāhma and the man who is purified by performing them attains equality with sages, stays in the same world with them and is joined with them; pākayajñas (offerings of cooked food), yajñas with burnt offerings and sacrifices in which soma is offered are called daiva (samskāras). The last two varieties, viz. those in which there is burnt offering and those in which soma is offered, are dealt with in the śrauta sūtras, which have been left outside the purview of this work (except in the note at the end of this volume).

There is a great divergence of views among the writers on smrtis as to the number of samskāras. Gaut. (VIII. 14-24) speaks of forty samskāras and eight virtues of the soul. The forty samskāras are: garbhādhāna, pumsavana, sīmantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana, caula, upanayana (8 in all), the four vratas of the Veda, snāna (or samāvartana), vivāha, five daily mahāyajīns (fer deva, pitr, manuṣya,

453. तथा च हारीतः । द्विचिधः संस्कारो भवति ब्राह्मो देवश्च । गर्भाधानादिस्मार्तो ब्राह्मः । पाकयज्ञहिवर्यज्ञसौम्याश्चेति देवः । ब्रह्मसंस्कारसंस्कृत ऋषीणां समानतां सलोकतां सायुज्यं गच्छति । देवेनोत्तरेण संस्कृतो देवानां समानतां सलोकतां सायुज्यं गच्छति । इति । स्मृतिच. I. p. 13, परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 18, संस्कारपकाश p. 135. The editor of the परा. मा. says it is हारीतधर्मसूत्र XI. 1-5 (from the MS he had discovered).

bhūta and brahma): seven pākayajñas 454 (viz. astakā. pārvanasthālīpāka, śrāddha, śrāvanī, āgrahāyanī, caitrī, āśvayujī); seven haviryajñas (in which there is burnt offering but no soma) viz. Agnyādheya, Agnihotra, Darśapūrnamāsa, Agravana, Cāturmāsvas, Nirūdhapaśubandha and Sautrāmani); seven soma sacrifices (Agnistoma, Atyagnistoma, Ukthya, Sodasin, Vājapeva, Atirātra, Aptoryāma), Gautama uses the word samskāra in the most extended sense. Śankha as quoted by the Sm. C. (I. p. 13) and the Subodhini on Mit. II. 4 follow Gautama. Vaik. speaks of eighteen śārīra samskāras (in which he includes utthana, pravasagamana, pindavardhana, which are seen nowhere else as samskāras) and twenty-two yajñas (i. e. five daily yajñas as one and seven pākayajñas, seven havir-yajñas, and seven soma yajñas). Most grhyasūtras, dharmasūtras and smrtis do not enumerate so many. Angiras (quoted in the Samskāramayūkha, Samskāra-prakāśa p. 135 and other digests) mentions twenty-five samskāras. They include all samskāras of Gautama from garbhādhāna to the five daily yajñas (which latter are reckoned as one samskāra by Angiras) and after nāmakarana niskramana is added. Besides, Visnubali, Agrayana, Astakā, Śrāvani, Āśvayuji, Mārgaśīrsi (same as Āgrahāyanī), Pārvana, Utsarga and Upākarma are enumerated as the remaining samskāras by Angiras. Veda-Vyāsa I. 14-15 enumerates sixteen samskāras. Manu, Yāj., Visnu Dh. S. do not give the number of samskāras but simply say that they are those from niseka (garbhādhāna) to smaśāna (i. e. antyesti). This last one is not treated of in Gautama and several grhyasūtras. most of the digests the principal samskaras are said to be sixteen; but there is some difference of opinion even as to these sixteen, 455 For example, Jātūkarnya as quoted in Sam. Pr. (p. 135) enumerates the 16 as garbhādhāna, pumsavana. sīmanta, jātakarma, nāmakarana, annasrāšana, caula, mauñjī

^{454.} According to some the seven pākayajñas are: aupāsanahoma, vaisvadeva, pārvaņa (sthālīpāka), aṣṭakā, śrāddha (monthly), sarpabali and īśānabali. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 13. The Baud. gr. I. 1. gives the seven pākayajñas as huta, prahuta, ahuta, śūlagava, baliharaņa, pratyavarohaņa and aṣṭakā homa. Vide S. B. E. Vol. 30 p. 358 for several differing enumerations of pākayajñas.

^{455.} तत्र संस्काराः। गर्भाधान...विवाहाश्चेत्यावश्यकाः षोहश प्रधानाः संस्काराः। स्मृत्यर्धसार p. 3. The 16 usually enumerated in the digests are गर्भाधान, प्रसायन, सीमन्तोक्षयन, विष्णुपिल, जातकर्म, नामकरण, निष्क्रमण, अक्षप्राशन, चौल, उपनयन, वेवृत्रतन्त्रतृष्टय, समावर्तन, विवाहः

(upanayana), vratas (four), godāna, samāvartana, vivāha and antyesti. These slightly differ from the sixteen of Veda-Vyāsa.

The grhyasūtras deal with samskāras in two different sequences. Many of them begin with vivāha (marriage) and then proceed up to samāvartana. Some like the Hiraņya-kesigrhya, Bhāradvājagrhya and Mānavagrhya begin with upanayana. Some samskāras like Karnavedha and Vidyārambha are conspicuous by their absence in the grhyasūtras, but are added by later smṛtis and purāṇas. The following is the list of all the samskāras usually so called in most of the smṛti works together with a few remarks against each as to the work or works in which each is mentioned or described. The samskāras are arranged in the sequence of the times at which in a man's life they are performed beginning from garbhādhāna:

Riu-samgamana—mentioned in Vaik. 457 I. 1 as distinct from garbhādhāna; it calls it niṣeka also (VI. 2) and describes it in III. 9 and garbhādhāna in III. 10. The Vaik. commences the samskāras with niṣeka.

Garbhādhāna: Niṣeka: Caturthīkarma or-homa:—Manu (II. 16 and 26), Yāj. I. 10-11, Viṣṇu Dh. S. (2. 3 and 27. 1) employ the word niṣeka as equivalent to garbhādhāna. In the Sāṅkhā-yana gṛhya (I. 18-19), Pār. gṛ. I. 11, and Āp. gṛ. (8. 10-11) the rite called caturthīkarma or caturthīhoma takes the place of the rite called garbhādhāna elsewhere and there is no separate description of garbhādhāna in these and some similar

^{456.} For detailed treatment of some of the samskaras, vide Dr. (Mrs.) Kamalabai Deshpande's work 'the Child in ancient India' (with copious references to the grhya sutras); Mrs. Stevenson's 'the Rites of the twice-born' (1920), which exhaustively reviews in the minutest details the rites of brahmanas (particularly in Kathiawar and Gujarat) as observed at present. This work however gives hardly any references to original Sanskrit authorities, is permeated by the spirit of a Christian missionary and commits the mistake, usual with most Western writers, of comparing hoary Indian customs, usages and the position of women with those of the West only in the latter half of the 19th century, altogether ignoring what existed in Europe over a few hundred years ago, though it is generally written with sympathy and understanding. Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I. pp. 123-226 (London, 1837), Monier Williams' 'Religious thought and life in India ' part I (1883), Vidyarnava's 'on daily practices' in the 20th volume of 'the Sacred Books of the Hindus' may also be consulted.

⁴⁵⁷. ऋतौ संगमनं निषेकमित्याहुः । वैस्नानस $VI.\ 2$; अथ निषेकादिसंस्कारान् भ्याख्यास्यानः । वैस्नानस $I.\ 1.$

grhyasütras. The Baud. gr. (IV. 6. 1), the Kāṭhakagrhya (30. 8), Gaut. (VIII. 14), Yāj. I. 11 employ the word garbhādhāna. According to Vaik. (III. 10) the garbhādhāna rite follows niseka or rtu-samgamana (union of married pair after menstruation) and consists in ensuring conception.

Puinsavana:—occurs in almost all the grhyasūtras, in Gaut., in Yāj. (I, 11).

Garbharakṣaṇa:—mentioned in the Śāṅkhāyana gr. (I. 21). It seems to be the same as the Anavalobhana which according to the Āśvalāyana gr. (I. 13. 1) occurs in the Upaniṣad and which is described in Āśv. gr. (I. 13. 5-7).

Simantonnayana:—This occurs almost everywhere. Yāj. I. 11 uses the word simanta.

Visnubali:—mentioned in Baud. gr. (I. 10. 13-17 and I. 11. 2), Vaik. (III. 13), Angiras. It is not mentioned by Gautama and several other ancient sūtrakāras.

Soṣyantī-karma or-homa:—described in Khādira and Gobhila. It is called Soṣyantī-savana in Kāṭhaka-gṛhya and Kṣiprasuvana in Āp. gṛ., Bhāradvāja gṛ. and Kṣipraprasavana in Hir. gṛ. (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 210). It occurs in Budhasmṛti (as quoted in Samskāra-prakāśa p. 139).

Jātakarma:—This is described in all sūtras and smṛtis.

Utthāna:—mentioned only in the Vaik. (III. 18) and in Śān, gr. I. 25 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 51-52).

Nāmakaraņa: - mentioned in all smṛtis.

Nişkramana or Upanişkramana or Ādityadarsana or Nirnayana:—Yāj. I. 11 speaks of it as Nişkramana, Pār. gr. (I. 17) as Nişkramanikā, Manu II. 34 speaks of it as Nişkramana. The Kausikasūtra 58. 18 calls it Nirnayana; while Baud. gr. (II. 2) employs the word upanişkramana; Mānava gr. (I. 19. 1), Viṣnu Dh. S. (27. 10), Sankha (in verse, II. 5) employ appropriately the name Ādityadarsana. Gaut., Āp. gr. and several other sūtras omit it.

Karņavedha:—omitted in almost all ancient smṛtis; mentioned in Veda-Vyāsa smṛti (I. 19), Baud. gṛ. śeṣa-sūtra (I. 12.1), Kātyāyana-sūtra (a supplement to Pār. gṛ.)

Annaprāśana:—mentioned by almost every smrti.

Varṣavardhana or Abdapūrti:—mentioned in Gobhila, Śāṅ. Pār., Baud.

Caula or $C\bar{u}d\bar{a}karma$ or $C\bar{u}d\bar{a}karana$:—mentioned by all smrtis.

Vidyārambha:—not mentioned in any smṛti but only in Mārkaṇdeyapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 30) and Sm. C. (I. p. 26).

Upanayana:—mentioned by all. It is called vratādeśa in Veda-Vyāsa I, 14.

Vratas (four):—mentioned by most of the grhyasūtras.

Keśānta or Godāna: -- Mentioned by almost all.

Samūvartana or Snāna:—there is great divergence about these two. Manu (III. 4) seems to keep snāna (ceremonial bath after the period of studentship is over) as distinct from samāvartana. Gaut., Āp. gr. V. 12-13, Hir. gr. I. 9. 1, Yāj. I. 51, Pār. gr. (II. 6-7) employ the word snāna for both the ceremonial bath and the rites of return from the teacher's house on finishing one's studies, while Āśv. gr. (III. 8. 1), Baud. gr. (II. 6. 1), Śān. gr. III. 1, Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 15 and 31) employ the word Samāvartana.

Vivāha:--Mentioned by all as a samskāra.

 $Mah\bar{a}yaj\bar{n}as$:—five daily yajñas; mentioned by Gaut., Angiras and others.

Utsarga:—(seasonal giving up of Veda studies) is mentioned as a samskāra in Vaik (I. 1) and by Angiras.

 $Up\overline{a}karma:$ —(yearly commencement of Veda study) mentioned as a samskara by Vaik. (I. 1) and by Angiras.

Antyesti:--mentioned by Manu II. 16 and Yāj I. 10.

It is laid down that the samskāras from jātakarma to cūdākarma were to be performed in the case of the twice-born classes with Vedic mantras when the child was a male and that in the case of girls the ceremonies were to be performed but without Vedic mantras; vide Āśv. gr. (I. 15. 12, I. 16. 6, I. 17. 18), Manu II. 66, Yāj I. 13. But marriage in the case of the girls of the three higher classes was to be performed with Vedic mantras (Manu II, 67. Yāj. I. 13).

The samskāras 458 from garbhādhāna to upanayana alone were absolutely necessary in the case of all twice-born persons;

458. अत्र गर्भाधानाद्युपनयन्यर्यन्ता एव संस्काराः सर्वेषां नियताः न पुनः स्नानाद्यः। सथात्वे यमिच्छेत्कर्ते तमावसेद्यदि वेतरथा ब्रह्मचर्यादेव प्रवजोदिति विरोधः स्यात्। स्मृति च॰ I. pp. 13-14; स्मृतिसु. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 73). The words 'यदि वेतरथा बजेत् श्राट जाबालोपनिषद् 4.

the samskāras of snāna and vivāha were not obligatory, as a man was allowed to become a samnyāsin (ascetic) immediately after finishing the period of studenthood (according to the Jābālopanisad). The Samskāraprakāśa enters upon an elaborate discussion as to whether jātakarma could be performed for a child that is neither a male nor a female (pp. 195-197) and arrives at the conclusion that jātakarma and other samskāras cannot be performed for a klība (impotent) child.

Another question was as to what samskaras could be performed for the śūdra. The view of Vedavyāsa that he could have ton samskāras performed (but without Vedic mantras) has been stated above (p. 159). The Baijavāpa 459 grhya says that seven samskāras are allowed to the sūdra viz. from garbhādhāna (or niseka) to caula. The view of Apararka 460 appears to be that the eight samskaras from garbhadhana to caula (in Yaj. I.11-12) were meant for all varnas (including the sūdra). According to the Madanaratna, Rūpanārāyana and the bhāsya of Harihara as quoted in the Nirnayasindhu, the śūdras were entitled to perform six samskāras viz. jātakarma, nāmakarana, niskramana, annaprāśana, cūdā and vivāha and the five daily mahā-The Sūdrakrtya-tattva of Raghunandana (p. 634) quotes a verse from the Varahapurana 461 'this very procedure (about śrāddha) has been declared in the case of śūdras but without mantras; for the śūdra who is not entitled to repeat a mantra, a brahmana repeats the mantra' and then remarks that for a sudra a mantra from the puranas is to be repeated by the brāhmana priest employed, that the śūdra is not to repeat even the purana mantras but has only to say 'namah'. Nirnayasindhu 462 mentions with approval the same view of Śūlapāni that in all religious ceremonies for śūdras the mantras are to be taken from the puranas and that they are to be repeated by the brahmana priest. The Brahmanurana 463 quoted

^{459.} बैजवापग्रह्मेपि । शूद्रस्यापि निषेक-पुंसवन-सीमन्तोत्त्रयनजातकर्मनामकरणात्त-प्राह्मनचौळान्यमन्त्रकाणि यथाकालसुपदिष्टानीति । यीरमित्रोदय (सं. प्र.) p. 133.

^{460.} एतञ्च चातुर्वर्ण्याभिप्रायं न द्विजातिमात्राविषयम् । तथा सत्युपनयनं विधाय वाच्यं स्यात । अपरार्क p. 25.

^{461.} तत्र द्रष्यदेवतामकाशार्थ बाह्मणेन मन्त्राः पाठ्याः । 'अयमेव विधिः मोक्तः शूद्गाणां मन्त्रवर्जितः । अमन्त्रस्य तु शूद्रस्य मन्त्रो विष्रेण गृह्यते । इति वराहपुराणात् । शूद्रकृत्यतन्त्र p. 634.

^{463.} बाह्ये तु 'विवाहमात्रसंस्कारं श्रुद्धोपि लभतां सवा' इत्युक्तम् । अत्र सदसच्छूद-गोखरत्वेन देशभेदादृष्यवस्था । निर्णयासिन्धु III. पूर्वार्थः

in the Sm. C. (I. p. 24) and other digests states that no other samskāra than vivāha is allowed to the śūdra. On this the Nirpayasindhu remarks that these conflicting views are to be reconciled by holding that the liberal ones apply to good (sat) śūdras and the stricter ones to low (asat) śūdras or that the rules are different in different countries.

It is to be noted that in modern times most of the samskāras (except garbhādhāna, upanayana and vivāha) have fallen into oblivion and are hardly ever performed even by brahmanas in the manner and at the times prescribed by the smrtis. Owing to the rapid rise in the marriageable age of brahmana girls. even the samskara of garbhadhana is falling into abeyance. Nāmakaraņa, annaprāsana are performed in a popular way but without Vedic mantres or without calling a priest to officiate. In most cases caula is performed on the day of the upanayana and samāvartana is also performed a few days after upanayana. Jātakarma and annaprāśana are performed on the same day in some parts (e.g. in Bengal). It appears that this state of things has continued for centuries. Smrtyarthasāra 464 (p. 3) says 'if the samskāras (except upanayana) are not performed at the prescribed times, the Vyāhrtihoma should be offered and then the samskaras should be performed (though late). For each samskara that is not performed the penance called padakrechra should be performed (if the nonperformance is due to some difficulty or distress), and for nonperformance of caula the penance is ardha-krechra. If the samskāras were knowingly omitted or if there was no distress then the penance is double 465 of this.' The Nirnayasindhu quotes verses of Saunaka 466 to this effect and then remarks that there was a conflict of views, some holding that after the penance the samskāras passed over should be performed all at one time.

^{464.} The Vyahrtihoma consists in offering clarified butter with the mystic syllables, bhūh, bhuvah, svah (or suvah) uttered separately and then together. Vide Hir. gr. I. 3. 4 (S. B. E. Vol. 30 p. 144).

^{465.} एते कालातिक्रमे व्याह्नतिहोमं क्रत्वा कार्याः । एते व्येक्केक्रलापे पादक्रव्हः कार्यः । चौले त्वर्धक्रव्हः । मत्या लोपेऽनापादि च द्विग्रणः । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 3; for पादक्रव्छ्न vide Yaj. III. 318 and मिताः thereon where अर्धक्रव्छ्न also is explained.

^{466.} अथ संस्कारलेषे शीनकः। आरम्याधानमाचौलात्कालेतीते त कर्मणाम्। व्याह-त्याम्नि तु संस्कृत्य हुत्वा कर्म यथाक्रमम्॥ एतेष्वेकैकलोषे तु पादकुच्छ्नं समाचरेत् । चूडायः-मर्थकुच्छ्नं स्यादापदि त्वेवमीरितम् । अनापदि तु मर्वत्र द्विग्रणं द्विग्रणं चरेत्। इति । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्धः स्मृतिम् . (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 99) quotes a similar verse from कात्यायन 'गर्भाधानादिचौलान्ते स्वकाले विधिनाऽक्वते । प्रत्येकं पादकुच्छ्नं स्याद्दिग्रणं स्यादनापदि ॥ ।

while others held that they should not be performed at all after undergoing penance and a third view was that if caula was left unperformed it may be performed on the same day as upanavana. The Dharmasindhu (3rd pariccheda, purvārdha) states various substitutes (which are comparatively easy) for these penances. For example, one prajapatya penance is equal to three Pādakrcchras. In place of prājāpatya the person guilty of the lapse may make the gift of a cow or (in the absence of a cow) may give one niska (320 guñjās) of gold or one half or one-fourth of it; one who is very poor may give one-eighth of a silver niska or corn of that value. There being these easy substitutes (pratyāmnāya as they were called) people gradually left off performing the several samskaras and concentrated themselves only on upanayana and vivāha. The whole life of a person was so very minutely worked out and overlaid with so much ritual in the grhyasatras and smrtis that the tendency to neglect and change became insistent and inevitable. tendency was helped by the accommodating spirit of the brāhmana authors of later smrtis and digests that were ready to prescribe easier and easier substitutes for non-observance of the elaborate sacraments, pre-natal and post-natal. Haradatta in commenting on Gaut. I. 6 (upanayanam brāhmanasya astame) remarks 'the teacher (Gautama) expounding upanayana first and passing over the samskaras like garbhadhana that precede upanayana in time conveys that upanayana is the principal samskara. Therefore even if the samskāras like garbhādhāna did not take place owing to adverseness of fate, upanayana can be performed. but it follows that if upanayana be not performed there is no adhikāra (eligibility) for marriage which follows only after upanayana.' 467 In modern times in undergoing prayascitta for non-performance of the samskāras up to caula rupees two have to be paid to the priest (annas four for each of the samskaras not performed up to caula and annas eight for caula).468

^{467.} प्रथमभाविनो गर्भाघःनादीन्तंस्कारास्त्रहृङ्ख्यायनयनं व्याचक्षाणस्तस्य प्राधान्यं दर्शयति । तेन देवानुपपस्या गर्भाधानादेनुस्करणेषि उपनयनं स्वति । तस्याकरणे तु विवासादि- जनाधिकार इति सिद्धम् । हरदस्य on गरे. 1. 6.

^{468.} Vide मह्मपारिजात p. 752 for क्वस्क्रमस्यास्ताय and संस्कारकीस्तुम pp. 141-142 for various प्रत्यास्ताय. The modern sankalpa at the time of upanayana for late performance or non-performance of sankakaras is: अमुकार्मणः सम पुत्रस्य गर्भाधानपुंसवनमीमन्तोन्नयन-जातकमेनामकरणान्नमाशानचीलान्तामां संस्कारणां कालातिपत्तिजनित-(or लोपजनित)प्रत्यायपरिहारार्थे प्रतिसंस्कारं पाद्र-क्वस्क्रमायश्चित्तं चूडाया अर्थक्वस्त्रात्मकं प्रतिक्वर्ष्ट्रं गोमूल्यरजतनिष्क्रपाद्मपद्मार्थाहानचीरुषे ।

The samskāras will now be described in detail. The material contained in the sūtras, smṛtis and nibandhas is so vast that only very concise statements can be made here. The method followed will be as follows. Each samskāra will be described from a few representative gṛḥya and dharma sūtras such as the Āśv. gṛ., Āp. gṛ., and references will be given to other important works. Only important parts of procedure can be noted, minute divergences among the several works being passed over. Greater details will be given in the case of the two chief samskāras viz. upanayana and marriage which are in vogue even now. 469

Garbhādhāna:—The beginnings of this ceremony are found very early. Atharvaveda V. 25 appears to be a hymn intended for the garbhādhāna rite. Atharva V. 25.3 and 5 are verses which occur in the Br. Up. VI. 4.21; the passage of the Br. Up. VI. 4.13, 19-22 may be rendered thus: 'At the end of three days (after menstruation first appears) when she (wife) has bathed, the husband should make her pound rice (which is then boiled and eaten with various other things according as he desires a fair, brown or dark son or a learned son or a learned daughter)... and then towards morning, after having according to the rule of the Sthālīpāka performed the preparation of the clarified butter, he sacrifices from the Sthālīpāka little by little,

469. Besides the grhya sūtras, the dharmasūtras, Manu, Yājňavalkya and other smrtis, the principal digests on samskara relied upon here are the Samskaratattva of Raghunandana, the Samskaramayukha of Nilakantha, the Samskara-prakasa of Mitramisra, the Samskarakaustubha of Anantadeva and the Samskararatnamala of Gopinatha. Further, one should never lose sight of the fact that in a vast continent like India the various items in daily rites and ceremonies have always varied from age to age, from province to province and from caste to casto. Innumerable modifications were introduced and usages cropped up among the people, particularly owing to the influence of women, of which smrtis and digests take no notice. This was the state of things oven several centuries before Christ. The Ap. Db. S. (II. 11. 29. 15) closes with the aphorism 'some teachers hold that the rest of the dharmas (not described here) may be understood from (the usages of) women and of all varnas'. The Asv. gr. (I. 7. 1) states 'various indeed are the usages of the different countries and of the different villages; one should observe them in marriage ceremonies.' This work does not profess to give the bewildering differences of the several sakhas and the several provinces of Modern India, but will restrict itself principally to Western India and the Asv. sutra, though important variations have been pointed out in many places.

saving 'This is for Agni, svāhā; this is for Anumati, svāhā; this is for divine Savity the true creator, svaha! Having sacrificed he takes out the rest of the sice, eats it and after having eaten he gives some of it to his wife. Then he washes his hands, fills a water jar and sprinkles her thrice with water saying 'Rise, oh Viśvāvasu, seek another blooming girl, a wife with her husband,' Then he embraces her and says 'I am Ama, thou art Sā. Thou art Sä. I am Ama. I am the Sāman, thou art the Rk. I am the sky, thou art the earth. Come, let us strive together that a male child may be begotten' (VI. 4. 21-22 cannot be literally translated for reasons of decency). Briefly the husband has intercourse with her and repeats certain mantras 'may Visnu make ready your private parts, may Tvasta frame your beauty, may Prājāpati sprinkle and may Dhātā implant an embryo into you; Oh Sinivali! Oh Prthustuka! implant embryo (in her), may the two Asvins who wear a garland of lotuses plant in thee an embryo...... As the earth has fire inside it, as heaven has Indra inside it, as the wind is inside (as the embryo of) the quarters, so I plant a garbha in thee, oh, so and so (the name of the woman being taken)'.470 In the Asv. gr. (I. 13.1) it is expressly stated that in the Upanisad the ceremonies of Garbhalambhana (conceiving a child), Pumsavana (securing a male child) and Anavalobhana (guarding against dangers to the embryo) are mentioned. Evidently this is a reference to the Br. Up, quoted above (where four mantras used in the garbhādhāna samskāra by Hir. and other grhya sūtras occur).

The rite called caturthīkarma is described in the Śānkhāyana gr. (I. 18-19, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 44-46) as follows "Three

^{470.} Vide Appendix for text and S. B. E. vol 15, pp. 220-221 for the translation of the passage. Max Muller notes that the passage 'amohasmi' occurs in the Atharvaveda XIV. 71, that a similar passage (where instead of 'sā tvam' there is 'sa tvam') occurs in Ait. Br. VIII. 27 and that in the Chandogya Up. I. 6. 1 sa is explained as earth and 'ama' as fire. The mantra 'may Visnu...embryo into you' is Rg. X. 184. 1= Atharvaveda V. 25. 5, and the mantra 'oh Sinīvalī...an embryo' is Rg. X. 184. 2 = Atharva V. 25. 3 (where 'Sarasvati' is read for 'pṛthuṣṭuke'. The Nirukta (XI. 32. on Rg. II. 32. 6 where we have an invocation to Sinīvalī in the words 'give us progeny', मजा देवि दिदिष्टि नः) explains 'prthustuke'as 'pythujaghane' (having large buttocks or large mass of hair). The words 'garbham dadhatu' probably suggested the name 'garbhadhana given to this rite. The Hir. gr. I. 7. 25. 1. has the above two mantras and also the mantra 'as the earth &c' (and another mantra also) which four occur in Br. Up. VI. 4. 21-22; vide S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 199.

nights after marriage having elapsed, on the fourth the husband makes into fire eight offerings of cooked food to Agni, Vāyu, Surya (the mantra being the same for all three except the name of the deity), Aryaman, Varuna, Pûşan (mantras being the same for these three), Prajapati (the mantra is Rg. X. 121. 10), to (Agni) Svistakrt. Then he pounds the root of Adhyanda plant and sprinkles it into the wife's nostril with two verses (Rg. X. 85, 21-22) with svāhā at the end of each. He should then touch her, when about to cohabit, with the words 'the mouth of the Gandharva Viśvāvasu art thou'. Then he should murmur 'into the breath I put the sperm. Oh! so and so (the name of the wife) or he repeats the verse 'as the earth has fire inside &c. (quoted above from Br. Up. VI. 4. 22) or several other verses in this strain 'may a male embryo enter thy womb as an arrow into the quiver; may a man be born here, a son, after ten months ".471 The Par. gr. (I. 11, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 288-290) also has a similar procedure. Ap. gr. (8, 10-11, S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 267-268), Gobbila II, 5 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 51-52) give briefly a similar procedure, but refer to mantras given in the Mantrapatha (e.g. Ap. M. P. I. 10. 1. to I. 11. II). To modern minds it appears strange that intercourse should have been surrounded by so much of mysticism and religion in the ancient sūtras. But in ancient times every act was sought to be invested with a religious halo; so much so that according to Hir. gr. I. 7. 25.3. (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 200) Atreya held that mantras were to be repeated at each cohabitation throughout life, while Bādarāyana prescribed that this was necessary only at the first cohabitation and after each monthly course. 478 The Hir. gr. (I. 7, 23.11 to 7. 25, S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 197-200) gives a very elaborate rite, but on the same lines as the above grhyasūtras. One of the mantras is interesting on account of its reference to the cakravāka birds (I. 7, 24. 6), 'The concord that belongs to the cakravaka birds, that is brought out of the rivers of which the divine Gandharva is possessed, thereby we are concordant' (S. B. E. vol. 30. p. 198). The Vaik. (III. 9) calls this ceremony rtusamgamana and is similar to Ap. gr. and Hir. gr. It will be seen that the

^{471.} The mantra 'आ ते योनिं गर्भ एतु पुमान बाण इवेषुधिम्। आ वीरोऽत्र जायतां पुत्रस्ते द्शमास्यः ॥ is अधर्ववेद् III. 23. 2. This occurs also in हिरण्य- केशिग्रहा I. 7. 25. 1.

^{472.} भारहाजगृह्य I. 20 ascribes these views respectively to Asmarathya and Alekhana 'सर्वाण्युपायनानि मन्त्रवन्ति भवन्तित्यादमरथ्यो यञ्चादौ यञ्चतीवित्याः लेखनः ।॥

caturthikarma is treated by the grhya writers as part of the marriage rites and the rite was performed irrespective of the question whether it was the first appearance of menses or whether the wife had just before the marriage come out of her monthly illness. This indicates that it was taken for granted that the wife had generally attained the age of puberty at the time of marriage. As the marriageable age of girls came down it appears that the rite of caturthikarma was discontinued and the rite was performed long after the ritual of marriage and appropriately named $garbh\bar{u}dh\bar{u}na$.

The smrtis and nibandhas add many details some of which will have to be noticed. Manu (III. 46) and Yaj. I. 79 say that the natural period (for conception) is sixteen nights from the appearance of menses. Ap. gr. 9. 1 says 473 that each of the even nights from the 4th to 16th (after the beginning of the monthly illness) are more and more suited for excellence of (male) offspring. Hārīta also says the same. These two appear to allow garbhādhāna on the fourth night, but Manu (III. 47), Yaj. (I. 79) lay down that the first four nights must be omitted. Kātyāyana, Parāsara (VII. 17) and others say that a woman in her menses is purified by bathing on the 4th day. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (III. 1) says that the garbhādhāna ceremony should be performed on the first appearance of menses after the 4th day has elapsed. The Sm. C. suggests that the 4th may be allowed if there is entire cessation of the flow. 474 Manu (IV. 128) and Yāi, I. 79 added further restrictions viz. that new moon and full moon days and the 8th and 14th tithis of the month were also to be omitted. Astrological details were added by Yaj. I. 80 (that the Mula and Magha constellations must be avoided and the moon must be auspiciously placed) and other later smrtis, which it is unnecessary to dwell upon. In the later smrtis like Laghu-Aśvalāyana III. 14-19 and in nibandhas like the Nirnayasindhu and Dharmasindhu elaborate discussions are held about the months, tithis, week-

^{473.} चतुर्धिप्रभृत्याषोडशीसृत्तरासृत्तरां युग्मां प्रजानिश्रोयसमृतुगमन इत्युपदिशन्ति । अत्यः मृ. सू. 9. 1, S. B. E. vol 30 p. 268.

^{474.} यत्तु गर्भाधानमधिक्वत्य हारीतेनोक्तं चतुर्थेद्धि स्नातायां युग्मासु चेति तञ्चतुर्थोद्धि रजोनिवृत्तो द्रष्टस्यम् । स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 15; एतदेवाभिष्रेत्य कात्यायनः । रजस्वला चतुर्थेद्धि स्नानाच्छाद्धिमवामुयात् । इति, quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका I. p. 15; रनाता रजस्वला या त्र चतुर्थेद्दिन शुध्यति । सुर्योद्दजोनिवृत्तौ तु वैविषश्यादिकर्म च ॥ पराश्रर VII. 17; गर्भाधानं द्विजः सुर्यादतौ प्रथम एव हि । चतुर्थे विषसादूर्ध्व पुत्रार्थी दिवसे समे ॥ लक्ष्यान्यः III. 1.

days, naksatras, colour of clothes, that were deemed to be inauspicious for the first appearance of menses and about the santis (propitiatory rites) for averting their evil Ap. gr., Manu (III. 48), Yāj. (I. 79), Vaik. III. 9 hold that a man desirous of male issue should cohabit on the even days from the 4th day after the appearance of menses and if he cohabits on uneven days a female child is born. Hir. gr. 475 I. 7. 24. 8 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 199) and Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 20) prescribe that a woman in her menses who takes a bath on the 4th day should attire herself in white (or pure) clothes, should ornament herself and talk with (worthy) brāhmanas (only). The Vaik. (III.9) further adds that she should anoint herself with unguents, should not converse with a woman, or a śūdra, should see no one else except her husband, since the child born becomes like the male whom a woman taking a bath after the period looks at. Sankha-Likhita convey a similar eugenic suggestion, 476 viz. 'Women give birth to a child similar in qualities to him on whomsoever their heart is set in their periods.'

A debatable question is whether garbhādhāna is a samskāra of the garbha (the child in the womb) or of the woman. Gaut. VIII. 24, Manu. I. 16, and Yāj. I. 10 indicate that it is a samskāra of the garbha and not of the woman. Viśvarūpa 477 on Yāj. I. 11 expressly asserts that all samskāras except Sīmantonnayana have to be performed again and again (as they are the samskāras of the garbha), while Sīmantonnayana being a samskāra of the woman has to be performed only once and this opinion was in consonance with the usage in his days. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (IV. 17) also holds the same view. Medhātithi 478 on Manu II. 16 says that the garbhādhāna rite with mantras was performed after marriage only once at the time of the first cohabitation according to some, while according to

- 475. चतुर्थ्यो स्नातां प्रयतवस्त्रां बाह्मणसंभाषां भारद्वाजगृह्य I 20; स्नात्वा भ्वतवस्त्रान्तरेपना स्त्रीशूद्राभ्यामनाभिभाष्यापरमष्ट्रष्ट्वा भर्तारं पश्येग्रस्मादतुस्नाता यादशं पुरुष पश्येत्तादशी प्रजा भवति । वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र III. 9.
- 476. यस्मिन् भावोऽर्पितः स्त्रीणामार्तवे तच्छीलं जनयन्ति यथा नीलवृषेण नीलवृषव-स्मप्रभवः श्वेतेन श्वेत एव जायते । शङ्क्षिलिखत quoted in स्मृतिच॰ (ध्यव. p. 241) and वि. र. p. 441.
- 477. प्रतिगर्भ चापसीमन्तोन्नयनाः प्रवर्तन्ते । तस्य श्चीसंस्कारत्वात् । ...गर्भाधानं त्वर्धादेवावर्तते । लिङ्गाञ्च पुंसवनम् । ...एवं च समाचारानुग्रहः । विश्वरूप on या. I. 11.
- 478. गर्भाधानं च विवाहादनन्तरं प्रथमोपगमे विष्णुर्योनिं कल्पयत्विति मन्त्रवस्केषां-चिक्किहितम् । परेषामागर्भग्रहणातप्रस्पृतः । मेधा, on मद्य II. 16.

others it was to be performed after every menstruation till conception. Later works like the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 11), the Sm. C., the Samskāratattva (p. 909) hold that garbhādhāna, pumsavana 479 and sīmantonnayana are samskāras of the woman and are to be performed only once and quote Hārīta in support. Aparārka holds that sīmantonnayana is performed only once at the first conception, while pumsavana is repeated at each conception. He relies on Pār. gr. I. 15; and the Samskāra-mayūkha and the Samskāraprakāśa (pp. 170-171) hold the same opinion. Sm. C. (I. p. 17) quotes a verse of Viṣṇu that according to some even sīmantonnayana is repeated at each conception. About the rules for women who are rajasvalū (in their monthly course) vide later on.

According to Kullūka (on Manu II. 27), the Sm. C. (I. p. 14) and other works garbhādhāna is not of the nature of homa. The Dharmasindhu says that when garbhādhāna takes place on the first appearance of menses, homa for garbhādhāna is to be performed in the grhya fire, but there is no homa when the cohabitation takes place on the second or later appearance of menses; that those in whose sūtra no homa is prescribed should perform the garbhādhāna rite on the proper day after the first appearance of menses by reciting the mantras but without homa. The Samskārakaustubha (p. 59) relying on Grhyapari-siṣṭa prescribes homa in which cooked food is to be offered to Prajāpati and seven offerings of ājya are to be offered in fire, three with the verses 'Viṣṇur-yonim' (Rg. X. 184. 1-3), three with 'nejameṣa' (Āp. M. P. I. 12. 7-9) and one with Rg. X. 121. 10 (prajāpate na).

All samskāras other than garbhādhāna can be performed by any agnate in the absence of the husband (vide Samskāraprakāśa 480 p. 165).

- 479. देवलः। सकुञ्च संस्कृता नारी सर्वगर्भेषु संस्कृता। तेन गर्भाधानपुंसवनसीमन्तो-भयनानि सकुदेव कर्तव्यानि। संस्कारतस्त्र of रचुनन्द्न (p. 909); हारीतः। सकुत्संस्कृत-संस्काराः सीमन्तिन द्विजस्त्रियः। यं यं गर्भे प्रस्यन्ते स सर्वः संस्कृतो भवेत्॥ अपरार्क p. 25 and स्मृतिचः I. p. 17; vide मिता. on या. I. 11 where a full verse of देवल is quoted, which combines the latter half of हारीत with the half verse of देवल quoted above.
- 480. 'ब्रह्मपुराणम् । गर्भाधानादिसंस्कर्ता पिता श्रेष्ठतमः स्मृतः । अभावे स्वकुलीनः स्याद् वान्धनो वान्यगोत्रजः ॥ आर्यावर्तसमुज्जूतः स्वशास्त्री (स्वशास्त्री?) श्रेष्ठ उच्यते । ग्र संस्कारप्रकाश p. 165; तत्र वृद्धगर्गः । पिता पितामहो भ्राता ज्ञातयो गोत्रजाग्रजाः । उपायनेऽधिकारी स्यान्पूर्वाभावे परः परः ॥ पितैवोपनयेदपुत्रं तद्भावे पितुः पिता । तद्भावे पितुर्भाता तद्भावे तु सोवरः । इति पितामहस्मरणात् । संस्कारप्रकाश p. 407. In the निर्णयसिन्धु (III पूर्वार्ध) the vorse पिता पितामहो is asoribed to वृद्धमञ्च.

As homa is necessary in numerous ceremonies and rites, the grhyasūtras give a description of a model homa. Therefore here also it would be well to set out the description from the Aśvalāyana 481 Grhyasūtra (I. 3, S. B. E. vol 29 pp. 162-163), a few important points of difference being added from other grhyasūtras and other works.

"Now wherever (a person) intends 482 to offer a sacrifice he should besmear (with cowdung) a sthandila (a slightly raised square surface of sand or loose earth) of the dimension at least of an arrow on all (four) sides; let him then draw six lines (in all) on it, one to the west (of that part of the sthandila on which the fire is to be placed) but turned northwards, two lines turned towards the east but separately at the two ends (of the line first drawn); (then he should draw) three lines in the middle (of the two); let him then sprinkle (the sacred sthandila) with water, establish the (sacred) fire (on the sthandila), put (two or three samidhs) on the fire; then he should perform parisamuhana (i. e. wiping or sweeping the ground round the fire). then paristarana (i. e. strewing darbha grass round) to the east to the south, to the west, to the north (in order); in this way (all acts like parisamuhana, paristarana &c.) should end in the north. Then silently he should sprinkle (water) round (the fire). (2) With two (kuśa blades used as) strainers (pavitra) the purifying of the ajya is done. (3) Having483 taken two kuśa blades with unbroken ends, which do not bear a young shoot in them, of the measure of a span, at their ends with his thumb and fourth finger, with hands turned the inside being upwards, he purifies the ajya (from the west) towards the east with (the words) by the urging of Savitr I purify thee with this uninjured pavitra, with the rays of the Vasu (i. e. rich or good) sun', once with this mantra, twice silently. (4) The strewing of kuśa grass (paristarana) round the fire may or may not be done in the ajya homas (i. e. sacrifices in which clarified butter alone is to be offered into the fire). (5) So also the two aiya portions (may optionally be offered) in the Pākayajñas. (6) And (the

^{481.} Vide Appendix for the text of आध्य. यू. 1. 3.

^{482.} यत्र कचनाग्निसुपसमाधास्यन् स्यात् तत्र प्राचीकदीचीश्च तिस्रास्तिस्रो रेखा लिखित्वाद्भिरवोक्ष्याग्निसुपसमिन्ध्यात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 1. 1. 13.

^{483.} तूडणीमाधारावाधार्याज्यभागों जुहुयाद्यये स्वाहा सोमाय स्वाहिति। उत्तरमान्नेयं दिक्षणं सौम्यम्। विज्ञायते चशुणी वा एते यज्ञस्य यदाज्यभागौ। आश्वः ए. I. 10. 13-15. The siya to Agni is offered to the north of the fire and that to Soma to the south of it.

employment in all Pākayajāas) of the brahmā priest is optional except in the Dhanvantari sacrifice and Śūlagava sacrifice. (7) He should offer the sacrifice with the words 'to such and such a deity, svāhā'. (8) If there is no specific direction (as to the deities to whom the offerings are to be made), the deities are Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, Višve Devas (all gods), Brahmā. 484 At the end there is an offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (vide Appendix under note 481 for the mantra).

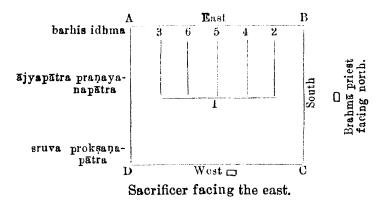
In the Śānkhāyana gr. I. 7 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp. 22-31) the procedure described is more elaborate and contains some important differences. The performer (I. 7. 6-7) draws one line in the middle of the sacrificial surface from south to north and from this line only three lines are drawn upwards, one to the south of it, one in the middle, and one to the north (i. ethere are only four lines and not six as in Aśvalāyana). Further it (I. 8.6-7) says that the seat of the brahmā priest is to the south of the sthandila and he is honoured with flowers. Sankhayana adds (I. 8. 8.) the detail that the pranita waters are carried forward on the north side and (I. 8. 9-11) that paristarana follows after the carrying forward of the pranita waters. It also adds (I. 8. 24-25) that waters in the sruva spoon are purified just as ajya is purified and then a portion of the water in the sruva is poured on to the pranita water and the rest of the water in the sruva is called the proksani water with which the havis, the idhma (fuel) and barhis (kuśas) are sprinkled. Śānkhāyana I. 9. 1 lays down that sruva spoon is the vessel in all grhya rites (and not juhū as in śrauta rites) except where a special rule to the contrary is stated. The Pār. gr. I. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 269-270) and the Khādira gr. I. 2 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 376-378) describe the model homa in a very concise manner. The Gobbila gr. (I. 1. 9-11, and I. 5. 13-20, I. 7. 9, I. 8. 21), Hir. gr. (1. 1. 9-I. 3. 7 S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 138-145) describe it at great length. The sthandila should be prepared on a level spot or on a spot that slopes towards the east or north or north-east (vide Hir. gr. I. 1. 9, S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 138). The sthandila should be raised to the height

^{484.} In the grhya rites ordinarily no brahmā priest is present, but he is represented by a bundle of kuśa grass (50 blades). For धन्वन्तरियज्ञ and जूलगव vide respectively आन्त्र. मृ. I. 12. 7 and IV. 9. The deities when none are specified or indicated are different according to other sūtras e. g. भरहाजगृह्य states them to be आग्नि, सोम, प्रजापति, विश्वे देवा: and आग्नि स्विष्टकृत् (I 4.)

of two or four finger breadths or as much as the sand or loose earth that one has brought will allow; and the sthandila is to be a square, each side of which is given variously as being an arrow (18 angulas) in length, or 32 finger breadths (according to Vaik.), or one aratni (=21 angulas according to Baud. gr. paribhāsā I, 5.3).485

The Ap. gr. describes at length the procedure common to all homas.

The following figures would illustrate the position of the sthandila, the lines drawn thereon, the position of the sacrificer and of the various articles required at the time of homa &c.



ABCD is the sthandila of sand or loose earth; 1-6 are the lines drawn with a samidh on which the fire is to be placed. The above figure represents the position of all materials in an ajya homa (i. e. offering of clarified butter) only; but when there is darvihoma (offering of boiled food in a darvi or ladle) the materials on the north side are carusthālī and proksaṇapātra, darvi and sruva, camasa and ājyapātra, idhma and barhis

^{485.} प्राचीनप्रवणे उदीचीनप्रवणे प्राग्नद्वयवणे समे वा देशे उद्धत्यावोश्य ...। हिरण्य. य. I. 1.9. अपरार्क quotes (p. 905) a smrti that a vitasti is equal to 12 angulas and aratni is equal to two vitastis, while हमादि (व्रतसण्ड part 1 p. 51) quotes from the Adityapuraņa a passage where an aratni is said to be equal to 21 angulas. In कात्यायनऔत 16.8.21 the height of a man is given as five aratnis.

(according to Asvalāyana-grhya-parisista 14) and Kumārilakārikā I 2, 20.)

	East		
North	Soma line 12 angulas 12 angulas one span one span one span prace Drace Drace	.	neat of brahma.
	west m		

Sacrificer facing the east.

The above is the figure of the sthandila and the lines thereon in all grhya rites according to Baudhāyana-grhya-samgrahapariśiṣṭa (Z. D. M. G. vol. 35 p. 540) I. 52-58. The distance between the lines running towards the east is six angulas and it will be noted that all the lines are only five (and not six).

The brahmā is the only priest (out of the four principal rtviks) in sacrifices that are offered in one fire (i.e. in the grhva fire) and are called pākayajāas and the vajamāna (sacrificer) is himself the hotr priest. 486 The order of the several parts in the homa is as follows: 487 upalepana (smearing with cowdung), arranging of sthandila with sand or earth; drawing lines on the sthandila with a samidh (fuel stick). keeping the samidh on the lines with its end towards the east, sprinkling sthandila with water on its north or east, keeping the samidh (with which lines were drawn) outside the sthandila towards the north-east, then acamana (by the sacrificer), then placing fire (either produced by attrition or brought from the house of a śrotriya or the ordinary one) on the sthandila facing the performer, placing two or three samidhs on the fire, keeping ready of idhma (15 samidhs) and a bunch of darbha grass. Then parisamuhana (wiping the ground round the fire from north-east with the hand that has water in it), then paristarana (strewing darbha grass round the altar first to the east, then to the south, then to the west and lastly to the north), then silent paryuksana (sprinkling of water thrice round the fire, each

^{486.} ब्रह्मेवैक ऋत्विक्। पाकयज्ञेषु स्वयं होता भवति । गोभिलगृह्य I. 1. 8-9 पाकयज्ञ इत्याख्या यः कश्चेकायो । खादिरगृह्य I. 1. 20.

^{487.} This is based on Narayana's com. on Asv. gr. I. 3. 1-3.

time taking water in the hand separately), then apaḥ-praṇa-yana (carrying forward the water to the north of the fire) in a vessel of bell-metal or earthenware, then ājyotpavana (purification of the clarified butter with two kuśa blades as strainers 488 thrice, once with mantra and twice silently), the two āghāras and the two oblations of ājya. Then the principal oblations as directed in the various sūtras, then finally an oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. The method of offering an oblation is to repeat the mantra preceded by om and to add svāhā at the end, to put the āhuti (oblation) on fire and to say 'this is for such and such a god and not mine'. 489

The Āśv. gṛhya-sūtra (I. 4) further adds that in caula, upanayana, godāna and marriage there are (as part of these ceremonies) first four oblations of clarified butter to be made with the three mantras (Rg. IX. 66. 10-12) 'Oh Angi, thou purifiest life &c 'and with the one verse 'Prajāpati! no other than thou &c '(Rg. X. 121. 10) or with the vyāhṛtis, 489 or

- 488. In some works patrasadana is taught after paristarana and paryuksana (vide Nārāyana on Asv. gr. I. 3. 3.). It consists in placing the several vessels to the north of the fire on darbha grass in pairs with both hands, the faces of the vessels being turned down. Then he takes two blades (as described in Asv. gr. I. 3, 4) as pavitras and places them in the proksanapatra the face of which is turned up and pours water in the proksanapatra and thrice purifies the water with them, then the other vessels are turned upwards, the bundle of idhma is loosened and all vessels are sprinkled with water, then the prantapatra is placed to the west of the fire, the two pavitras (kuśa blades used as strainers are placed inside it and water is poured into the pranitapatra and sandalwood paste is mixed with it, the vessel is raised level with one's nose and placed to the north of the fire on darbhas, and covered with darbhas. This is patrasadana. Narayana mentions also other acts not specified by Asvalayana which may be done even by a person following that sutra viz. carrying a firebrand (burning blade of darbha) round the clarified butter and cleansing of sruc and sruva, and throwing of the rope that tied together idhma into the fire at the end of the oblation to Sviştakrt.
- 489. In offering an oblation to Dhatr one would say 'आंधाता द्वात नो रियमीशानो जगतस्पति:। स नः पूर्वण वावनत्। स्वाहा। धात्र इतं न मम'. The four oblations with the vyahrtis would be भूः स्वाहा, स्वः स्वाहा, स्वः स्वाहा, स्वः स्वाहा, स्वः स्वाहा, स्वः स्वाहा, स्वः स्वाहा, विकार त्रिक्षेत्रः स्वः स्वाहा . Aghāra consists in pouring in a continuous stream clarified butter for Prajapati on the fire from the north-west to the south-east once and then from the south-west to the north-east for Indra. Vide Ap. ar. sūtra II. 12. 7 and II. 14. 1 and Nārāyaņa on Aśv. gr. I. 10. 13. For ājyabhāga see note 483.

according to some teachers with a combination (of the rk verses and vyāhrtis), 490 while according to others there are no such special oblations. 491

In modern times, after the sthandila is sprinkled with water, fire is established on it under various names depending on the rite to be performed e. g. in upanayana and marriage respectively the fire is called 492 'Samudbhava' and 'Yojaka'. Then fuel sticks already sprinkled with holy water are placed on the fire and it is fanned into a flame and prayer is offered to it in the words 'agne Vaiśvānara Śāṇḍilya meṣadhvaja mama sammukho varado bhava'. Then follow parisamūhana and other acts stated above.

Just as homa is required in most grhya rites there are certain matters common to almost all rites. One is that in all samskāras one has to feed brāhmanas learned in the Vedas. 498 All rites begin with acamana by the performer, pranayama by him. reference to the desa (place) and kala (time) and a samkalpa (a declaration of what rite he is performing and for what purpose). After these, according to medieval works, follow in all auspicious rites the worship of Ganapati, punyāhavācana, the worship of Matrs (mother goddessess) and Nandiśraddha. According to some there is only one samkalpa for all these; according to others there is a separate samkalpa for each of punyāhavācana, mātrkāpūjana and Nāndisrāddha. auspicious rites the performer takes a bath first, ties his topknot. has a piece of ground cowdunged and lines with coloured materials are drawn on a portion of the ground, two auspicious kalaśas (jars) filled with water are placed on such ornamented ground with their mouths covered with a pot, all articles necessary for worship are placed to the north of the spot, two

^{490.} i. e. there will be eight oblations (4 with rks and 4 with vyahrtis).

^{491.} i. e. there are no oblations with the 4 verses nor with the four vyahrtis, but oblations will have to be offered to those deities that are prescribed as the deities where no special rule exists (vide Asv. gr. 1. 3. 8 set out above at p. 208).

^{492.} Vide स. र. मा. pp. 58-59 where these names of the fires in the several samskaras and rites are set out. The Danakriyakaumudi (pp. 205-206) quotes from Kapila Pancaratra over 30 names of the fires kindled in the several rites and ceremonies.

^{493.} शुन्तीत्मान्त्रवतः सर्वकुत्येषु भोजयेत्। आध. ध. ध्. II. 6. 15. 9; बहाह कात्यायनः। गर्भाधानादिसर्वेषु ब्राह्मणान् भोजयेदशः। अपरार्षः p. 82.

wooden low stools or planks are arranged to the west of the spot so decorated, the performer sits on one plank facing the east, his wife sits to his right and if the ceremony is meant for his son, the latter sits to the right of the wife; the brāhmaṇas are seated a little away to the right of the wife, facing the north and the performer sips water (takes ācamana). Except 494 where a religious rite is to be performed on a fixed day (e. g. anniversary śrāddha &c.) all samskāras and other auspicious rites are to be performed at certain auspicious times only.

Ganapatipūjana:—This consists in inviting the presence of the elephant-faced god Ganesa on a betelnut placed in a handful of husked rice. The word Ganapati is used in the Rgveda as an attribute of Brahmanaspati (the lord of prayer or holy lore). The well-known mantra ('ganānām tvā ganapatim havāmahe' Rg. II. 23. 1) which is used to invoke Ganesa is addressed to Brahmanaspati. Indra is addressed as Ganapati in Rg. X. 112, In the Tai. S. IV. 1. 2. 2 and Vaj. S. pasus (and the horse specially) are said to be the Ganapatya of Rudra. The Ait. Br. IV. 4495 expressly says that the mantra 'ganānām tvā' is addressed to Brahmanaspati. In the Vaj. S. 16. 25 we have the plural (Ganapatibhyasca vo namo') and in 22, 30 we have the singular 'Ganapataye svāhā'. The peculiar features of Ganesa as described in the medieval works, viz. the head of an elephant, pot belly, mouse as vahana (conveyance) are entirely wanting in the Vedic literature. In Vaj. S. III. 57 the mouse 496 is said to be the pasu (animal to be offered to) of Rudra. the Tai. Ar. (X. 15) there is a verse 497 'We contemplate Vakratunda, therefore may the tusked (god) impel us'. In the Grhya and Dharma sutras there is no reference to the worship of Ganesa at the beginning of all auspicious rites. That is comparatively a later cult. In the Baud. Dh. S. (II. 5, 83-90, S. B. E. vol. 14. p. 254) the Devatarpana includes the propitiation of Vighna, Vināyaka, Vīra, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha,

^{494.} उत्गयने आपूर्यमाणपक्षे कल्याणे नक्षत्रे चौलकर्मोपनयनगोदानविषाहाः। आश्व. ग्रु. सु. I. 4. 1; भारद्वाज I. 1. 'आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्ये नक्षत्रे विशेषेण पुंनामधेये '

^{495.} गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे इति ब्राह्मणस्पत्यं ब्रह्म वे बृहस्पतिर्बह्मणैवेमं तत्र् भिषज्यति । ऐ. ब्रा. IV. 4.

^{496.} एष ते रुद्ध भागः सह स्वसान्त्रिकया तं जुषस्य स्वाहेष ते रुद्ध भाग आखुस्ते पहीं:। वाज. सं. III. 57; vide also ते. सं. I. 8. 6. 1.

^{497.} तत्पुरुषाय विस्रहे वऋतुण्डाय धीमहि। तको दुन्तिः (दुन्ती?) प्रचोद्यात् ॥ तै। आ. X. 1.

Vakratunda. Ekadanta and Lambodara. But this part of the Baud, Dh. S. is of doubtful authenticity. All the above are the appellations of Vināyaka (vide Baud. grhya-sesasūtra III. 10. 6). In the Manava grhya II. 14 it is said that the Vinayakas are four viz. Śālakatankata, Kūsmāndarājaputra, Usmita and Devayajana. They are evil spirits and people when seized by them have bad dreams and see in them inauspicious sights such as shaved persons, persons with matted hair or wearing yellowish garments, camels, hogs, asses, candalas. seized by them, princes, though capable, do not get their kingdoms; maidens, though endowed with all accomplishments, cannot secure husbands; married women have no children or even virtuous wives lose their children in infancy; husbandmen lose their crops &c. The Manavagrhya then prescribes propitiatory rites to remove the effects of Vināyaka seizure. Baijavāpagrhya (quoted by Aparārka p. 563 on Yāj. I. 275) says498 that there are four Vināyakas, Mita, Sammita, Śālakatankata and Küsmändaräjaputra and describes seizure by them and its effects in the same way as the Manavagrhya. These two show the first stage in the development of the cult of Vināyaka. Vināvakas are at this stage malevolent spirits who cause dangers and obstacles of various kinds. In this cult various elements from the terrific aspects of Rudra were probably first drawn upon and amalgamated with other elements drawn from aboriginal cults. The next stage is indicated by the Yaj. smrti (I. 271-294). Here Vināvaka (I. 271) is said to be one appointed by Brahmā and Rudra to the over-lordship of the Ganas, he is represented not only as causing obstacles, but also as bringing success in the actions and rites undertaken by men. Yāi. enumerates the results of the seizure by Vinayaka in the same way as the Manavagrhya. Yaj. I. 285 says that Mita, Sammita, Śālakatankata and Kūsmāndarājaputra are four names 499 of the one Vināyaka and that Ambikā is the mother of Vināyaka. It is noteworthy that Yāj. does not

^{498.} चत्वारः खलु विनायका भवन्ति। मितश्च संमितश्च शालकटङ्कटश्च क्रुटमाण्ड-राजपुत्रश्चेति। बेजवापगृह्य q. in अपरार्क p. 563.

^{499.} Though Visvarupa and Apararka take these to be four, it is curious that the Mit. makes them to be six (viz. Sala and Katankata as distinct and so also Kuşmanda and Rajaputra). It is remarkable that Kşīra on Amarakosa expressly says that Heramba is a Desya word. This adds some weight to the theory that Ganesa was taken over into the Vedic pantheon from some exotic tribe and affiliated to Rudra (Siva).

employ any one of the well-known epithets of Vināyaka, viz. Ekadanta, Heramba, Gajānana, Lambodara &c. The Baud. gr. śeṣasūtra III. 10 prescribes a somewhat different procedure for propitiating Vināyaka and styles him 'the lord of bhūtas', and also 'hastimukha' and 'vighneśvara' and prescribes the offerings of $ap\bar{u}pa$ and modaka to him. Thus Baudhāyana is nearer to the medieval conception of Ganeśa than even Yājñavalkya. The Ādiparva makes Ganeśa write the Mahābhārata to the dictation of Vyāsa; but this part is apocryphal as many mss. altogether omit this episode (vide J. R. A. S. for 1898 pp. 380-384, Winternitz). The other references in Vanaparva 65. 23 and Anuśāsana 150. 25 bear affinity to the description of Vināyaka in the Mānavagrhya. 500

The Gobhilasmrti (in verse) I. 13 prescribes that at the beginning of all rites, the Matrs together with Ganadhipa (the lord of Ganas) should be worshipped. The well-known characteristics of Ganesa and his worship had become fixed before the 5th or 6th century of the Christian era. Kālidāsa does not refer to Ganeśa. The Gāthāsaptaśati has references to Ganeśa. In that work (IV. 72) an image of Ganesa is referred to as made use of as a pillow and the tip of his trunk is mentioned in V. 3. In Codrington's 'Ancient India' plate XXXIX there is an image of Ganesa referable to about 500 A. D. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar in 'Vaisnavism and Saivism' p. 147. Bāna in his Harsacarita (IV Ucchvāsa verse 2) speaks of the large tusk of Ganādhipa and in describing Bhairavācārya (Harsacarita III) associates Vināvaka with obstacles and learning and also indicates that he had the head of an elephant. In the Vamanapurana (chap. 54) there is a fantastic legend about the birth of Vināyak**a.**

The Mahāvīracarita (II. 38) speaks of the tusk of Heramba. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 260. 52-55) describes how the images of Vināyaka are to be made. Aparārka (p. 343) quotes a passage from the Matsyapurāṇa (289.7) on the mahādāna called Mahābhūtaghaṭa, in which it is said that Vināyaka should be shown as riding a mouse. The Kṛtyaratnākara p. 271 quotes a passage from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa for the worship of Gaṇesa on the 4th day of Bhādrapada. Vide Agnipurāṇa chap. 71 and 313.

^{500.} न पूजा विद्यालकर्तृणामध्या प्रथमं कृता । यनपर्व 65. 23; ईश्वराः सर्वलोकानां गणेश्वरविनायकाः। अञ्चलासन 150. 25.

In modern times a verse ⁵⁰¹ is repeated in which the shrines of the eight Vināyakas in the Deccan are enumerated.

Among the earliest epigraphic references to Ganapati is the one in the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskarvarman (middle of 7th century). Vide E. I. Vol. XII. p. 73.502

The Ganapatipūjāna consists in the performer repeating the mantra Rg. II. 23. 1 ('ganānām tvā Ganapatim') as a prayer and then bowing to Ganesa with the words 'Om Mahāganapataye namo namaḥ nirvighnam kuru' (salutations to the great Ganapati, make (this rite) free from obstacles'.

Punyāhavācana:—Although many elaborate descriptions of this are given in later digests like the Samskāraratnamālā, this was originally in ancient times a very simple and brief rite. The Ap. Dh. S. (I. 4. 13. 8) says that in ordinary life in all auspicious rites (such as marriage) all sentences begin with 'Om' as in saying 'punyāham', 'svasti', and 'rddhim'. The performer of a religious rite honours the assembled brāhmaṇas with gandha (sandalwood paste), flowers and tāmbūla (betel leaves) and requests with folded hands 'may you declare the day to be auspicious for such and such a ceremony which I, by name so and so, am 503 about to perform 'and then the brāhmaṇas

^{501.} स्वस्ति श्रीगणनायको गजमुखो मोरेश्वरे सिद्धिदे बहाळो मुरुढे विनायक इति स्थातो महे ओझरे। विदेशः खन्न रांजणे गणपतिश्विन्तामणिरथेउरे रुण्याद्री गिरिजात्मजः सुभिविने सुर्यात्मवा मङ्गलम् ॥ The eight places are indicated by thick type. मोरेश्वर is मोरगांव near Jejuri, सिद्धिदे refers to सिद्धिक (about 30 miles from Dhond), महे refers to महेशाम (about 4 miles from Khopoli). सुरुढ is the capital of the Siddis on the west coast south of Bombay. शेक्रर is 12 miles from Poona and Lenyadri is three miles from Junnar. Ranjanagaon is 30 miles from Poona. Besides these there are famous Ganapati shrines at Chinchwad and at Pulem near Ratnagiri on the sea coast. Ojhar (where there is the shrine of Vighnesvara) is 28 miles from Poona and 8 miles from Junnar. In 15 Bom. 612 a scheme was framed by the Bombay High Court for the famous shrine of Mangalamurti at Chinchwad near Poona which has under its jurisdiction the shrines at Morgaon, Theur and Siddhateka (p. 619).

^{502.} गन्धर्वचती तस्माद्गणपातिमिव दानवर्षणमजस्म । गणपतिमगणितग्रुणगणमस्त कलिहानये तनयम् ॥ E. I. XII. p. 73. दान means gift as well ichor.

^{503.} In स्वस्तिवाचन the performer says 'अमुकनाम्नः मम करिष्यमाणविवा-हाल्याय कर्मणे स्वस्ति भवन्तो बुवन्तु and the brahmanas reply 'ओं स्वस्ति '; the performer says 'अमुकनामः मम करिष्यमाणविवाहाल्यस्य कर्मणः पुण्याहं भवन्तो बुवन्तु '; the ब्राह्मणं reply 'ओं पुण्याहम् '; the performer says 'अमुकनाम्नः … कर्मणः ऋद्धिं भवन्तो बुवन्तु ' and the ब्राह्मणं respond ओं ऋष्यताम् or 'ओं कर्म ऋष्यताम् (or ऋष्यतात्)'. पुण्याहवाचनं सर्व ब्राह्मणस्य विधियते । तदेव च निरोङ्कारं कुर्यात्मविषयेषेश्ययोः ॥ यम quoted in संस्कारस्तमाला p. 29.

respond by saying 'Om, may it be auspicious'. Each of these three sentences (with svasti, punyāham and rddhim) is to be repeated thrice according to Baud. gr. śeṣa-sūtra I. 10. A verse of Yama says that the brāhmaṇas should respond without the syllable 'om' when the performer of the rite is a kṣatriya or a vaiśya.

Mātrkāpūiana:—The Mātrs (the Mother Goddesses) do not figure in the sūtras. But that their worship was prevalent certainly in the first centuries of the Christian era throughout India can be proved from several sources. In the drama Mrcchakatika (I) Cārudatta asks his friend Maitreya to offer bali to the Matrs. The Gobhila-smrti 504 (in verse I. 11-12) names 14 mātrs viz. Gauri, Padmā, Saci, Medhā, Sāvitri, Vijayā, Jayā, Devasenā, Svadhā, Svahā, Dhrti, Pusti, Tusti and one's own deity (abhista-devatā). In the Mārkandeya (chap. 88. 11-20 and 38) seven mätrs have been named as Mätrgana. The Matsyapurana (chap. 179. 9-32) names over a hundred mother goddesses (like Māheśvari, Brāhmi, Kaumāri, Cāmundā), while in chap. 261 (24-36), there is a description of the images of some of the matrs like Brahmāni &c. The Brhat-Samhitā of Varāhamihira (chap. 58. 56) refers to the images of the mother goddesses. Bana in his Kadambari frequently refers to the matrs, to their worship and to dilapidated temples of these goddesses. 505 The Krtyaratnākara quotes a passage from the Bhavisyapurana at p. 261 about the images of the seven matrs and pp. 305 and 307 quote the Devipurana about the worship of matrs and the flowers dear to them. The worship of matrs is mentioned in the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions pp. 47, 49). The Calukyas are often described as 'cherished by the seven matrs' (I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 in 535 sake and E. I. vol. IX, p. 100 in 660 A. D.). The Kadambas are described as meditating on Kārtikeya-śvāmi and on the group of matrs (I. A. vol. VI. p. 25) 506. Similarly a

^{504.} These verses are quoted in the स्मृतिच॰ (आद्ध p. 503) and अपरार्क p. 517. The seven in the मार्कण्डेय are ब्रह्माणी, माहेश्वरी, कौमारी, वाराही, नार्रोसेही, वैद्यावी, ऐन्द्री.

^{505. &#}x27;अभिनवलिखितमातृपटपूजाच्याधात्रीजनं' (स्तिकागृहं) in para 64, पूर्वभाग of काद्मवरी; 'अभ्यर्णतया च केलासस्य स्नानागतमातृमण्डलपद्पङ्क्तिसुद्राङ्कि-तम्' para 130 काद्मवरी (पूर्वभाग); 'असक्चदुत्सक्षदेवमातृगृहवास्युक्षनखजर्जीरतकपोलेन (जरद्रविद्यामिकेण) para 216 काद्मवरी (पूर्वभाग).

^{506. &#}x27;स्वासिमहासेनमातृगणानुध्यातानां कद्म्बानाम् । I. A. vol. VI. p. 25. Fleet's translation 'who meditate on the assemblage of the mothers of Syami Kartikeya' is not accurate.

temple to the Mātṛs is said to have been erected by Mayūrākṣa, the minister of Viśvavarman in 480 of the Mālava Era i. e. 423-24 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions p. 74).

Whence the cult of mātṛs, which was not described in the Gṛḥyasūtras, was derived it is difficult to say. Sir John Marshall in his famous work on Mohenjo-Daro (vol. I. p. VII and pp. 49-52 and plates XII, XCIV and XCV) shows how figurines of mother goddesses are common at Mohenjo-Daro. That shows that the cult prevailed in the remotest antiquity and was probably taken up by the followers of the Vedic religion and affiliated to the worship of Durgā, the spouse of Śiva. In Rg. IX. 102. 4 507 the seven mothers are said to regulate soma when it is being prepared (the seven mothers are probably the seven metres or the seven rivers).

Nāndīśrāddha:—This will be dealt with under śrāddhas later on.

Puinsavana:-This rite is so called because in virtue of it a male is born. 508 The word 'pumsuvana' occurs in the Atharvaveda VI. 11. 1 where 509 it appears to be used literally (in the sense of 'giving birth to a male child') 'The Asvattha tree is on top of the Sami tree, there the birth of a male has been effected'. The Asv. gr. I. 13. 2-7 describes the rite as follows: he should in the third month of pregnancy, under the constellation Tisya (i. e. Pusya) give (thrice) to eat to the wife. after she has fasted, (on the preceding Punarvasu constellation) in the curds of a cow which has a calf of the same colour (with the cow) two beans and one grain of barley for each handful of curds. On his asking (the woman) 'what dost thou drink? what dost thou drink?', she should thrice reply 'pumsavana'. (generation of a male), 'pumsavana'. In this way (he) should make her take three handfuls (of curds with two beans and barley).' 510

There is some difference of view as to details. The Ap. gr., Hir. gr. and Bhāradvāja gr. place pumsavana after simanton-

^{507.} जज्ञानं सप्त मातरो वेधामशासत श्रिये। ऋ. IX. 102. 4.

^{508.} पुंसवनमिति कर्मनामधेयं येन कर्मणा निर्मित्तेन गर्भिणी पुंमांसमेव स्ते तत्युंसव-नम् । सुदर्शन on आप. ए. 14. 9; तञ्च पुमान् स्यतेनेन कर्मणिति व्युत्पत्या गर्भस्य पुंरूपता-पादकः कर्मविशेषः । शौनकोपि । पुमान् प्रस्थते येन तत्युंसवनमीत्तिम् ॥ इति । संस्कार-प्रकाश pp. 166-167.

^{509.} शमीमश्वत्थ आरूढस्तत्र पुंसुवनं कृतम्। अथर्व VI. 11. 1.

^{510.} Vide Appendix for text.

nayana and Ap. says it may be performed when pregnancy becomes apparent. Instead of two beans and a barley 511 grain in curds, he requires the bringing of a shoot of the branch of a nyagrodha tree which (tree) points eastward or northward and which has two (fruits that look like) testicles and the pounding of the shoot and fruits by a girl who has not attained puberty between two upper stones of (two mills) with water. He then prescribes that the wife should lie down on her back to the west of the fire herself facing the east and that the husband should insert in her right nostril the pounded substance with his thumb with the formula (pumsavanam-asi) found in $\bar{A}p$, M. P. (II. 11. 14). Śān. gr. (I. 20, S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 46) says that the rite may be performed on Tisya or Śrāvana, while the Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 22) says that it may be performed on Tisya or Hasta or Anurādhā or Uttarā or Prosthapadā; Pāraskara and Baijavāpa say it should be performed when the moon is in conjunction with a male naksatra. 512 Par. gr. I. 14 and Jatūkarnya (Sam. Pr. p. 167) and Baijavāpa (ibid.) say that the rite should be performed in the 2nd or 3rd month of pregnancy, Asv., Hir., San., Gobhila, Khādira prescribe the third month. Yāj. I. 11, Pār. gr. (I. 14), Visnu Dh. S. 27. 2 and Brhaspati (quoted in the Sm. C.) say that pumsavana should be performed before the foetus begins to move or throb in the womb. In the Kāthaka gr. 32. 2 the proper time is said to be when the greater number of months of pregnancy are past (i. e. after the 5th) and the Mānava gr. says that it should be performed in the 8th month of pregnancy. Devapāla (com. of Kāthaka gr.) says the usage

- 511. Nārāyaṇa says that in this rite one has to perform at first the sthālīpāka intended for Prajāpati up to the offering of the two ājyabhāgas and then one should perform what is specially prescribed here. He further notes that the curds may be of a cow the calf of which is of a different colour, if one of the same colour could not be had. The curds are to be poured from the vessel of curds on to the woman's hand thrice, she is to lick the curds every time with two beans and a grain of barley; the beans and barley grain are suggestive. This is made clear by Ap. gr. 14. 10 न्यबोधस्य या पाच्युदीची वा जाखा तत: सद्वणणं जुङ्गामाहृत्य; वैखानस III. 11 also has 'अब्रेरणरस्यामासीनाया वृषोसीति सर्षपमिश्रितान्यवानाण्डो स्थ इति व्यादलाभे माष्धान्यौ प्रतिनिधी स्याताम.'
- 512. According to a verse quoted in Sm.C. the male nakṣatras are Hasta, Mula, Śravaṇa, Punarvasu, Migaśiras and Puṣya; the Samskāra-mayūkha adds that the Nāradīya mentions Rohiṇī, Pūrvābhādrapadā and Uttarā-bhādrapadā also as male nakṣatras and that Vasiṣtha regards Svāti, Anurādhā and Aśvinī also as male nakṣatras. मातृत्त्त on हिरण्य. यू. I. 1. 5 8ays 'अध्यक्क पुनर्वस्न तिण्यो हस्तः शतभिषक्क मोष्टपदा इति धुनामधेयानि नक्षञ्चाणि.'

of sistas is to perform it in the 8th month and Brahmabala (another com.) says that the usage is to perform it in the 7th or 8th month of pregnancy. Most of the grhyasūtras refer to the pounding of the shoot⁵¹³ of the Nyagrodha tree (or some other plant) and inserting the pounded substance in the wife's right nostril. The mantras repeated when inserting the substance in her nostril are different according to most sūtras. Śānkhāyana (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 46) prescribes the four verses Rg. I. 1. 3, III. 4. 9., V. 37. 2 and IX 3. 9. with svāhā at the end of each verse. Pāraskara (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 292) prescribes Vāj. S. XIII. 4 (Rg. X. 121. 1) and XXXI. 17; Khādira gr. (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 394) mentions Mantra-Brāhmana I. 4. 8, the Kāthaka gr. quotes Kāthaka Samhitā. The several sūtras of the Black Yajurveda show the greatest divergence among themselves.

It would be clear that the pumsavana rite has several elements, religious (home and son's importance from ancient times), symbolical or suggestive (the drinking of curds with beans and grain of barley) and medical (inserting some substance in the woman's nostrils). For what purpose the placing of the bile of a tortoise on the woman's lap was prescribed by Pāraskara alone (I. 14) it is difficult to say.

Later works like the Sainskāraratnamālā prescribe a homa for puinsavana also and remark that when in the absence of the husband, the husband's brother or other relative performs the rite, it should be performed in ordinary kitchen fire (p. 815). This latter rule applies to Simantonnayana also.

Anavalobhana or Garbharakṣaṇa:—This rite was apparently part of Pumsavana. Āśv. gr., as already said, separately mentions pumsavana and anavalobhana as referred to in the Upaniṣad. The Baijavāpa gr. (quoted in the Samskāraprakāśa p.171) says 'He performs the pumsavana and anavalobhana in the fortnight of the waxing moon on an auspicious day when the moon is in conjunction with a naksatra (deemed to be) a male'. This shows that both were performed on the same day. Another sūtra of Baijavāpa quoted in the Samskāramayūkha 516 says that the two are to be performed in the 2nd or 3rd month

^{513.} According to the Kāthaka gr. the pounding is to be done by a virgin or a brahmacārin or by a chaste brāhmaņa woman.

^{514.} बैजवापगृह्ये । अध पुंसवनानवलोभने करोति मासि द्वितीये वा तृतीये वा । इदं प्र पुंसवनदिन एव तदुत्तरं कार्यम् । इदमपि न अवलुप्यते गर्भोनेनेति व्युत्पस्या गर्भाविना-शफलकं यद् नस्यक्षपं कर्म तस्य नामधेयम् । भकारश्कान्दसः । संस्कारमयुक्त

of pregnancy. This rite is so called because by virtue of its performance the foetus does not fall out or is not destroyed (i. e. it is really anavalopana from the root lup with ava). Aśv. gr. (I. 13. 5-7) describes it as follows: He then inserts in her right nostril in the shade of a round apartment the (sap) of an herb which is not faded; 515 according to some (teachers), with the Prajāvat and Jīvaputra mantras. Having offered a sacrifice of cooked food to Prajāpati he should touch the region of her heart with the verse 'Oh thou whose hair is well parted, what is hidden in thy heart, in Prajāpati, that I understand, (mayst thou understand) me who know that; may not injury to the son be my lot'.

It will be seen that the inserting of $d\bar{u}rv\bar{u}rasa$ in the woman's nostril, touching her heart and prayers to the gods for the safety of the foetus are the principal features of this rite in $\bar{\Lambda}$ sv.

According to Saunaka-kārikā (Ms. in Bombay University Library, folio 13a) that rite is called anavalobhana whereby the foetus remains undisturbed or does not fall out. 516 According to the Smṛṭyarthasāra it is to be performed in the fourth month. According to Laghu-Āśvalāyana IV. 1-2 anavalobhana and sīmantonnayana were to be performed in the 4th, 6th or 8th month of pregnancy and verses 6-7 give the same details as in Āśv. gṛ.

The Śān. gr. (I. 21. 1-3, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 47) speaks of a ceremony called Garbharakṣaṇa (protection of the foetus): "In the fourth month the garbharakṣaṇa; offering six oblations into fire from a mess of cooked food with the six verses of the hymn 'brahmaṇāgniḥ' 517 (Rg. X. 162) with svāhā uttered at the end of each verse, with the verses 'from thy eyes, thy nose' (Rg. X. 163. 1-6), besmearing her limbs with clarified butter at each verse."

- 515. Nārāyaṇa explains that the herb is dūrvā according to usage. The sap is put in the nostril silently or to the accompaniment of two mantras, which are respectively of the sage Prajāvat and Jīvaputra. They are: आ ते गर्भो योनिमेतु पुमान बाण इवेषुधिम्। आ वारो जायतां पुत्रस्ते दशमास्य: ॥ आग्निरेतु प्रथमो देवतानां सास्ये पजां मुख्यतु मृत्युपाशात्। तद्यं राजा वर्षणोद्धमम्यतां पथेपं श्ली पौत्रमधं न रोदात्॥ इति. The first is practically the same as अधर्वदेद् III. 23. 2; the 2nd is आए. म. पा. I. 4. 7.
 - 516. न क्षुभ्येक स्रवेद्येन तत्कर्मानवलोभनम् । शौनककारिकाः
- 517. The Anukramani says that the hymn Rg. X. 162 is to be repeated when there is abortion and on X. 163 that it is meant for removal of disease (यहमनाज्ञान).

This seems to be another version of anavalobhana.

According to Asv. gr. kārikās of Kumārila (I. 6.5) this rite is to be repeated on every conception. Most other writers would hold that like pumsavana it is to be performed only once.

Sīmantonnayana:—This is treated in the following gr. sūtras: Āśv. I. 14. 1-9; Śāṅ. I. 22, Āp. 14. 1-8, Hir. II. 1, Baud. I. 10, Bhāradvāja I. 21, Gobhila II. 7. 1-12, Khādira II. 2. 24-28, Pār. I. 15, Kāṭhaka 31. 1-5, Vaikhānasa III. 12.

This word literally means 'parting of the hair (of a woman) upwards.' Yāj. (1.11), Veda-Vyāsa (I.18) call this samskāra simply 'simanta', while Gobhila (II. 7.1), Manava gr. (1.12.2), Kāthaka gr (31.1) call it sīmantakarana. Āp. gr. and Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 21) describe it before pumsavana. The Asv. gr. (I. 14. 1-9) describes it as follows: "In the fourth month of pregnancy the Simantonnayana (should be performed). In the fortnight of the waxing moon, when the moon may be in conjunction with a naksatra that is (regarded as) male (or the name of which is of the masculine gender, according to Nārāyana); then he establishes fire (i. e. performs the details of homa up to offering of $\bar{a}yabh\bar{a}gas$) and having spread to the west of the fire a bull's hide with its neck to the east and the hair outside. he makes eight oblations (of ajya, clarified butter), while his wife sits on it (hide) and takes hold (of his hand), with the two (verses) 'may Dhātr give to his worshipper' (Atharvaveda VII. 17. 2-3), with the two verses, 'I invoke Rākā' (Rg. II. 32. 4-5), with the three (verses) called 'nejamesa' (a khilasūkta after Rg. X. 184 and Ap. M. P. I. 12. 7-9) and with the verse 'Oh Prajāpati, no one other than you' (Rg. X. 121. 10). He then three times parts her hair upwards (beginning from the front and proceeding backwards) with a bunch of an even number of unripe fruits with a porcupine quill that has three white spots 518 (or rings) and with three bunches of kusa grass, with the words 'bhūr, bhuvah, svar, om' or he does so four times. He gives orders to two lute players 'sing (praise of) king soma.' (They sing this gatha) 'may soma, our king, bless the human race.

518. The porcupine quill with three white spots is mentioned even in the Tai. Br. as an auspicious thing. 'He should shave his head with a porcupine quill with three white spots since in the case of the gods three are auspicious things, viz. the three metres, the three savanas, these three worlds (I. 5. 6.) ' त्रेण्या झलल्या निवर्तयेत। जीणि चे देवा-मामुद्धानि जीणि छन्दोसि जीणि सबनानि जय इमे लोकाः'. Vide Appendix for the text of Asv. gi. I. 14. 1-9.

Fixed is the wheel (dominion) of this (river); (here they take the name in the vocative) of the river near which they dwell. And let them do whatever aged brāhmaṇa women whose husbands and children are alive direct. A bull is the fee (for the sacrifice)". In the Āp. mantrapāṭha thirteen verses are devoted to this saṃskāra in all, some of which occur in the Rg., the Atharvaveda and Tai. S.

We have here first the religious part of homa and oblations with mantras. But this rite is mainly of a social and festival nature intended to keep the pregnant woman in good cheer. The Samskāraprakāśa (pp. 172-173) quotes some verses from an Aśvalayana stating that this rite serves the purpose of driving certain female goblins that thirst for the destruction of the foetus; the parting of the hair by the husband with the quill, bunch of unripe fruits and darbhas and tying a garland round her neck, giving her boiled rice mixed with mudga and ghee and asking lute players to sing indicate its festive character. There is a great divergence among the grhya sūtras about the several details of this samskara and the order in which they take place. The Sm. C. after pointing out a few divergences remarks that one should follow the rules of one's own grhya sūtra. A few important divergences are pointed out below. This samskara was to be performed in the 3rd month according to Kathaka gr., in 3rd, 6th or 8th according to the Mānava; in the 4th month according to Asv., Ap., Hir. (II. 1). in 4th or 6th according to Gobbila (II. 7.2) and in the 4th, 6th or 8th according to Khādira, in 6th or 8th according to Pāraskara. Yāj. (I. 11), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (27. 3), Śankha; in the 7th according to San. gr. (I. 22. 1), in the 8th according to Vaik. and Veda-Vyāsa (I. 18). Śańkha as quoted in the Smrticandrikā (I. p. 17) says that it should be performed on the foetus beginning to move and up to the time of delivery. Aśv., Śān. and Hir. require that the moon must be in conjunction with a male naksatra. Hir. gr. alone prescribes that the samskāra should take place in a round apartment. It is remarkable that Asy, alone requires that the woman should be seated on a bull's hide, which shows that till his day such a hide was not treated (as is done in modern times) as a very unholy thing. Pāraskara makes her sit on a soft chair or seat, while Gobbila prescribes a seat of northward pointed darbhas. There is great divergence as to the number of oblations and the verses to be repeated even in sūtras of the same Veda, e. g. Aśvalayana prescribes eight oblations and eight mantras, but

Śānkhāyana prescribes only six (by omitting the verses Rg. Gobhila, Khādira, Bhāradvāja, Pāraskara and II. 32. 4-5). Śānkhāyana prescribe the preparation of boiled rice with ghee thereon or sesame and the first three of these say that the woman should be asked to look at the ghee on the mass of rice and be questioned 'what do you see' and she should be made to reply 'I see progeny' (Bhāradvāja has the reply 'sons and cattle'). Almost all grhya sūtras agree that in parting the hair the husband is to use a bunch of unripe fruit (Gobhila. Par, and San, specifying that it was to be Udumbara fruit), a porcupine quill with three white spots and three bunches of kuśa grass. Pāraskara and Gobhila add the use of a Vīratara stick and a full spindle. Some like Asv. prescribe that the parting must be done thrice. Gobhila seems to prescribe it six times, while Khādira (II. 2. 25) expressly says that it is to be done only once. San, says that the unripe fruits are to be tied to a string of three twisted threads and the string is to be suspended from her neck as a garland. Par. also seems to suggest the same. Ap. also says that the husband should (by way of ornament) tie a string of barley grains with young shoots on the woman's head (14.7) and Vaikhānasa says that the woman is to wear a garland and have fragrant unguents applied to her body. Many of the grhya sütras direct that lute players should sing a verse or verses. Gobbila, Khādira. Vaik. are silent on this point, but Gobhila prescribes that brāhmana women should address auspicious words to her 'Be you the mother of a valiant son.' There is divergence as to whose praise is to be sung. San and Par. say that the ballad sung must be in praise of the (ruling) king or any one else who is very valiant. Asv., Hir., Baud., Bhāradvāja and Pār. prescribe a gāthā in honour of king Soma (the plant). Apastamba refers to two verses, one of which praises king Yaugandhari and the other king Soma and prescribes that the first is to be sung for all varnas residing in the Salva countries, while the second is to be recited by brāhmanas. Some of the sūtras like Āśv., Pār., Bhāradvāja allow that in the ballad to be sung by the lute players the river on which the woman and her husband dwell is to be invoked. 519

^{519.} गायतमिति वीणागाधिनौ संशास्ति । उत्तरयो: पूर्वा साल्वानां बाह्मणानामितरा । आण. गृ. स्. 14. 4-5; the verses from the मन्त्रपाठ (II. 11. 12-13) are यौग-न्धिरिय नो राजेति साल्वीरवादिषु: । विवृत्तचका आसीनास्तीरेण यसुने तव ॥ सोम एव नो राजेत्याहुर्बाह्मणी: प्रजाः । विवृत्तचका आसीनास्तीरेणासौ तव ॥ भारह्वाजगृह्म (I. 2) has

Asv. and Sān. expressly state that a bull is the fee in this samskāra for the officiating priest. Ap., Pār. and Bhāradvāja say that brāhmaṇas are to be fed in this rite. Sān. says that the woman is to sing merrily and wear gold ornaments if she likes. The Ap. and Bhāradvāja gr. say that the husband is to observe silence that day till the stars begin to appear and then after going out of the house from the east or north, he should first touch a calf and then mutter the vyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ) and give up his silence. 520

The Mānavagrhya (I. 12. 2) speaks of parting of hair in the marriage rite also. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (IV. verses 8-16) gives a faithful summary of the Āśv. gr.

(Continued from tast page)

only the 2nd verse but reads the last pada as स्तीरेण यसने तव: while Hir. reads गङ्गे for यसुने in the verse as read by Bhardvaja. Par. reads 'सोम एव नो राजेमा मानुबी: प्रजा: । अविसक्तचक आसीरंस्तीरे तुम्यमसाविति :. !! ere अविसक्तचके qualifies तीरे (loc.) or it may be the vocative addressed to the river whose name is taken. It may be inferred with some force that Ap. mantrapātha and Hir. gr were composed in the Sälva country on the banks of the Jumna and the Bharadvaja gr on the Ganges. Haradatta explaining Ap gr. says that the country of Salva is on the Jumna and that Vaisyas are in abundance there. The country of Salva was included in the Kacchadigana (Panini V. 2. 133, and Mahabhasva, vol. II. p. 300). Panini mentions Salva in IV. 1, 173, IV. 2, 135 and teaches the formation of Yaugandhara in IV. 2. 130 and of Yaugandhari in IV. 1. 173. In the Vanaparva 14, 1-5 it is said that the king of Salva whose capital was at Saubha attacked Dvārakā. Salyaparva (20.1) calls the Salva king lord of mleccha tribes and speaks of him as fighting for Duryodhana and as killed by Satyaki. A Karika quoted by the Kasika makes Yaugandhara a division of Salva 'उद्भवरास्तिलखला मदकारा युगन्धराः। भुलि**ङ्गाः शरदण्हाश्च** साल्वाववयसंजिताः ॥ ^१.

520. The words of the आए. मृ. 14. 7-8 are यवान विस्तानावध्य वासं यच्छात्यानक्षत्रेथ्यः। उदितेषु नक्षत्रेषु प्राचीसुदीचीं वा दिशसुपनिष्कम्य वरसमन्वारभ्य व्याहतिश्च जिपला वाचं विस्तेत् । The S. B. E. vol. XXX p. 280 translates 'he ties barley grains with young shoots to the head of the wife; then she keeps silence until the stars appear'. But this is wrong. Throughout this section the performer (kartā) is the husband; even in the 7th sutra grammar requires that if the kartā of tying the garland ('abadhya') is the husband then the kartā of 'visrjet' also must be the husband. Sudaršana notes (in his com.) that some read the sutras as 'वाचं यच्छत आ नक्षत्रेभ्यः... विस्तात:'(in the dual); then both husband and wife have to observe silence. He also notes that according to some the actions from tying the yava onwards spoken of by Ap. are done by the wife herself and not by the husband.

Āpastamba, Baud., Bhāradvāja and Pār. expressly say that this samskāra is to be performed only once at the first conception. For the difference of view among nibandhakāras vide above (pp. 205-206) on garbhādhāna.

Viṣṇu was of opinion that sīmantonnayana is a samskāra of the woman, but that according to some it is a samskāra of the foetus and so was to be repeated at each conception. On account of the great divergence of details one may conjecture that this samskāra was not very ancient in the times of the Gṛḥyasūtras.

It appears however that gradually this picturesque rite receded in the back ground, so much so that Manu does not even mention it by name, though Yāj, names it. In modern times in Western India some people perform a rite in the 8th month of pregnancy (called in Marathi Athangulem) which retains some vestiges of the ancient rite (such as the garland of udumbara fruit).

Visnubali: - According to Vasistha quoted in the Samskāraprakāśa (p. 178) this ceremony was to be performed in the 8th month of pregnancy, on the 2nd, 7th or 12th tithi of the bright fortnight and when the moon was in the Śravana. Rohini or Pusya constellation. The same work quotes verses of Aśvalāvana describing the ceremony and stating its purpose viz. to remove harm to the foetus and for easy delivery of the woman and that it was to be performed during every conception. On the preceding day Nandiśraddha was to be performed and then homa to fire was to be performed up to the offering of ajyabhagas. To the south of the fire another sthandila of the shape of a lotus or svestika was to be drawn on which 64 oblations of boiled rice with gliee thereon were to be offered to Visnu (some offer them on the fire itself) with the verses of Rg. I. 22. 16-21, Rg. I. 154, 1-6, Rg. VI. 69, 1-8, Rg. VII. 104, 11, Rg. X, 90, 1-16, Rg. X. 184, 1-3. Then to the north-east of the fire, a square plot should be smeared with cowdung and be divided into 64 squares with white dust and 64 offerings of boiled rice should be offered with the same mantras and in their midst one ball of rice should be offered to Visnu with the mantra loudly uttered 'name

^{521.} तथा च विष्णुः ' सीमत्तोक्रयतं अर्ध तत् श्लीसंस्कार इष्यते । कीचित्रभरेष संस्कारां गर्भ गर्भ प्रशुक्षते । स्मृतिच (L. p. 17). This verse is read by लघुविष्णु (Anun. ed. I. 10) as सीम कर्म न श्ली इष्यते । गर्भस्यैव तु संस्कारो गर्भे गर्भे प्रशेष्ठियोत्.

Nārāyapāya 'and the husband and wife should partake separately of two balls of the same rice. Then the offering to Agni Svistakrt should be made, daksinā should be distributed and brāhmanas should be fed. The Vaik. (III. 13) describes Visnubali differently. The gods with Agni as the first are invoked unto the northern pranidhi vessel and then at the end Purusa is invoked four times with 'om bhūh', 'om bhuvah,' 'om suvah,' 'om bhūr-bhuvah-suvah', then to the east of the fire he invokes Visnu on seats of darbha grass with the names, Keśava, Nārāyana, Mādhava, Govinda, Visnu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śridhara, Hṛṣikeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara; then he bathes Visnu, with mantras 'Apah' (Tai. S. IV. 1.5, 11=Rg. X.9. 1-3), 'Hiranyavarnāh' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1) and the chapter beginning pavamānah' (Tai, Br. I. 4.8); he does worship (with sandal paste, flowers &c.) by each of Visna's twelve names, then he offers 12 oblations of clarified butter with the mantras 'ato devā' (Rg. I. 22, 16-21), 'Visnor-nu kam' (Rg. I. 154, 1-7 = Tai. S. I. 2. 13), 'tad-asya priyam' (Tai, Br. II, 4, 6 = Rg. I 154.5), 'pra tadvisnuh' (Tai. Br. II. 4.3 = Rg. I. 154.2), 'paro mātrayā' (Tai. Br. II. 8, 3), 'vicakrame trir-devah' (Tai. Br. II. 8, 3). Then he announces as offering a mess of rice cooked in milk on which aiya has been poured to the god and sacrifices it to him with the twelve names repeating the twelve mantras (Rg. I. 22. 16-21, and Rg. I. 154, 1-6). Having praised the god with mantras from the four vedas he should prostrate himself before the god after taking twelve names with the word 'namah' at the end of each (i. e. by saying 'Kesavaya namsh' &c.). What remains of the rice cooked in milk is eaten by the wife.

Sosyantikarma: -Vide Ap. gr. 14.13-15; Hir. gr. II. 2.8-II. 3.1, Bhāradvāja gr. I. 22, Gobhila gr. II. 7. 13-14, Khādira gr. II 2. 29-30, Pār. gr. I. 16, Kāthaka gr. 33, 1-3. This seems to be a very ancient rite. It means 'a rite for a woman who is about to be delivered of a child'. Rg. V. 78.7-9 give the earliest indications of this rite. 'Just as the wind moves a lake on all sides, so may the foetus move and come out, being (now) in the tenth month. Just as the wind, the forest and the sea are in movement, so mayst thou (foetus) that art (now) in the tenth month, come out together with the after-birth, may the male child having been sleeping ten months inside his mother, come out a living being, unharmed, from his mother, herself being alive.' Br. Up. VI. 4. 23 also refers to this rite "He sprinkles with water the woman who is about to be delivered (with the mantras) 'just as the wind may it come out with the

after-birth' (same as Rg. V. 78, 7 except the last pada). This is a pen 522 of Indra with a bolt and with a chamber for rest; oh Indra, leave it and come out with the foetus and after-birth." Ap. gr. describes the ceremony as follows: 'Now is described the rite to secure a rapid delivery. With a cup that has not been dipped in water before he draws water in the direction of the current (of a river or spring); he places Turyanti plant at his wife's feet: he should then touch on the head (with both hands) the woman who is in child-birth with the verse (Ap. mantra-patha II. 11, 15),523 should sprinkle her with the waters (brought as above) with the next three verses (Ap. mantra-patha II. 11. 16-18). If the afterbirth does not come out, he should sprinkle her with the water (brought) as directed above with the next two verses' (i. e. Ap. mantra-patha II. 11 19-20).524 Hir. is very brief and is similar to Ap., but omits all verses except one (which is part of Ap. M. P. II. 11, 16). Bbāradvāja is similar to Āp., but gives verses that are slightly different from those of the Ap. M. P. Gobhila and Khādira are very brief and say that a homa with two oblations of clarified butter is to be performed with the verses of the Mantra brāhmana I 5. 6-7. Pāraskara also speaks of the sprinkling of the woman with two verses of Vaj. S. VIII. 28-29 (the first being almost like Rg. V. 78.7) and prescribes the recital of Atharvaveda I. 11. 4 for the falling of the after-birth. Āditvadaršana on Kāthaka gr. (33.1) remarks that this rite is not really a samskara and Devapala says that this is a rite which has a seen result (while samskaras are deemed to have an unseen result).

Jātakarma:—This appears to have been a rite of hoary antiquity. In the Tai, S. 525 II. 2, 5, 3-4 we read 'one should offer a cake cooked on twelve potsherds to Vaiśvānara, when a

- 522. This refers to the womb of the woman.
- 525. This is आभिष्टुा दशिभरिभमुशामि दशमास्याय स्तवे । आप. म. पा. II, 11, 15.
 - 524. Ap. M. P. II. 11. 20 is the same as Atharva. I. 11. 4.
- 525. वेश्वानरं हाद्शकपालं निर्विष्णुत्रे जाते।..... यस्मिश्वात एतामिष्टिं निर्विपति पूत एव तेजरूथयसाद इन्द्रियाची पश्चमान् भवति। ते. सं. II. 2. 5. 3-4. जातकर्म is treated of in the following: आए. ए. 15. 1. 7 (S. B. E 30 pp. 281-82), आश्व. ए. (I. 15. 1-4, S. B. E. 29 p. 182). काटकगृह्य 34-35, खादिर II. 2. 32-34 (S. B. E 29 p. 395), गोभिल II. 7. 17-23 (S. B. E vol. 30 pp 55-56), पारस्कर I. 16 (S. B. E. 29 pp 293-297), भारहाज I. 23-26, वैखानस्नामा. 14-15, शांखायन I. 24. 1-5 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp 49-50), हिरण्यकेशि (II. 3. 2-II. 4-5) S. B. E vol. 30 pp 210-214.)

son is born (to a man) That son, for whom when born they perform this 'isti', does become pure, glorious, substantial in (abundant) food, full of vigour and possessed of cattle '. This shows that Vaiśvanaresti was performed on the birth of a son. Jaimini (IV. 3.38) holds a discussion on this passage and establishes the conclusion that this isti is for the benefit of the son and not of the father and the bhasya of Sabara gives the further propositions that this isti is to be performed after the jātakarma rites are finished (and not immediately at birth) and that it is to be performed on a full moon day or a new moon day following ten days after birth. The Sat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 129) prescribes a certain rite before the navel string is cut "regarding a new born son let him say to five brahmanas before the navel string has been cut breathe over him in this way.' But if he should be unable to obtain them, he may even himself breathe over him while walking round him". The Br. Up. I. 5. 2 contains the following interesting passage 526 "when a boy is born they first make him lick clarified butter, and they make him take the breast (of the mother) after that." At the end of the Br. Up. (VI. 4, 24-28) there is an elaborate description of the jatakarma. "When (a son) is born, having kindled the fire, having placed the son on one's lap, having poured curds mixed with ghee in a bell-metal vessel he offers oblations of the curds mixed with ghee with the mantras 'may I maintain a thousand, prospering in my house; may there be no break with regard to progeny and cattle; svāhā! I offer to these in my mind my prāņas, svāhā! Whatever I have done in excess in my work or whatever I may have left deficient in this (rite), may the wise (Agni) (called) Svistakrt make that well sacrificed and well offered for us, svaha!'. Then after bringing down his mouth up to the right ear of the son he should recite thrice the word 'speech' 527, then having poured together curds, honey and clarified butter. he makes the (son) eat it by means of (a spoon of) gold not covered with anything else with the mantras' I place in thee bhūh, I place in thee bhuvah, I place in thee svah, I place in

^{526.} तस्मात्कुमारं जातं घृतं वे वाग्रे प्रतिलेहयन्ति स्तनं वा अनुधापयन्ति । बृहः उ. प. र. 5. 2.

^{527.} The idea of muttering 'vak' thrice is that the father wishes that speech as manifested in the three Vedas may come to the boy in due course. Bhuh, bhuvah and svah represent the three Vedas or earth, air and heaven.

thee bhur-bhuvah svah, I place in thee all'. Then he gives him (the boy that is born) a name with the words 'thou art the Veda'. That becomes his secret name. Then he hands the boy over to his mother and gives him the breast of the mother with the mantra (Rg. I. 164. 49) 'Oh, Sarasvati! make that breast ready for being sucked, which lies on thy body, which engenders happiness, by which thou nourishest all blessings, which bestows gems, that wins wealth and is a generous donor'. Then he solemnly addresses the mother of the child with the following mantras 'Oh maitrāvaruni 528! Oh strong one! thou art Ilā, she (the mother) has given birth to a valiant (boy); mayst thou be endowed with valiant sons, since thou hast made us possessed of a valiant son. They say to him (the newly born son) 'thou indeed excellest thy father, excellest thy grandfather; he may attain the highest station by his prosperity, glory and spiritual eminence, who is born as a son of such a brāhmana that knows this ".

It will be clear from the above passages of the Br. Up. that the jātakarma rite contained the following parts: (1) homa of curds with ghrta to the accompaniment of mantras; (2) repeating in the child's right ear the word 'speech' thrice; (3) making the child lick curds, honey and ghrta by means of a golden ladle (or ring); (4) addressing the child with a name which was to be his secret name (nāmakaraṇa); (5) putting the child to the breast; (6) addressing the mother with mantras. The Satapatha adds another detail viz. asking five brāhmanas if available to breathe on the child (from four quarters, east, south, west, north and one immediately above him) or the father himself may do so.

There is great divergence in the grhyasūtras on the different details that go to make up the jātakarma. Some give almost all the above seven details, while others omit some of them. The order of these components differs in the grhyasūtras and according to the Veda to which each sūtra is attached the mantras differ. It would be impossible to give in a brief compass the details from all grhyasūtras. Some description, however, of the details from important grhyasūtras is given below:

^{528.} Maittāvaruņa is Vasistha and so Maittāvaruņī may be Arundhatī. হুত্য means 'earth' or 'food'. One rather expects अजीजनः for অজীজনন

The ceremony has to be performed by the very necessities of the case immediately after birth. But different sūtras express it in different ways, e. g. Āśv. I. 15. 2 says the rite should be done before any other person (than the mother and nurse) touches the child. Pār. gr. (I. 16) says it is performed before the navel string is cut off. Gobbila (II. 7. 17) and Khādira II. 2. 32 say that it is to be performed before the navel string is cut off and the breast is given to the child.

In the Asv. gr. (I. 15. 1-4) the ceremony is described as follows: "When a son has been born, he (the father) should before other persons touch him, give to the child to eat honey and clarified butter in which gold has been rubbed by means of a golden (spoon) with the verse 'I give unto thee the Veda (wisdom or knowledge) of honey and ghrta, (Veda) which is produced by the god Savitr (who urges on) the bountiful: may you have long life and may you live in this world for a hund. red autumns being protected by the gods'. Bringing near the child's two ears (his mouth) the father mutters medhājanana 589 'may god Savitr bestow on thee intelligence; may the goddess Sarasyati bestow on thee intelligence and may the two gods Asvins wearing wreaths of lotus give to thee intelligence. 530 He touches the (son's) two shoulders (with the mantra) 'be a stone, be an axe, be indestructible gold; thou art indeed Veda. called son; so live a hundred autumns' and (with the mantra) 'Oh Indra, bestow the best wealth' (Rg. II. 21.6) and 'Oh Maghavan (bountiful Indra)! 531 Oh (Indra) partaker of rilsa! bestow on us' (Rg. III. 36.10). And let them give him a name". The following sutras (I. 15. 5-10) lay down rules about the name, which will be considered under Nāmakarana.

- 529. The verse is so called because it was deemed to produce intelligence.
- 530. Nārāyaṇa (on Āśv. gr. I. 15. 2) notes that some say that the mantra is muttered only once, when the mouth is brought near each ear one after another, others say that the mantra is recited twice.
- 531. ऋजीय is Soma from which the essence is taken away (i. e. dregs of Soma). The com. Nārāyana says that as to these mantras (1) some hold that the three mantras should be repeated continuously, while the shoulders are touched one after the other; (2) others hold that the mantra अक्षा भव should be uttered when touching the right shoulder, while the two 'इन्द्र क्षेष्टानी' and 'अस्मे भवन्दि' should be uttered while touching the left; (3) the three mantras should be repeated together and the shoulders touched simultaneously. Nārāyaņa prefers this last because the bhāsyakāra who went before did so.

It will be noticed that out of the several components of the rite described in the Br. Up. and the Sat. Br., Asv. omits express mention of homa, of putting the child to the breast (stanadāna), the address to the mother (mātrabhimantraṇa), and the breathing over the child by five brāhmaṇas or the father. The Śān. gr. (I. 24. 1-12) also omits homa, the stanadāna and mātrabhimantraṇa, but refers to the father breathing over the new born child thrice. Instead of ghrta and honey served with a golden spoon, Śān. prescribes mixing of curds, honey, ghrta and water or grinding together of rice and barley. It adds the tying of gold to a hempen string and fixing it on the right hand of the child till the mother gets up from child-bed.

It will have been noticed that Āśv. and Śān. both prescribe giving a secret name to the child on the day of birth and do not prescribe a separate Nāmakarana ceremony. Śān. gr. (I. 24.6) adds that a vyāvahārika name may be given on the 10th day from birth. The Gobhila gr. (II. 7. 13-15) and Khādira gr. II. 2. 28-31 say that a secret name for the child that is to be born is to be uttered in the Sosyantī-karma. So Āśv. probably carries on that tradition.

We shall now take the several components of the rite and show how they are dealt with by the several grhyasūtras.

Homa: -This is prescribed by the Br. Up., the Manava, the Kāthaka gr. at the time of birth. The Āśv. gr. parisista (I. 26) says that home should be performed to Agni and other gods as stated above; then the child should be made to eat honey and ghrta and then the offering be made to Agni. It is prescribed before birth (in the Sosyantikarma) by Gobhila and Khādira. It is prescribed after the whole rite by Baud, gr. II. 1. 13. It is omitted by Asv. and San. The Par. gr. (I. 16), Hir. gr., Bharadvaja gr. (I. 26) say that the Aupasana (i. e. grhya) fire is taken away and a sūtikāgni set up (which is also called Uttapaniya)588 near the door of the lying-in chamber. The Vaik. (III. 15) calls it jātakāgni (and also Uttapanīya). These say that in this fire white mustard seed with small grains of rice are offered at the time of birth and at the morning and evening twilights for ten days after birth with certain mantras. Ap. prescribes that

^{532.} The Satikagni is prepared by placing the broken piece of a jar on the kitchen fireplace and heating it with the dried durg of a bull. ' चुल्ल्यां कपालमारोप्य वृषभशक्कृत्पिण्डेजातकाार्शे साध्येत्तमेनसुत्तपनीयमित्युदाहरान्त ' वेस्तानस III. 15.

mustard seeds and rice chaff are to be offered in the fire whenever any body enters the lying-in chamber for ten days.

- (2) $Medh\bar{a}janana:$ —Two meanings are given to this. word does not occur in the Br. Up. But it speaks of muttering in the right ear of the boy the word 'vak' thrice and making the boy lick from a golden spoon or ring curds, honey and ghrta. The first of these viz. muttering in the right ear of the boy some words or a mantra is called medhajanana in Asv. and Śān. (I. 24.9 which prescribes 'vāk'); while most of the other sūtras viz. Vaik., Hir., Gobhila say that medhājanana is the action of making the child eat honey, ghee, curds or pounded barley and rice, to the accompaniment of mantras (like 'bhūstvayi dadhāmi' in Pār. or 'Bhūr reah 'as in Vaikhānasa, or 'mednam te devah 'as in $\bar{A}p$.). The Baud. gr. (II. 1. 7) prescribes the giving of curds, honey and ghrta ten times with each of the ten mantras (Tai. Br. II. 5. 1) of the anuvāka beginning with 'prano raksati visvam-ejat.' The Vaik, expressly says that the Vaca 533 plant, Pathya plant, gold, honey and clarified butter become medhājanana. Manu II. 29 seizes upon the making the child est gold (dust), honey and clarified butter to the accompaniment of mantras as the central part of the rite. Later works like the Samskäramayükha regard this eating of honey and ghrta as the principal part of jātakarma. 534
- (3) Ayuşya:—Some of the sūtras speak of a rite called āyuşya in the jātakarma. This consists in muttering over the navel (as in Pār.) or in the right ear of the boy some mantra or mantras invoking the bestowal of long life on the boy. Āśv. (vide p. 231) has such an invocation in conjunction with the eating of honey and ghṛta. Bhāradvāja also does the same. Mānava gṛ. prescribes the anuvāka 'Agne āyur-asi' (Kāṭhaka Sam. XI.7) for 21 oblations (this anuvāka is full of the word 'āyuṣmat').
- (4) Amsābhimaršana (touching the child on the shoulder or shoulders). Vide Āśv. above. Āp. begins his treatment with the direction that the father touches the boy with the Vātsapra anuvāka. Pār., Bhāradvāja speak of touching the boy twice, once with Vātsapra anuvāka (Vāj. S. XII. 18-29 or Tai. S. IV.
- 533. वचा पथ्या हिरण्यं मधु सर्पिरिति मेधाजननानि भवन्ति । वेखानसरमार्त III. 15. Amara gives उग्रगन्धा and हरीतकी as synonyms of वचा and पथ्या respectively.
- 534. जातकर्मणि प्रधानमाहाश्वलायनः । द्विमारं जातं प्ररान्येरालम्भात्सर्पिर्मधुनी हिरण्यनिकाषं हिरण्येन प्राह्मयेत् । संस्कारमयुख

- 2. 2), and again with 'be a stone, be an axe' (in Pār. and with the mantra 'may he grow' in Bhār.). Some sūtras like Śān. omit this.
- (5) Mūtrabhimantraņa:—(addressing the mother). The mother is addressed by the father with the verse Thou art Ilā &c'(vide Br. Up. above), which occurs in Pār. Many sūtras omit this. Hir. has a different verse.
- (6) Pañca-brāhmaṇasthāpana:—We saw above that the Satapatha prescribes the breathing over the child by five brāhmaṇas or the father himself. Pār. prescribes the same and gives an option (the five brāhmaṇas are to repeat in order from the east prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, udāna and samāna). Śān. asks the father himself to breathe thrice over the boy with a verse referring to the three Vedas. Several sūtras omit this.
- (7) Stana-pratidhāna or stanapradāna:—making the child take the breast. The Br. Up, and many of the sūtras prescribe this, together with the recitation of a mantra or mantras e. g. Pār. prescribes Vāj. S. 17. 87 and 38. 5 for the two breasts, Āp. and Bhār. prescribe Āp. mantrapātha II. 13. 2 only for the right breast; Hir. and Vaik. prescribe the same verse for both.
- (8) Deśābhimantraņa⁵³⁵ (or-marśana):—touching the ground where the son is born and addressing the earth (with one or two mantras). Pār., Bhār., Āp., Hir. do this.
- (9) Nāmakaraṇa:—(giving a name to the child). The Br. Up., Āśv., Śān., Gobhila, Khādira and several others speak of giving a name to the boy on the day of birth. Āśv. (I. 15. 4 and 10) prescribes the giving of two names on that date, one for common use (for which he gives elaborate rules) and the other a secret one which his parents only know till the boy's upanayana. Śān. reverses this and says the name for which similar elaborate rules are laid down by him is the secret name and a name for common use is to be given on the 10th day. Ap. gr. (15. 2-3 and 8) says on the day of birth a name derived from the nakṣatra (lunar mansion) on which the boy is born is given, which is the secret name and then on the 10th another name is to be given. According to Gobhila and Khādira a name is to be given in the Sosyanti-karma which is to be kept secret.
- 535. आरद्वाज (1. 25) bas यत्र होते तद्भिसृहाति । वेद् ते भूमि हृद्यं दिवि चन्द्रमिसं श्रितम् । वेदासृतस्य गोप्तारं माहं पौत्रमयं रद्य् ॥ इति । पारस्कर reads स यस्मिन्देशे जातो भवति तमभिमनत्रयते । वेद्श्रितम् । वेद् । हेत् तन्मां तिद्विचात्पद्येम शरदः शतं जीवेम शरदः शतं श्रितम् । रदः शतं श्रितम् । र

(10) Keeping off evil spirits:—Though Āśv. and Śān. are entirely silent on this point several sūtras devote large space to this topic and are full of mantras which are more are less magic. Āp. prescribes the offering of mustard seed and rice chaff in fire three times with each of eight mantras (Āp. mantrapātha II. 13. 7-14). Bhār. gr. (I. 23) also prescribes similar offerings with several verses. Hir. gr. requires the throwing of mustard seeds eleven times in the $s\bar{u}lik\bar{u}gni$ with eleven mantras some of which are almost the same as in Bhāradvāja. Pār. gr. recites two of such mantras.

It would not be out of place to mention a few other subsidiary matters. Baud., Ap., Hir. and Vaik. expressly say that the boy is to have a bath. The Hir, and Vaik, 537 sav that the axe is to be placed on a stone and gold is to be placed on the axe, then these are to be turned upside down (so that gold lies at the bottom and the stone is on top) and then the boy is to be held head eastwards above the stone by a female in her two hands, while the father repeats the two mantras 'be a stone &c.' and the mantra 'thou art produced from (my) limb by limb &c.' This shows how what was once only symbolical (viz. uttering the mantras 'be a stone' &c. indicating the desire that the boy should be strong, sharp and worthy like a stone. axe and gold) became transformed into a rite requiring physical presence of these things. Par., Ap., Hir., Bhar. and Vaik. prescribe that a pot full of water should be placed towards the head (of the woman and her child) with a mantra 'Oh waters!

^{536.} द्वारदेशे स्तिकाशिस्प्रसमाधायोत्थानात्संधिवेलयोः फलीकरणिभिश्रान् सर्ष-पानग्नावावपति । शण्डामर्का उपवीरः शौण्डिकेय उलूखलः। मलिम्लुचो द्रोणासश्चवनो नश्यतादितः स्वाहा ॥ आलिखकनिमिषः किंवदन्त उपश्चतिर्दर्यक्षः कुम्भीशत्रुः पात्रपाणिर्द-मणिर्हन्त्रीसुखः सर्षपारुणाश्च्यवनो नश्यतादितः स्वाहेति । पारस्कर I. 16. Those two occur in Hir. and the first in भारद्वाज also.

^{537.} जुमारे जाते द्वारवामेऽइमानि परशुं तस्मिन्द्रिएयं स्थापयित्वा 'अइमा भव' इत्यधरधत्तरं करोति तस्योपिर 'अङ्गादङ्गात्' इति छुमारमेकया स्त्रिया धार्येत्। वैखानस III. 14.
The verse is अङ्गादङ्गात्संभवासि हृद्याद्धिजायसे। आत्मा वे प्रजनामासि स जीव
अरदः शतम्॥ Ap. M. P. II. 11. 33. Ap. gr. (15. 12) prescribes that when a
father returns from a journey he should take in his hands his son's head,
should smell (or kiss) the top of it thrice and then mutter this verse.
Nir. III. 4. quotes this verse as a rk in support of the view that sons and
daughters equally partake of the inheritance. The formula अञ्चम भव
occurs in Asv. gr. and in others also. Vaik. says that the jar is to be to
the south of the woman's head; Ap. employs the word 'sirastah' which
Sudarsana explains as 'near the head of the child'. The मन्त्र in पारस्कर
is 'आप: सुसेषु जाग्रथ यथा देवेषु जाग्रथ। एवमस्यां स्तिकायां सपुत्रिकायां जाग्रथ॥.'
भाष, म. पा. II. 13. 6 and हिर्ण्य. म. have a similar verse,

watch while (people are asleep).' None of the sutras (except Vaikhānasa) refers to any astrological details. Vaik. (III. 14) says that when the child's nose appears, the position of the planets should be observed and his future welfare or otherwise should be examined, since the boy is to be so brought up as to enhance his good qualities. Both Ap. and Baud, say that the remnants of honey, curds and ghrta should be mixed with water and poured out in a cowstable (and not thrown about in an impure place). This ceremony is comparatively brief in Ap., Śān, and a few others, but in Hir., Pār, and Bhāradvāja it is most elaborate and would require an unduly long time considering the state of the newly born child and the woman in child-bed. There is no wonder, therefore, that this ceremony gradually went out of vogue. In modern times a few well-to-do families in Western India sometimes perform what is called 'putrāvana' (in Marathi) and make the boy lick honey and ghrta by means of a golden piece or ring. The dangers to the child of an elaborate ritual must have been apparent to all people even in ancient times. 523

The Sm. C. (I. p. 19)539 cites Hārīta, Śankha, Jaimini to the effect that till the navel cord is cut there is no impurity. that the samskara may be performed till then and that gifts of jaggery, sesame, gold, clothes, cows and corn may be made and accepted. The same work quotes Samvarta and other smrtis to the effect that the father must bathe before he can perform the jātakarma rite. This would involve some further loss of time and it is remarkable that the grhya sūtras observe silence about this, though Manu V. 77 prescribes a bath on hearing of the birth of a son. The Sm. C. quotes Pracetas, Vyāsa and others to the effect that a nandiśraddha (which will be explained under śrāddha) should be performed in jātakarma (brāhmanas are not to eat cooked food in this śrāddha, but to receive corn or only money payment). Later works like the Dharmasindhu say that in jātakarma as in other rights, svastivācana, punvāhavācana and mātrkāpūjana are necessary.

^{538.} The author knows of an instance where an old man jubilant over the birth of a son from his third wife entered upon the performance of the jatakarma according to his grhyasūtra and by the time the ceremony was over, the helpless child that had already little vitality was dead owing to exposure and cold.

^{539.} हारीतोषि । ' प्राङ्क् नाभिच्छेदात् संस्कारं पुण्यार्थान्कुर्वन्ति छिन्नायामाञ्जीचम् । ग्राङ्कः 'कुमारप्रसवे नाम्यामच्छिनायां ग्रहतिलहिरण्यवस्त्रगोधान्यप्रतिग्रहेण्यपि न दोषस्त-द्वारित्येके ग्रवर्थ कियते । ग्रह्मतिचः I. pp. 19 and 20.

Medieval writers of digests give extensive descriptions of \$\vec{santi}\$ rites \$^{540}\$ performed to counteract the inauspicious effects of birth on the 14th tithi of the dark half of a month or on the amavasya or on Mūla, Āśleṣā and Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatras and certain astrological conjunctions like Vyatīpāta, Vaidhṛti, Samkrānti (sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac into another). These matters are passed over here for want of space, as of little importance in modern times and as new departures introduced in the ancient sūtra rites by later works. A few general remarks will be made on these matters in the section on \$\vec{santi}\$ and \$Muhūrta\$.

In modern times on the 5th and 6th days after birth certain ceremonies are performed for which there is no warrant in the sūtras. These probably arose in the times of the Purānas, since the only verses quoted on this point in the Nirnayasindhu, the Samskāramavūkha and other works are the Markandeyapurāna. Vyāsa and Nārada. On these days the father or other male relative bathes in the first part of the night, then invokes Ganesa, and certain minor deities called Janmada on handfuls of rice and also Sasthidevi and Bhagavati (i.e. Durgā) and worships them with sixteen upacaras. Then tāmbūla and daksinā are offered to one or more brāhmanas and the members of the family keep awake that night with songs (in order to ward off evil spirits). One text from the Markandevapurana says men fully armed should keep watch the whole night'. It must be noted here that fear springing from astrological considerations got better of even natural love and affection to such an extent that some writers advised that the child when born on certain inauspicious conjunctions should be abandoned and its face should not be seen till at least its eighth year. Vide Nityācārapaddhati pp. 244-255.

Utthāna:—(getting up from child-bed). According to Vaik. III. 18 on the 10th or 12th day after birth, the father shaves, bathes, purifies the house, performs in the jātakāgni (or in the ordinary fire, according to some) a sacrifice to the earth through some person belonging to another gotra. Then he brings back the aupāsana (gṛḥya fire), offers oblations to Dhātṛ and others (as in I. 16), five oblations to Varuṇa (I. 17), the mūlahoma (I. 18) and feeds the brāhmaṇas. Sān. gṛ. (I. 25) is more elaborate. It prescribes that a mess of cooked food is prepared in the sūtikāgni

⁵⁴⁰ Vide संस्काररत्नमाला pp 846-47, संस्कारपकाश pp. 201-203. 'सर्वेषां गण्डजातानां परित्यागो विधीयते । जातस्याद्कीनं तावद्यावत्पूर्णे समाष्टकम् ॥ इति । अन्ये तु होमपूर्वकदानेन तद्वर्शनं श्रुभमित्याहः !! नित्याचारपद्धतिः

and oblations are made to the *tithi* of the child's birth, and to three nakṣatras and to their presiding deities, two to Agni and then one (i. e. 10th) to Soma with Rg. I. 91. 7. Hir. gr. II. 4. 6-9 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 214) and Bhāradvāja (I. 26) also refer to *utthāna*. Both say that the sūtikāgni is taken away and the Aupāsana fire is brought in and oblations of ghṛta (12 or 8) are offered in that fire with the *mantras* beginning with 'dhātā dadātu no rayim'.

Nāmakaraṇa 541:—The ceremony of naming a child. Vide Āp. gr. 15. 8-11 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 282-283), Āśv. gr. I. 15. 4-10), S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 183), Baud. gr. II. 1. 23-31, Bhār. gr. I. 26, Gobhila gr. II. 8. 8-18 (S.B. E. vol. 30 pp. 57-58), Hir. gr. II. 4. 6-15 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 214-215), Kāthaka gr. 34. 1-2 and 36. 3-4, Kaušika sūtra 58. 13-17, Mānava gr. I. 18, 1, Śān. gr. I. 24. 4-6 (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 50), Vaik. III. 19, Vārāha gr. 2.

There is great divergence of view as to the time when the child was named. Several times are suggested in the ancient literature and in the sūtras and smṛtis.

- (a) We have already seen (p. 232) that a child was addressed by a name, according to Gobhila and Khādira, even in the Sosyantikarma.
- (b) According to the Br. Up., Āśv. and Śāń., Kāṭhaka gr. (34.1) a name was given to the child on the day of birth. This practice is supported by a passage of the Śat. Br. 541a 'therefore when a son is born (the father) should bestow on him a name; thereby he drives away the evil that might attach to the boy; (the father gives him) even a second, even a third (name)'. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali appears to refer to this view. "In the world the parents give a name to the son when born in a closed space (or room) such as Devadatta, Yajñadatta; from their employment (of that name for the boy) others also come to know 'this is his appellation'". 542
- 541. For a comprehensive treatment of the way in which names were given from Vedic times onwards, my paper 'Naming a child or a person' in the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' for 1938, vol. 14, pp. 24-44 may be consulted. A summary of the points made in that paper is given below together with some fresh matter.

े 541a. तस्मात्युत्रस्य जातस्य नाम कुर्यात्पाप्मानमेवास्य तद्ववहन्त्यपि द्वितीयमपि तृतीयम् । इतिपथ VI. 1. 3. 9.

542. लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य संवृतेऽवकाक्षे नाम कुर्वाते देवदृत्तो यज्ञदृत्त इति । तयोदय चारादृत्येपि जानन्तीयमस्य संज्ञेति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 38.

- (c) Ap., Baud., Bhār., and Pār. prescribe the 10th day after birth for nāmakaraṇa. The Mahābhāṣya quotes a passage⁵⁴³ from the Yājāikas that a name was given on a day after the tenth from birth.
 - (d) Yāj. I. 12 prescribes it on the 11th day after birth.
- (e) Baud. gr. (II. 1. 23) says that Nāmakaraṇa may be performed on the 10th or 12th, while Hir. gr. says that it should be on the 12th. As Vaik. prescribes that the mother should get up from child-bed on the 10th or 12th and then speaks of nāmakaraṇa, it follows that the ceremony was performed according to it on the 10th or 12th. Manu II. 30 says it may be performed on the 10th or 12th day after birth or on an auspicious tilhi, muhūrta and naksatra thereafter.
- (f) Gobbila (II. 8. 8, S. B. E. vol. 30. p. 57) and Khādira 544 say that it should be on any day after ten nights, one hundred nights or a year from birth. Laghu-Āsvalāyana (VI. 1) allows it on 11th, 12th or 16th day. Aparārka (p. 26) quotes grhyaparisista to the effect that it may be performed after the 10th night is passed or after 100 nights or a year and the Bhavisyat-purāna to the effect that it may be performed after 10 or 12 nights or on the 18th day or after a month. It is worthy of note that Bāṇa in his Kādambari (pūrvabhāga para 68) says that Tārāpīda named his son Candrāpīda when the tenth day after birth fell on an auspicious muhūrta and that the minister Sukanāsa named his son Vaisampāyana next day. 545

The commentators were bewildered by these differences. Viśvarūpa explains Manu II. 30 as 'when the 10th night is past' and Kullūka does the same (i. e. according to him it is performed on the eleventh day). Medhātithi does not 546 like the addition of 'past' (atītāvām) after 'daśamyām' in Manu II. 30 and says just as jātakar.na can be performed even when there is impurity due to birth, so nāmakaraṇa may be performed on the 10th and that the only essential thing is that it is not to

^{543.} महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 4.

^{544.} जननादूर्ध्वे दृशरात्राच्छतरात्राक्षंवत्सराद्वा नाम क्रुर्यात् । खादिर II. 3. 6 ; रहापरिशिष्टम् । जननादृशरात्रे ब्युष्टे शतरात्रे संवत्सरे वा नामधेयकरणम् । अपरार्क p. 26.

^{545.} प्राप्ते द्रामेहिन पुण्ये सुहूर्ते चन्द्रापीड इति नाम चकार । अपरेद्युः शुक्रनार स्तिपि वैशम्पायन इति नाम चकार । काद्म्यरी para. 68; 'अवारे च द्रामेऽहिन महाश्वेतित यथार्थमेव नाम कतवान । १ कादश्यरी para 140.

^{546.} जातकर्मवदाशौचिषि करिष्यते । यदि दशमीद्वाद्द्यौ वश्यमाणगुणयुक्ते भवतः तथा तयोः कर्तथ्यम्। यदा न तदान्यस्मिक्षण्यहिन कर्तथ्यम्। अयं च परमार्थः । दशमीद्वाद्शीग्यामर्थाङ्क न कर्तथ्यम्। उत्तरकालं च यद्द्वर्नक्षत्रं लग्नं परिशुद्धं तद्दृदरेचं कर्तथ्यम्। मेधातिथि on मन्नु II. 30.

be performed before the 10th or 12th. Apararka says that there is an option and one may follow one's own grhyasūtra. It appears that the nāmakaraṇa 547 of Hariścandra, son of Jayatcandra, king of Kanoj, took place three weeks after jātakarma (on 31. 8. 1175 A. D.). In modern times nāmakaraṇa generally takes place on the 12th day after birth and no Vedic ceremony as prescribed in the sūtras is gone through, but women assemble and after consulting the male members of the family beforehand announce the name and place the child in the cradle.

In Rg. VIII. 80. 9 we read 'when you give us a fourth name connected with (the performance of) a sacrifice, we long for it; immediately afterwards, you, our master, take us' (forward to glory) 548. This shows that a man could have a fourth name even in the times of Rg. and the fourth was a name due to the performance of a yajña. Sāyana explains that the four names are: nakṣatranāma (derived from the nakṣatra on which a person was born), a secret name, a publicly known name and a fourth name like Somayāji (due to having performed a Somayaga). In Rg. X. 54. 4 there appears to be a reference to four names (though Sayana takes nama here to mean the body or deed). In Rg. IX. 75. 2 there is reference to a third name 'the son has a third name unknown to the parents and which is in the bright part of heaven'. The two names are the naksatra name and the ordinary name, while the third would be the name due to the performance of a sacrifice (which the parents could not foresee at his birth). In the Rg. frequent reference is made to the secret name of a person. Vide Rg. IX 87. 3, X. 55. 1-2. We saw above (note 541a) that the Sat. Br. speaks of a second or even a third name for a person given to him by his parents. The same Brāhmana 549 recommends 'Therefore a brāhmana

^{547.} Vide I. A vol. 18 p. 129, read with E. I. vol. IV. p. 120 and E. I. vol. X. p. 95.

^{548.} तुरीयं नाम यज्ञिथं यदा करस्तद्रुश्मिस । आदित्यितर्न ओहसे। ऋ. VIII. 80.9; चत्वारि ते असुर्थाणि नामादाभ्यानि महिषस्य सन्ति। ऋ. X. 54.4; द्धाति पुत्रः पित्रे।रपीष्यं नाम नृतीयमधि रोचने दिवः। ऋ. IX. 75. 2. The दिरण्यकेशिगृह्य speaks of three names नक्षत्रनाम, व्यावहारिकनाम and a third one like सामयाजी. The महाभाष्य also says that a man bears the name आग्नेष्टोमयाजी when he performs आग्नेष्टोम 'अग्निष्टोमयाजीत्येतत्तस्मिन भविता। करिमन योऽस्य पुत्रो जनिता। कद् । यदाग्निष्टोमेनेष्टं भविति। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 168 on पा. III. 4. 1.

^{549.} तस्माद् बाह्मणोऽप्रध्यमाने द्वितीयं नाम कुर्वीत राध्नोति हैव य एवं विद्वाल द्वितीयं नाम कुरुते। इत्तपध III. 6. 2. 24. Vide द्वाह्मायणश्चीत् I. 3. 9 for the recital of the three names of a sacrificer (धन्विभाष्य says they were अभिनादनीयः ध्यावहारिक and नक्षत्रनाम).

when he does not prosper should give himself a second name'. But how these names were formed is not stated anywhere in the Vedic literature. In the Tai. S. VI. 3. 1. 3 it is said 'therefore a brāhmana who has two names prospers'. 550 The Sat. Br. (II. 1. 2. 11) says 'Arjuna is the secret name of Indra and the constellation of Phalguuis being presided over by Indra they are really Arjunyah, but are called Phalgunyah in an indirect way'. 551 We saw above (p. 230) that the Br. Up, speaks of a secret name given by the father on the day of birth. Hardly any secret names are expressly mentioned in the Vedic literature except the name of Arjuna given to Indra (and being secret they cannot be expected to be mentioned). How the secret name was given is not clear from the Vedic literature. In Vaj. S. 17. 89 there is a reference to the secret name of ghrta 552. The Tai. S. gives expression to the request that the (ahavaniya) fire should bear the name of one who keeps sacred fires, while the person praying was away on a journey 553.

A few examples of the three names of a person from the Vedic literature may be given here. These are generally the ordinary name, a name derived from his father and a third from his gotra (or from the name of some remote ancestor). In Rg. V. 33. 8 we find Trasadasyu (his own name), Paurukutsya (son of Purukutsa), Gairikṣita (descendant of Girikṣita). In the Ait. Br. (33. 5) Śunaḥṣepa is spoken of as Ajlgarti (son of Ajlgarta) and also as Āngirasa (a gotra name), while king Hariṣcandra is mentioned (Ait. Br. 33. 1) as Vaidhasa (son of Vedhas) and Aikṣvāka (descendant of Ikṣvāku). In the Sat. Br. (XIII. 5. 4. 1) Indrota Daivāpa (son of Devāpi) Saunaka (a gotra name) is said to have been the priest of Janamejaya. In the Chān. Up. (V. 3. 1 and 7) Svetaketu Āruṇeya (son of Āruṇi) is styled Gautama (a gotra name). In the Kathopaniṣad

^{550.} तस्माद् द्विनामा बाह्मणोर्धुक:। तै. सं. VI. 3. 1. 3. This is quoted in Hir. gr., Bhar. gr. I. 26 and other grhya sutras.

^{551.} अर्जुनो ह वै नामेन्द्रो यदस्य ग्रह्मं नामार्जुन्यो वै नामेतास्ता एतत्परोक्षमाचक्षते फाल्फुन्य इति। ज्ञतपथ II. 1. 2. 11.

^{552.} घृतस्य नाम गुद्धां यदस्ति जिह्ना देवानाममृतस्य नाभिः । वाज. सं. 17, 89.

^{553.} मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेदः पिता माता च द्धतुर्यद्शे । तस्वं विभृहि पुनरा मदेतो स्तवाहं नाम विभराण्यशे ॥ ते. सं. I. 5. 10. 1. This is differently read in other संहिताs e. g. काठक VII. 3 reads 'द्धतुर्न्वशे । तस्वं गोपाया पुनर्द्दे ते वयं विभराम तव नाम. This verse is quoted in namakarana by several sutras, e. g. Bhar. I. 26.

(I. J. 1 and 11) Naciketas is the son of Vājaśravasa and is addressed as Gautama (a gotra name).

Usually however a person is referred to in the Vedic literature by two names. In some cases it is his own name and a gotra name e. g. Medhyātithi Kānva (Rg. VIII. 2. 40), Hiranyastūpa Āngirasa (Rg. X. 149.5), Vatsaprī Bhālandana (Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 6), Bālāki Gārgya (Br. Up. II. 1. 1), Cyavana Bhārgava (Ait. Br. 39.7). In other cases a man is referred to by his own name and another name derived from a country or locality e. g. Kasu Caidya (Rg. VIII. 5.37), Bhima Vaidarbha (Ait. Br. 35. 8), Durmukha Pāñcāla (Ait. Br. 39. 23), Janaka Vaideha (Br. Up. III. 1. 1), Ajātaśatru Kāsya (Br. Up. II. 1. 1). In some cases a matronymic is added to a person's name e.g. Dirghatamā Māmateya (Rg. I. 158. 6), Kutsa Ārjuneya (son of Arjuni, Rg. IV. 26. 1, VII. 19. 2, VIII. 1. 11), Kaksīvat Auśija (son of a woman called Usik, Rg. I. 18. 1, Vaj. S. III. 28),554 Prahlāda Kāyādhava (son of Kayādhū, Tai. Br. I. 5. 10), Mahidāsa Aitareya (son of Itarā, Chān. Up. III. 16.7). In the vamsa added at the end of the Br. Up. there are about forty sages with matronymic names. The practice of mentioning a man by reference to his mother's name or to his mother's father's gotra was continued till later times, as will be shown later on. The most usual method, however, of referring to a person in the Rg. and also in other Vedic works was to state his name along with another derived from his father's name. For example, Ambarisa, Rirāśva, Sahadeva and Surādhas are all called Vārsāgira (son of Vṛṣāgir, Rg. I. 100. 17); king Sudās is called Paijavana (son of Pijavana, Rg. VII. 18, 22), Devāpi is Ārstisena (son of Rstisena, Rg. X. 98. 5-6), Śamyu Bārhaspatya (Tai. S. II. 6. 10), Bhrgu Vāruni (Ait. Br. 13. 10 and Tai. Up. III. 1), Bharata Daussanti (Satapatha XIII. 5. 4. 11, Ait. Br. 39. 9), Nābhānedistha Mānava (Ait. Br. 22. 9).

The principal rules about names may now be set out from the grhyasūtras. Āsv. (I. 15. 4-10, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 182-183) says 'Let (them) give the boy a name beginning with a sonant, having a semivowel in it, with a visarga at the end, consisting of two syllables or of four syllables, of two syllables if (the father) is desirous of firm (worldly) position (for his son), of four syllables if he is desirous of spiritual eminence (for his son);

^{554.} वार्तिक 7 on पाणिनि VI. 1.37 explains the words कक्षीवन्तं य औशिजः (ऋ. I. 18. 1). Vide महाभाष्य vol III. p. 33.

but (in all cases) with an even number of syllables in the case of males and with an uneven number of syllables in the case of women. And let him find out (for the boy) a name to be employed at respectful salutations (at Upanavana &c.): that name (the boy's) mother and father alone should know till his upanayana '555. The Śān. gr. (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 50) omits the rule about the name ending in a visarga and allows an option of six syllables and adds that the name should be formed by a krt affix (from a root) and not by a taddhita: that this name should be known only to his parents and that on the tenth day after birth the father should give the child a name for ordinary use which should be pleasing to brahmanas. It should be noticed that Asy, and San, differ on one very important point. According to Asv. the name for which elaborate rules are laid down is to be the ordinary name and he lave down no rule about the formation of the secret name; while San. lays down for the secret name the same rules as Asv. does for the public one and San. says about the public name that it should be pleasing.

Instead of quoting grhya sutras at length the principal rules about names deducible from them may be stated in the form of propositions with a few illustrations for each.

(1) The first rule in almost all sutras is that the name for males should contain two or four syllables or an even number. This rule is deduced from Vedic literature where most of the names contain either two syllables (e. g. Baka, Trita, Kutsa, Bhṛgu) or four syllables (Trasadasyu, Purukutsa, Medhyātithi, Brahmadatta &c.), though names of three syllables (like Kayasa, Cyayana, Bharata) and of five syllables

^{555.} नाम चास्मै द्युः घोषवदाद्यस्तरन्तस्थमभिनिष्ठानान्तं द्वचक्षरम्। चतुरक्षरं वा। द्वचक्षरं प्रतिष्ठाकामश्चतुरक्षरं बद्धावर्चसकामः। युग्मानि त्वेव पुंसाम्। अयुजानि स्नीणाम्। अभिवादनीयं च समिक्षित तन्मातापितरा विद्यातामीपनयनात्। आष्व. यु. 1. 15. 4-10. The घोषड are the last three letters of the five वर्गड (क्रवर्गादि), युर्ल् व and इ. Separate the 5th sūtra as घोषचदादि अन्तरन्तस्थं (अन्तः मध्ये अन्तरथाः यरलवाः यरण); अभिनिष्टानान्त means अभिनिष्टानः अन्ते यस्य, अभिनिष्टान means विसर्ग. पाणिनि VIII. 3. 86 derives that word. That such rules are very ancient follows from a quotation in the महाभाष्य 'याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति। द्वाम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य नाम विद्धयाद् घोषचदायन्तरन्तस्थमवृद्धं त्रिपुरुषान्त्रमनिष्ठितं तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति द्वचक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नाम छतं कुर्यान्त तद्धितमिति। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 4. त्रिपुरुषान्त्रम् that would follow the name of (one of) the three ancestors of the boy's father. अनुक means 'descent or family.' अवृद्धं means that the first syllable is not आहेए or औ (vide पाणिनि I. 1. 73) and अनिरमितिष्ठित means 'not borne by his foe.'

(like Nābhānediṣṭha, Hiraṇyastūpa) are not wanting. Baijavāpa⁵⁵⁶ gṛhya allowed the name to be of one, two, three, four or any number of syllables. Śān, allowed a name even of six syllables and Baud. gṛ. (II. 1. 25) of six or even eight. Examples of names with two syllables and four syllables are given below.

- (2) Almost all grhya sutras contain the rule that the name should begin with a sonant and contain in the middle a semivowel. This is stated also in the ancient quotation from Yājāikas in the Mahābhāṣya.
- (3) Some sūtras prescribe that the name should end in a visarga preceded ⁵⁵⁷ by a long vowel (e. g. Āp., Bhār., Hir., Pār.). Āśv. only mentions that it should end in a visarga, while Vaik. and Gobhila say that it may end in a long vowel or in a visarga. These rules were probably based on such Vedic names as Sudās, Dirghatamas, Pṛthuśravas (that occur in the Rgveda) and such names as Vatsaprī (Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 6).
- (4) Ap. prescribes that the name should have two parts, the first being a noun and the second a verbal formation (generally a past passive participle). This rule is probably based on such ancient names as Brahmadatta (which occurs in Br. Up. I. 3. 24 and figures very much in Pali works), Devadatta, Yajñadatta &c.
- (5) Many grhya sūtras (like Pār., Gobhila, Śān., Baijavāpa, Vārāha) say that the name should be formed from a root by a kṛt affix and should not be a taddhita (i. e. formed from a noun by an affix).
- (6) Āp. and Hir. say that the name should have the upasarga 'su' in it as a Brāhmaṇa passage says that such a name has stability in it. Examples are Sujāta, Sudarśana, Sukeśas (Praśna Up. I. 1).

^{556.} बैजवापः । पिता नाम करोति एकाक्षरं द्रचक्षरं ज्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरमपरिमितं वा कृतं कुर्याक तद्धितम् । अपरार्क p. 27. भवः, भद्भः, देवः, वार्दाः (वारि द्दाति इति), गीर्घाः (गिरं द्दाति) are examples of names of two syllables and देवद्तः, विष्णुमित्रः, रुद्द्तः, भवनाधः, नागदेवः, सुदर्शनः, द्रविणोदाः of those of four syllables. In the Mahabhasya देवद्त्त and यज्ञद्त्त are the most frequent stock names whenever it predicates something about a person in general and it also says that such names are shortened as e. g. 'देवद्त्तो द्तः, सरयभामा भामेति' महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 111 on पाणिनि I. 1. 45.

^{557.} पुत्रस्य नाम द्रधाति पिता मातेति । द्वश्वक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वमाख्यातोत्तरं द्वीर्घाभिनिष्टानान्तं घोषवद्याद्यन्तरन्तस्थम् । आप. ग्रु. 15. 8-9.

- (7) Baud. gr. prescribes that the name may be derived from a sage or a deity or an ancestor. 558 The Manava grhya, however, forbids the giving of a name of a deity itself, but allows the giving of a name derived from the name of a deity or a naksatra. Examples of names derived from sages would be Vasistha. Nārada &c. and of names taken from deities would be Visnu, Śiva &c. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 12 quotes a passage of Śankha that the name should be connected with one's family deity. should be noticed that in modern times most names in manv parts of India are the names of deities or of heroes supposed to be avatāras of deities. In Vedic literature hardly any human being bears the name of any of the Vedic gods (Indra, Mitra. Pūsan &c). There are only a few exceptions such as that of Bhrgu (in Tai. Up. III. 1) who is said to have learnt from his father called Varuna and in the Prasna Up. (I. 1) there is Sauryāyani Gārgya whose name is derived from Sūrya. But in the Vedic Literature persons have names derived from the names of gods, such as Indrota (Indra + ūta, protected), Indradyumna. The names that occur in the Mahābhāsya such as Devadatta, Yajñadatta, Vāyudatta (vol. II. p. 296), Visnumitra (vol. I. pp. 41 and 359), Brhaspatidattaka (or Brhaspatika), Prajāpatidattaka (or-patika), Bhānudattaka (or Bhānuka) and others set out in the Mahābhāsya (vol. II. p. 425) exemplify the rule of the Manayagrhya. It is difficult to say when the very names of deities began generally to be borne by human beings. Probably the practice began in the first centuries of the Christian era. From the fifth century onwards we have historic examples of such names, e.g. in the Eran stone inscriptions of Budhagupta dated in the Gupta samvat 165 i. e. 484-5 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions No. 19) there is a brahmana Indra-Visnu, son of Varuna-Visnu, son of Hari-Visnu.
- (8) Baud., Pār., Gobhila (and the Yājñikas quoted by the Mahābhāsya) prescribe that the name of the boy may be the same as that of any of the ancestors of the father. The Mānava gr. (I. 18) expressly says that the father's own name should not be given. This practice was observed in ancient times and continues even today, when the child is often given his grandfather's name. Vide I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 where we see that Pulakeśi II was grandson of Pulakeśi I.

^{558.} ऋष्यनूकं देवतान्कं वा। यथैवेषां पूर्वपुरुषाणां नामानि स्युः। बौ.गृ. सू. II.1.28-29; यशस्यं नाप्तधेयं देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राक्षयं देवतायश्र्यं परयक्षं प्रतिषिद्धम्। मानवपूर्वाः 18.

^{559.} In the E. I. vol. 14 p. 342 (of sake 1470) strangely enough the engraver's name is the same as his father's.

(9) The grhyasūtras (except Pār, and Mānava) are agreed that a secret name is to be given to the boy by the parents, in the Sosyantikarma according to Gobhila and Khādira, at birth according to some (like Asy, and Kathaka) and according to others (like Ap., Baud., Bhār.) at the time of Nāmakarana on 10th or 12th day. We saw above that San, and Kathaka give elaborate rules about the secret name, which rules are those of the Vyavaharika 560 name according to Asv. and many other sutrakaras. Gobhila and Khādira give no rules about the secret name. Ap., Hir. and Vaik, only say that the secret name should be derived from the naksatra of birth, but give no further rules. dvāja 561 speaks of the giving of two names in Nāmakarana, one being derived by applying the intricate rules described above and the other being a naksatra name; but it is not quite clear which was to be the secret name; it is probable, however, that the naksatra name was to be the secret one. According to Aśvalāyana the secret name was called Abhivādanīya (which was to be known to the parents only till the boy's upanayana and which was to be used by the boy for announcing himself in respectful salutations); but he does not say how it was to be derived. Gobhila, Khādira, Vārāha (5) and Mānava speak of an abhivādanīva name. Gobhila prescribes that this name was to be given to the boy at the time of upanayana by the ācārya and was to be derived from the naksatra of birth or from the presiding deity of that naksatra. Gobhila 568 further adds that according to some teachers the abhivadaniva name was derived from

^{560.} According to the Kathaka grhya (34.1-3 and 36) only one is given (on the day of birth) and the same is used in Namakarana (36.3), but it mentions that it was the view of some that another name was to be given in Namakarana.

^{561.} नक्षत्रनाम द्वितीयं स्याद्न्यतरहुतां स्याद्न्यतरेणैनमामन्त्रयेरत्। भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 26.

^{562.} गोभिल and खादिर appear to suggest three names, one that was secret given in सोध्यन्तीकर्म (गोभिल II. 7. 15-16), the 2nd in nāmakaraņa (गोभिल II. 8. 8 and 14-16 derived by means of the intricate rules specified above) and a third in Upanayana called अभिवादनीय (गोभिल II. 10. 21-25). According to them a name like सोमयाजी would be the fourth name. In वैखानस I. 7 it is said that in the प्रण्याहवाचन the following names of the यजमान should be taken one after another viz. नक्षत्रनाम, गोत्रनाम, पितृनाम, मातृगोत्रनाम and स्वनाम (ending in इर्मन्यां he is a बाह्मण). को नामासीति नामधेर्य पृच्छति तस्याचार्यः। अभिवादनीयं नाम कल्पयित्वा देवताअयं नक्षत्राअयं वा । गोत्राअयम- एयेके। गोभिलीयगृद्ध II. 10. 22-25; को नामासीत्युक्तो देवताअयं नक्षत्राअयं वाभिवादनीयं नाम मृयादसावस्मीति। खाविर II. 4. 12.

the gotra of the boy (as e.g. Gārgya, Śāndilya, Gautama &c.). This practice is based on the usage we find in the Upanisads, where Satyakāma when about to go to a teacher for Vedic study asks his mother what his gotra was (Chān. Up. IV. 4. 1) and where the teacher also asks him what his gotra was. In the Kathopanisad Naciketas is styled Gautama and in Chan. V. 3. 7 Švetaketu is addressed as Gautama by Pravāhana Jaivali when the latter expounded Samvarga-vidyā to the former. if the abhivadaniya was a gotra name there could have been no secrecy. From Gobbila it appears that the acarva told the boy his abhivadaniya name, but the Khadira suggests that the boy already knew it (from his father or mother) and informed the The naksatranama was of importance in the performance of Vedic sacrifices. The Vedangajvotisa 563 (of the Rg) in verses 25-28 enumerates 28 naksatras (adding Abhijit after Uttarāsādhā and before Śravana) and their presiding deities and adds that in sacrifices the sacrificer is to bear a name derived from the name of the presiding deity of his naksatra, The object of keeping the naksatra name secret seems to have been to prevent rites of abhicara (magical practices) against a

563. नक्षत्रदेवता होता एताभिर्यज्ञकर्मणि । विजनानस्य शास्त्रज्ञेर्नाम नक्षत्रजं स्मृतम् ॥ वेदाङ्कर्योतिष (ऋ.) verse 28. In the Vedic Literature and in the Vedanga Jyotisa the naksatras are enumerated from Krttika to Apabharani and not from Asvinī to Revatī as in medieval and modern times. For the position of Abhijit, vide Tai. Br. I. 5.2. The naksatras and their presiding deities may profitably be specified here. Some of the names differ from the modern ones. The oldest lists are in the Atharvayeda (19. 7. 2-5) and Tai. S. IV. 4. 10. 1-3, Tai. Br. I. 5. 1 and HI. 1. 1. क्रिका-अग्नि, रोहिणी-प्रजापति, मगरार्थि or मगाहार: (इन्वका in ते. सं.)—सोम, आर्द्धा (बाह in ते. सं)—रुद्ध, पुनर्वसू—अदिति, तिष्य (पुष्य in अधर्वः)—बहस्पति, आश्रेषा (आश्रेषा in अधर्वः)— सर्पाः, मधा-पितरः, फल्युनी (पूर्वा)-अर्थमा, फल्युनी (उत्तरा)-भग, हस्त-सवितृ, चित्रा (त्वष्ट्), निष्ट्या (स्वाति in अथर्वः)—वायु, विशाखे-इन्द्राग्नी, अनूराधा (or अनुराधा)— मित्र, ज्येष्ठा (रोहिणी in तै. सं.)—इन्द्र, मूल (विचृतौ in तै. सं.)—पितरः (निर्ऋति in बाह्मणड and ज्ञाङ्कायनगृह्य and प्रजापति acc. to others), अषाढा (पूर्वा)-आपः, अषाढा (उत्तरा)—विश्वेदेवा:, श्रोणा (श्रवण in अधर्वः)—विष्णु, श्रविष्ठा (or धनिष्ठा)-वसवः, शतभिषकु-वक्षण (called इन्द्र in ते. सं.), पोष्टपदा (पूर्वाभादपदा)--अजएकपात्, पोष्टपदा (उत्तरा भादपदा)-अहिर्बुध्न्य, रेवती-पूपन, अश्वयुक् (अश्विनी)-अश्विनो, अपभरणी (भरणी in अथर्व॰)—यम. The deity of अभिजित् is ब्रह्मा. These are given also in ज्ञाङ्कायनगृद्धा 1. 20, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 78. 16-17, वेखानसस्मार्त (III. 20). Some give इन्द्र as the deity of चित्रा. In the वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (ऋग्वेदीय), विष्णु ध. सु., ज्ञाङ्का. मृ., भग and अर्थमा are the presiding deities of पूर्वा फल्गुनी and उत्तरा फल्गुनी respectively.

person, for the effective employment of which it was necessary to know a person's name. 564

Hundreds of names occur in the Vedic Literature, but there are hardly any names directly derived from a naksatra. In the Śatapatha (VI. 2. 1. 37) there is an Asādhi Sauśromateya (son of Asadha and Suśromata). Here Asadha is probably connected with the naksatra Asādhā. It appears therefore that in the times of the brahmanas naksatra names were secret and so are not met with. Gradually however naksatra names ceased to be secret and became common. For several centuries before the Christian era naksatra names were very common. (who cannot be placed later than 300 B.C. and may have flourished some centuries earlier still) gives several rules (IV. 3. 34-37 and VII. 3.18) for deriving names of males and females from naksatras. In IV. 3. 34 he says that names are derived from Śravisthā, Phālgunī, Anurādhā, Svāti, Tiṣya, Punarvasu, Hasta, Aṣāḍhā and Bahulā (Kṛttikā) without adding any termination signifying 'born on' (e.g. we have the names Śravisthah, Phālgunah &c.). In VII. 3.18 he derives the name Prosthapadah from Prosthapada. In the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman (150 A.D.) the brother-in-law of Candragupta Maurya is said to have been a vaisya named Pusyagupta (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 43). This shows that in the 4th century B. C. a name was derived from the naksatra Pusya (so the name was nakṣatrāśraya). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 231) speaks of boys named Tisya and Punarvasu and cites Citra, Revati, Rohini as names of women born on these naksatras (vol. II. p. 307) and of Caitra as a male (vol. II. p. 128). The Mahabhasya speaks of Pusyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty (vol. I. p. 177, vol. II. pp. 34 and 123). Buddhists also had naksatra names e.g. Moggaliputta Tissa (where a gotra name and a naksatra name from Tisya are combined), a parivrājaka Potthapāda in Digha I. p. 187 and III. p. 1 (from the naksatra Prosthapadā), Asāda, Phaguna, Svātiguta, Pusarakhita and in the Sañel inscriptions of 3rd century B. C. (E. I. (vol. II. p. 95). The giving of naksatra names continued for centuries after the Christian era. For example, in the Palitana plate of Dhruvasena I dated Valabhi samvat 210 (about 529 A.D.) there is a brāhmana named Viśākha. We have

^{564.} The com. of खादिरमृद्य says (II. 2.32) 'वैदिककर्मार्थमेतत्। नामापरि-ज्ञाने अभिचाराद्यसिद्धिः फलम्' and देवपाल on काठकमृद्धा 36. 4 says 'प्रयोजनं परैरभिचारे कियमाणेऽज्ञचारादमकटम्'.

names like Puṣyasvāmi, Rohiṇisvāmi (in the plates of Śivarāja dated 602-3 A. D., in E. I. vol. IX. p. 288). Another way of deriving names from nakṣatras was to form them from the presiding deity of the nakṣatra on which a person was born. A man was called Āgneya, if he was born on Kṛttikā (Agni being its devatā), Maitra (from being born on Anurādhā). In modern times this round-about way is given up and persons are named directly from the names of gods and avatāras (like Rāma).

There is another way of deriving names from naksatras set forth in medieval works on Dharmaśāstra and Jyotisa. Each of the 27 naksatras is divided into four $p\bar{a}das$ and to each pāda a specific letter is assigned (e. g., cū, ce, co and lā for the pādas of Aśvinī) from which names are derived for persons born in those pādas (e. g. Cūdāmaṇi, Cedīśa, Coleśa and Lakṣmaṇa for the four pādas of Aśvinī). These names are secret and are even now muttered into the ear of the brahmacārī in Upanayana and are known as the name in the daily samdhyā prayer.

Modern works like the Samskāraprakāśa (p. 237) say that four kinds of names may be given viz. devatānāma, māsanāma, naksatranāma and vyāvahārikanāma. The first shows that the bearer is the devotee of that devatā. The Nirnayasindhu⁵⁶⁶ quotes a verse about twelve names derived from the month in which a man was born and adds that the Madanaratna laid down that the names specified in the verse were to be given to the months from Mārgasīrsa or Caitra. Such names (of Visnu) are being given now, particularly in Western India, but without regard to the month of birth. So early as in the Brhatsamhitā of

- 565. Vide संस्काररत्नमाला p. 859 and संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 239-240 where all the letters for the 27 नक्षत्र are set out from a work called ज्योतिषार्क and on pp. 860-861 of the former the 112 names (for the 4 पाद्र of 28 नक्षत्रs) are exemplified. Even so late a work as the धर्मसिन्धु (composed in 1790 A.d.) disapproves of these names as not based on any Vedic authorities 'केचित्त चूचेचोलाध्यिनीप्रोक्तेत्यादिज्योतिर्धन्थोक्तावकहटाचकानुसारेणाध्य-यादेश्वतुष्ठुं चरणेषु चूहामणिश्योद्दीशश्वोलेशो लक्ष्मण इत्यादिकानि नाक्षत्रनामानि कुर्वन्ति तक्ष श्रोतग्रन्थादिबहुसंमतम्। धर्मसिन्धु III परिच्छेद, पूर्वार्ध.
- 566. स्मृतिसंग्रहे । कुष्णोनन्तोऽच्युतश्चकी वैकुण्ठोथ जनार्दनः । उपेन्द्रो यज्ञपुरुषो वासुदेवस्तथा हरिः । योगीशः पुण्डरीकाक्षो मासनामान्यनुक्रमात् ॥ अत्र मार्गशीर्षादिश्चैत्रादि-र्वा कम इति मदनरत्ने । निर्णयसिन्धु परिच्छेद् III पूर्वार्ध. The verse quoted occurs in the Saunaka Kārikās (Ms. in Bombay University Library) as one of Garga. The Laghu-Asvalāyana-smṛti (Anand.ed.) VI. 2 speaks of मास-नामs beginning from मार्गशीर्थ.

Varāhamihira the twelve names of Viṣṇu are associated with the twelve months.⁵⁶⁷

As to the names of girls, some special rules were laid down. Many grhyasūtras say that the names of girls should contain an uneven number of syllables and the Manava gr. (I. 18) expressly says that the names of girls should be of three syllables. Par. and Varahagrhya further say that the names of girls should end in 'ā', Gobhila and Mānava say they should end in 'dā' (as in Satyadā, Vasudā, Yasodā, Narmadā), Sankha-likhita dharmasūtra and Baijavāpa require that it should end in 'I'. while the Baud.568 gr. sesa-sūtra says that it should end in a long vowel. The Vārāhagrhya adds an intricate rule that the name of a girl should have an 'ā' vowel in it and should not be after a river, a naksatra or should not be the name of the sun or moon or Pūsan and should not be one having the idea of 'given by god' as in Devadattā or having the word 'raksitā (as in Buddharaksitā). 569 Manu II. 33 prescribes that the names of women should end in a long vowel, should be easy to pronounce. should not suggest any harsh acts, should be perspicuous, should be pleasing to the ear, auspicious and should convey some blessing and in III. 9 Manu and Ap. gr. III. 13 say that one should not marry a girl named after naksatras, trees, rivers. In modern times girls frequently bear the names of the great rivers of India (Sindhu, Jāhnavi, Yamunā, Tāpi, Narmadā, Godā, Krsnā, Kāveri &c.).

It is remarkable that Manu altogether omits the involved rules given by the grhya sūtras about naming a boy and prescribes (II. 31-32) two simple rules viz. that the names of all the members of the four varnas should suggest respectively auspiciousness, vigour, wealth and lowness (or contempt) and that the names of brāhmaṇas and the other varnas should have an addition (upapada) suggestive of śarman (happiness), rakṣā

^{567.} The 12 names are केज्ञव, नारायण, माधव, गोविन्द, विष्णु, मधुसूद्वन, विविक्रम, वामन, श्रीधर, ह्रषीकेञ, पद्मनाभ, दामोदर.

^{568.} Vide अपरार्क p. 27 for quotations from शङ्खलिखित and बैजवाप. नामैवं कन्याया अकारव्यवधानमाकारान्तमयुग्माक्षरं नदीनक्षत्रचन्द्रसूर्यपूषादेवद्त्तरक्षिता-वर्जम । वाराहग्रह्य 2.

^{569.} These directions of the Varaha gr. were not observed in ancient times. The Mahabhaşya (vol. II. p. 307) mentions women named Citra, Revatī, Asvinī, also a woman named Devadatta (vol. I.p. 184) and यज्ञवता (vol. III. p. 156) and also व्यव्तिका (or व्वका), यज्ञव्तिका (or यज्ञका) in vol. III. p. 325.

(protection), pusti (prosperity) and presya (service or dependence on others). It is significant that none of the grhyasūtras except Pāraskara 570 makes any reference to these additions (sarman and the like) to the names of brahmanas and others. Therefore this was comparatively a later development, though such additions must have been in vogue at least two centuries before the Christian era. The Mahābhāsva 571 (vol. III. p. 416) cites Indravarman and Indrapalita as the names of a rājanya and a vaisya. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 27) says 578 that the names of brahmanas should have the addition of sarma or deva, of ksatriyas varma or trāta, of vaisyas bhūti or datta, and of śūdras dāsa. Similar rules are given in the Purānas 573. These rules were sometime observed, but were often broken from very ancient times as inscriptions show. striking example of the observance of these rules is contained in the Talgunda Inscription of Kakutsthavarman of the Kadamba family (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 24) where the founder who was a brāhmana is styled Mayūrasarman, but his descendants who were kings had names ending in varman (which was appropriate to ksatriyas). On the other hand we have frequent breaches of these rules. In the Gupta Inscriptions No. 35 (C. I. I. vol. III, p. 150, at p. 156 the Mandasor Ins. of Yasodharman of Malava year 589, 645-46 A.D.) the genealogy of the brāhmana ministers is Sasthīdatta, his son Varāhadāsa, his son Ravikīrti (so the upapadas 'datta' and 'dāsa' appropriate to vaisvas and sūdras respectively were added to brāhmana names). In the Neulpur plate of Subhakara of Orissa (8th century A. D., E. I. vol. XV. p. 4) we have several bhattas whose names end in vardhana, datta and svāmin. In the Nidhanpura plate of Bhāskaravarman (E. I. vol. XIX p. 115) among the numerous donees (who must have been all brahmanas) there are some who are named Śrāddhadāsa. Karkadatta and Merudatta. In the Inscriptions of the Saka king Dāmijada

^{570.} नक्षत्रनामा नदीनामा बुक्षनामाश्च गहिता: । आप. गृ. III. 13; हार्म बाह्मणस्य वर्म क्षत्रियस्य गुप्तेति वैदयस्य । पारस्कर I. 17. The बोधायनगृह्यशेषस्त्र I. 11. 10 says 'अधारयुदाहरन्ति-हार्मान्तं बाह्मणस्य, वर्मान्तं क्षत्रियस्य, गुप्तान्तं वैद्यस्य, भृत्यदासान्तं श्चूद्रस्य दासान्तमेव वा । 7.

^{571.} This is on वार्तिक 2 ' भोराजन्यविज्ञां वेति वाच्यम् ' on पाणिनि VIII. 2. 83.

^{572.} यम: । क्रमा देवश्च विभस्य वर्मा त्राता च भूभुजः । भूतिर्दत्तश्च वैश्यस्य दासः शूदस्य कारयत ॥ अपरार्क p. 27.

^{573.} e.g. विष्णुपुराण III. 10. 9 शमेति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं वर्मेति क्षत्रसंश्रयम् । धुसद्साह्मयं नाम प्रशस्त वेद्दयञ्ज्ञद्वयोः ॥; the संस्कारतस्य p. 919 quotes another verse of विष्णुपुराण 'ततश्च नाम कुर्वीत पितैव द्शमेऽहानि । देवपूर्वे नराख्यं हि शर्मवर्मादिसंगुतम् ॥.' This is विष्णुपुराण III. 10. 8.

of the year 60 (C. I. I. vol. II. p. 16) his father is called *Valavadha* (Balavardhana) and his son Mitravadhana (Mitravardhana).

A few words may be said about matronymics. A few. examples of such names have been given above from Vedic Literature. Asv. gr. 574 (I. 5. 1.) says that in selecting a bridegroom or bride "one should first examine the family, as has been already said 'those who on the mother's and father's side'". This refers to the Asy. Srauta sutra where it is required that both parents of the brahmana at the time of camasabhaksana in Dasapeya should be for ten generations perfect in their learning, austerities, and meritorious works and who can be traced to have throughout been of the brahmana class on both sides &c. Yāj. I. 54 enjoins that one should choose a girl from a great family of śrotriyas, which has been famous for ten generations (for learning and character). Therefore when in certain cases a person is named after his mother or after the gotra of his mother's father, all that is intended to be conveyed is that he is descended from worthy male and female ancestors. There is no question in such cases of matriarchy. In the Nasik Inscription No. 2 (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 60) siri Pulumāyi is described as Vāsithīputa and in E. I. vol. VIII. p. 88 the Ābhīra king Isvarasena is described as Mādharīputra, 575 In a Scythian Inscription (E. I. vol. X at page 108) we have mention of 'the son of Bhargavi'. In all these cases the mother's gotra name is specially emphasized probably to convey that the mothers were of the bluest blood. Comparatively late writers mention the gotra in which their mother was born (e.g. Bhavabhūti who flourished about 700-750 A. D. says that he was a Kasyapa while his mother was a Jātūkarnī). From a Kārikā in the Mahābhāsya we learn that the great grammarian Pāpini was the son of a Daksi. Pānini himself 576 (IV. 1.147) delivers a

^{574.} कुलमग्रे परिक्षेत ये मानृतः पिनृतश्चेति यथोक्तं पुरस्तात्। आश्व. यृ. 1. 5. 1. The आश्व. थ्री. सू. IX. 3. 20 has 'ये मानृतः पिनृतश्च दृशपूरुषं समद्धिता विद्यात-पान्यां पुण्येश्व कर्मभियेषासुभयतो वा बाह्मण्यं निनयेयुः पिनृतश्चेकं . The printed text reads निवासुण्यं which practically conveys the same sense.

^{575.} Vide E. I. vol. XX. p. 6. for other examples of Madhariputa and Vasithiputa.

^{576.} सर्वे सर्वपदादेशों दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिने:। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 75 on पाणिनि (I. 1. 20). पाणिनि was also called ज्ञालातुरीय (from his place ज्ञालातुर)- Vide भामह's काव्यालंकार VI. 62 and Nogawa plate of ध्रुवसेन II (E. I. vol. VIII at p. 192, dated Gupta era 320 i. e. 649-50 Ad). Pāņini (IV. 3. 94) derives the word ज्ञालातुरीय.

special rule about the formation of a name for a man from the gotra name of his mother to convey contempt (e. g. Gārgaḥ or Gārgikaḥ, a rogue, from his mother's name Gārgi). Sāṅkhā-yana gṛḥya (I. 25. 2-9, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 52) prescribes that the father and mother (having bathed themselves and the child) should put on new clothes, that the father should cook a mess of food in the sūtikāgni, that he is to offer oblations to the tithi of the boy's birth and to three constellations with their presiding deities, that he is to place in the middle the oblation to the nakṣatra of birth and he should make two other oblations to fire with two mantras and then the 10th oblation is made to Soma with Rg. I. 91. 7. The father pronounces aloud the child's name and causes the brāhmaṇas to say auspicious words.

The Āśv. gr. does not describe Nāmakaraṇa. Many of the other grhyasūtras prescribe that the sūtikāgni is to be removed and the homa for nāmakaraṇa is to be performed in the Aupāsana (grhya) fire. The Bhāradvāja gr. ⁵⁷⁸ prescribes the repetition of the Jayā, Abhyātāna and Rāṣtrabhṛt mantras and the offering of eight oblations of ghṛta with the eight mantras 'may Dhātr bestow on us wealth' (Āp. M. P. II. 11. 1ff). The Hir. gr. (II. 4. 6-14, S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 214-215) contains similar rules. It prescribes twelve oblations with the mantras 'may Dhātr bestow on us wealth' and gives two names (a secret naṣkatra name and an ordinary name) to the boy. The twelve oblations are as follows: four to Dhātr, four to Anumati, two to Rākā, two to Sinīvālī. According to some a thirteenth oblation to Kuhū was to be offered.

The later works state many details which it is unnecessary to set out. The mother with her child on her lap sits to the right of the father. Some late writers prescribe that the father is to give a secret name to the boy and should spread husked

577. The महाभाष्य gives several Vartikas on Panini IV. 1. 147 and the Kasika remarks 'पितुरसंविज्ञाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोऽपत्यस्य कुत्सा , and गार्गः would mean गार्ग्याः पुत्रः (whose father was unknown).

578. e. g. भारद्वाज गृ. I. 26 ' एशस्यां स्नातों मातापुत्रो शुच्यमारं कुर्वन्सुपानिर्दरन्त्योपासनं स्तिकाशिमतिहरन्ति । अन्तरागारेऽशिसपममाधाय जयाभ्यातानात् राष्ट्रभृत इति
हृत्वेता आहुतीर्जुहोति धाता द्वातु नो रियमित्यष्टी।. The Jayas are certain mantras
(13 in all) which are Tai. S. III. 4. 4. 1 (vide आप. म. पाठ I. 10. 9
'चित्तं च चित्तिश्च ... स्वाहा'), अभ्यातान्त are 18 viz. 'अग्निर्भृतानामधिपतिः स
मावस्वस्मिन्' in ते. सं. III. 4. 5. 1; the Rastrabhrts are 22 (अत्ताषाद्कतधामा)
in ते. सं III. 4. 7. 1. Other sutras specify other mantras from their
respective sakhās.

grains of rice in a vessel of bronze, write thereon with a golden pen the words 'salutations to Śrī Gaṇapati' and then write four names of the boy, viz. kuladevatā nāma (such as Yogeśvaribhakta), then māsanāma (vide note 566 above), a vyāvahārikanāma, a nakṣatranāma. 579

Some sūtra works add a detail immediately after Nāmakarapa. For example, Asv. gr. (I. 15. 11) says 'when a father returns from a journey he holds in his hands his son's head. mutters the verse 'angad angad &c.' and thrice smells (kisses) his son on the head. Ap. gr. 15. 12 580 prescribes that on returning from a journey the father should address his son (abhimantrana) with the verse 'angad.' should smell the child on the head with the verse 'be thou an axe' and should mutter in his right ear five mantras. These rules have a very ancient origin. Kausītaki Br. Up. II. 11 says that on returning from a journey the father touches the head of a son with the verse 'angād-angād &c.' and takes the name of the boy and also repeats the verse 'aśmā bhava ' &c. In the case of the girl there is smelling of the head nor muttering in the ear, but only address (with a prose formula). This no doubt indicates that greater value was attached to a son than to a daughter, but it also shows that the daughter was not altogether neglected.

Karnavedha:—(piercing the lobes of the ears of the child). In modern times this is generally done on the 12th day after birth. In the Baud. gr. śeṣa-sūtra (I. 12) karnavedha is prescribed in the 7th or 8th month, while Brhaspati quoted in Samskāraprakāśa (p. 258) says that it may be performed on the 10th, 12th or 16th 581 day from birth or in the 7th or 10th month from birth. The Sm. C. has a brief note on karnavedha. The grhyapariśiṣṭa says that the father sits facing the east in the first half of the day and first addresses the right ear of the boy with the mantra Oh gods, may we hear bliss with our ears (Rg. I. 89. 8) and then also the left ear. If the boy cries honey is to be

⁵⁷⁹. The संकल्प in नामकरण is 'ममास्य कुमारस्य बीजगर्भसमुद्भवैनोनिवर्हणा- युर्वचौभिवृद्धिय्यवहारिसिद्धिद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरपीत्यर्थ नामकरणाख्यं कर्म करिष्ये 'संस्कार- रत्नमाला $p\cdot 861$.

^{580.} For अङ्गादङ्गात्संभविस and for अश्मा भव vide note 537 above. In आप. म. पा. (II. 14. 3) the reading is वेदों वै पुत्रनामासि. The formula for a daughter is सर्वस्मादःस्मनः संभूतासि सा जीव शरदः शतम् (आप. म. पा. II. 14. 10).

^{581.} The संस्काररत्नमाला (p. 873) quotes from मद्दनरत्न the verse 'प्रथमे सप्तमे वापि अष्टमे द्वामेथ वा। द्वाद्दे वा प्रकुर्वीत कर्णवेधं ग्रुभावहम्॥.' Vide संस्कारकोस्तम p. 379 for कर्णवेध.

given to him; after the rite brāhmanas are to be fed. In modern times, generally a goldsmith is called who pierces the lower lobes of the ears with a pointed golden wire and turns it into a ring round the lobes. In the case of girls the left ear is pierced first. That ears of boys were pierced even in ancient times is suggested by a mantra quoted in the Nirukta. He (the teacher) who pierces the ear with truth, without causing pain and yet bestowing ambrosia, should be regarded as one's father and mother'.

Niskramana:—(Taking the child out of the house in the open). This is a minor rite. Par. gr. I. 17 gives the briefest description. Vide also Gobhila II.8. 1-7 (S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 56-57), Khādira II. 3. 1-5 (S. B. E. vol. 29.p. 396), Baud. gr. II.2, Mānava gr. I. 19. 1-6. Kāthaka gr. 37-38.583 This was done according to most authorities in the 4th month after birth. Apararka (p. 28) quotes a purana that the going out of the house may be done on the 12th day or in the 4th month. According to Par. gr. the father makes the child 584 look at the sun pronouncing the verse 'that eye' (Vāj, S. 36. 24). The Mānavagrhya prescribes that the father cooks a mess of food in milk and offers oblations thereof to the sun with the verses 'the brilliant sun has risen in the east' (Mait. S. 4.14.4), 'he is the hainsa sitting in pure worlds' (Rg. IV. 40, 5 = Mait. S. II. 6, 12 = Tai. S. I. 8, 15, 2), 'whenever him' (Rg. X. 88.11) and then he worships the sun with the verse 'that Jatavedas' (Rg. I. 50. 1, it occurs in all Samhitas) and then he should present the child turning its face towards the sun with the verse 'salutation to thee. Oh divine (sun) who hast hundreds of rays and who dispellest darkness. remove the misfortune of my lot and endow me with blessings'; then brahmanas are to be fed and the fee is to be a bull.

^{582.} निरुक्त II. 4 य आतृणस्यवितथेन कर्णावदुःखं कुण्वसमृतं संप्रयच्छन्। तं सम्येत पितरं मातरं च तस्मे न दुद्धोरकतमञ्चनाह ॥. This verse also occurs in Vas. II. 10 and Vişnu Dh. S. 30. 47; vide भानितपर्व 108. 22-23 where there is a very similar verse (यक्षावृणोत्यवितथेन) and मन्तु II. 144.

^{583.} These two chapters of the काठकगृद्ध seem to be later additions. The com. ब्राह्मणबल remarks 'निब्कमणान्नप्राशनविधिमाचार्यो नाह । श्रोतियासतु पारंपर्येण पठन्ति । तृतीये मासि कर्तव्यं शिशोः सूर्यस्य दर्शनं । चतुर्थे मासि कर्तव्यं तथा चन्द्रस्य दर्शनम् ।?.

^{584.} चतुर्थे मासि निष्क्रमणिका सूर्यमुद्दीक्षयित तच्चश्चरिति। पारस्कर I. 17. The verse is तच्चश्चदेवहितं पुरस्ताच्छुकमुच्चरत्। पश्येम शरदः शतं जीवेम शरदः शतं शृणुयाम शरदः शतं प्रवाम शरदः शत

gr. (II. 2) prescribes a homa with eight oblations. Gobhila speaks of candradarsana. It says that on the 3rd tithi of the third bright fortnight after birth, the father bathes the child in the morning, worships in the evening the moon with folded hands, then the mother, having dressed the child, hands it with its face to the north from the south to north to the father and herself passes behind the back of the father and stands to the north of him, who worships with the three verses 585 'Oh thou whose hair is well parted, thy heart' (Mantrabrahmana I. 5. 10-12), then the father hands back the son to the mother with the words 'that this son may not come to harm and be torn from his mother'. Then in the following bright fortnights, the father filling his joined hands with water and turning his face towards the moon, lets the water flow out of his joined hands once with the Yajus 'what is the moon' (Mantrabrāhmana I. 5.13) and twice silently. The Khadiragrhya has practically the same rules, except that it does not speak of two times. will be noted that both omit the sight of the sun, but only mention the seeing of the moon, Laghu-Aśvalāyana VII. 1-3 speaks of the performance of ābhyudayika śrāddha, then reciting the sukta from 'svasti no mimitam' (Rg. V. 51. 11) and 'āśu śiśānah' (Rg. X. 103. 1), showing the boy to the sun in the courtyard of one's father-in-law or in that of another and then repeating the verse 'that eye' (Vāj. S. 36. 24). The Sm. C. remarks that those in whose sakha this rite is not mentioned need not perform it. The Samskāraprakāśa pp. 250-256 and Samskāraratnamālā pp. 886-888 give an extensive description and make of this samskara a matter of great pomp, festivity and rejoicing. Yama 586 quoted in Sam, Pr. says that seeing the sun and seeing the moon should be done respectively in the 3rd and 4th months from birth.

Annaprāśana:—(making the child eat cooked food for the first time). Vide Āśv. gr. I. 16. 1-6 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 183), Śāń. gr. I. 27 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 54), Āp. gr. 16. 1-2 (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 283), Pār. gr. I. 19 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 299-300), Hir. gr. II. 5. 1-3 (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 216), Kāṭhaka gr. 39. 1-2, Bhār. gr. I. 27, Māṇava gr. I. 20, 1-6, Vaik. III. 22. The Gobhila and Khādira gr. omit this saṃskāra. Most smṛtis prescribe the 6th

^{585.} The verse यत्ते सुमीमे हृदयं occurs in आए. म. पा. II. 13. 4.

^{586.} यमः । ततस्तृतीये कर्तव्यं मासि सूर्यस्य दर्शनम् । चतुर्थे मासि कर्तव्यं शिशो-श्वन्द्रस्य दर्शनम् ॥ संस्कारप्रकाश p. 250.

month from birth as the time for this samskara; but Manava gr. says it may be the 5th or 6th; while Sankha quoted by Apararka says it should be performed at the end of a year or at the end of six months, according to some 587. The Kāthaka gr. enjoins the sixth month from birth or the time when the child first strikes teeth. The procedure is very brief in all except Śān. and Pār. Śān. says that the father should prepare food of goat's flesh, or flesh of partridge, or of fish or boiled rice, if he is desirous of nourishment, holy lustre, swiftness or splendour respectively and mix one of them with curds, honey and ghee and should give it to the child to eat with the reciting of the Mahāvyāhrtis (bhüh, bhuvah, svah). Then the father is to offer oblations to fire with four verses 'Annapate', 588 Rg. IV. 12. 4-5 and 'him, Oh Agni, lead to long life and splendour &c'. The father recites over the child the verse Rg. IX, 66. 19 and then sets down the child on northward pointed kuśa grass with Rg. I. 22, 15. The mother is to eat the remnant of the food thus prepared. Asv. has almost the same rules as to food (omitting fish) but prescribes only one verse 'Annapate'. $\bar{A}p$. gr. 589 prescribes feeding of brahmanas, making them give benedictions to the child and then making the child eat only once amess of curds, honey, ghee and boiled rice mixed together, with the recitation of a mantra joined to the three vyāhrtis singly and collectively and says that according to some the flesh of partridge may also be added. Bhar, says that the method of making a child eat is the same as in Medhājanana and is silent about the food. Par. gr. (I. 19) prescribes the cooking of sthālipāka and offering the two ājyabhāgas and then two offerings of ghee with the mantras 'the gods generated 590 the goddess of speech &c' (Rg. VIII. 100. 11) and the verse 'may vigour to-day produce for us gifts &c' (Vāj. S. 18. 33). Mānava, Kāthaka and Vaik, are entirely silent about flesh. Kāthaka

^{587.} संवत्सरेऽश्वपाशनमर्धसंवत्सर इत्येके । शङ्ख. q. by अपरार्क p. 28.

^{588.} असपतेऽसस्य नो देह्यनमीवस्य शुव्मिणः। प्र प्रदातारं तारिष ऊर्ज नो धेहि हिपदे चतुष्पदे॥ तै. सं. IV. 2. 3. 1.

^{589.} भूरपां त्वौषधीनां रसं प्राज्ञयामि । ज्ञिवास्त आप ओषधयः सन्त्वनमीवास्त आप ओषधयः सन्त्वसौ ॥ भुवोऽपां त्वौ॰ । सुवरपां त्वौ॰ । भूर्भुवः सुवरपां॰ । आप. म. पा. II. 14. 11-14. After असौ the child's name in the vocative is to be uttered.

^{590.} देवीं वाचमंजनयन्त देवास्तां विश्वरूपाः पश्चवो वद्गित । सा नो मन्द्रेषमूर्ज दुशाना धेखर्याग्स्मालपसुष्ट्तीत ॥ ऋ. VIII. 100. 11.

prescribes the cooking of all havisya food ⁵⁹¹ and the other two works prescribe food cooked in milk.

It will be seen from the above that the principal part of the samskāra is making the child taste food. Some writers add homa, feeding of brāhmaṇas, and benedictions. The Samskāra-prakāśa (pp. 267-279) and Samskāraratnamālā (pp. 891-895) have very detailed notes on this samskāra. One interesting matter quoted by Aparārka (p. 28) from Mārkaṇḍeya is that on the day of this ceremony, in front of the gods worshipped in the house, tools and utensils required in various arts and crafts, weapons and śāstras should be spread about and the child should be allowed to crawl among them and what the child seizes at first should be noted and it should be deemed that he is destined to follow that profession for his livelihood which is represented by the thing first touched by him.

Varşavardhana or abdapūrti:-In some of the sūtras provision is made for some ceremonics every month on the day of the birth of the child for one year and on every anniversary of the day of birth throughout life. For example, Gobhila gr. (II. 8, 19-20) says 'every month of the boy's birth for one year or on the parva days of the year he should sacrifice to Agni and Indra, to Heaven and Earth and to the Visve devas. Having sacrificed to these deities he should sacrifice to the tithi and naksatra'. 592 The Śān. gr. (I. 25. 10-11 S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 52) similarly says 'having sacrificed in the same way every month on the tithi of the child's birth, he sacrifices when one year has expired in the (ordinary) domestic fire'. Baud. gr. III. 7593 prescribes an offering of cooked rice for life (ayusyacaru) 'every year, every six months, every four months, every season or every month on the naksatra of birth'. Kāthaka (36, 12 and 14) prescribes a homa every month after nāmakarana for a year in the same way as in nāmakarana or jatakarma and at the end of the year an offering of the

^{591.} क्रुत्यरत्नाकर p. 400 quotes a verse 'हविष्येषु यवा मुख्यास्तद्तु ब्रीह्यो मताः। माषकोद्रवगौरादीन सर्वाभावे विवर्जयेत्॥ १ and quotes समयप्रदीप 'प्रथमं यवा-स्तद्लाभे ब्रीह्यस्तद्लाभ माषकोद्रवचणकसर्षपमसुरचीनकपित्थवर्जमन्यद्गि अक्षम् १.

^{592.} क्रुमारस्य मासि मासि संवत्सरे सांवत्सरिकेषु वा पर्वसु अझीन्झे द्याचापृथिन्यो विश्वान्देवांश्च यजेत। देवतिमष्ट्रा तिथि नक्षत्रं च यजेत। गोभिलगृह्य II. 8. 19-20. Tho सांवरसरिकपर्वंs are the amavasyas of आषाढ, कार्तिक and कालगुन

^{593.} आहुतातुकृतिरायुष्यचरः । संवत्सरे षद्गसु षद्गु मासेषु चतुर्षु ऋतावृतौ मासि मासि वा कुमारस्य जनमनक्षत्रे क्रियेत । बौ. गृ. III. 7. 1-2.

flesh of a goat and sheep to Agni and Dhanvantari and feeding the brahmanas with food mixed with plenty of ghee. Vaik. III. 20-21 speaks at great length of the ceremony called 'Varsavardhana' (increase of the years of a person) to be performed on the anniversary of the birth-day every year and lays down that in this rite the deity of the naksatra on which a child is born is the principal one, that oblations of ghee are to be offered to that deity and naksatra and then to the other presiding deities of the naksatras and to the naksatras themselves, then an oblation with the vyāhrti (bhūh svāhā), then offerings to Dhātā. It describes in detail how different ceremonies are to be performed up to Upanayana, then up to finishing of Veda study, how ceremonies are to be performed on the anniversary day of one's marriage, on the naksatra on which a person performed solemn sacrifices like Agnistoms and that if he thus lives till 80 years and 8 months he becomes one who has seen a thousand (full) moons and is called 'brahmasarira', in celebration of which several ceremonies are prescribed (which for want of space are not set out here). connection with the anniversary of the marriage day, 594 Vaik. specially prescribes that whatever ceremonies women direct as done traditionally should be performed. Apararka (p. 29) quotes verses of Markandeva to the effect that all should every year on the day of birth celebrate a festival (mahotsava) in which one should honour and worship one's elders, Agui, gods, Prajāpati, the pitrs, one's naksatra of birth and brāhmanas. The Krtvaratnākara (p. 540), the Nityācārapaddhati (pp. 621-624) quote the same verses (as Aparārka does) and add that on that day one should worship Markandeya (who is believed to be immortal) and the seven other cirajivins. 595 Nityācārapaddhati (p. 621) quotes a verse that in the case of kings the anniversary of the day on which they were crowned should be celebrated. The Nirnayasindhu, the Samskāraprakāśa (which in pp. 281-294 gives the most elaborate treatment) call

^{594.} यद्क्षि विवाहो भवति मासिके वार्षिके चाह्नि तस्मिन् यत्स्त्रिय आहुः पारंपर्यागतं शिष्टाचारं तत्तत्करोति । वैखानस III. 21. आए. ध. सू. II. 1. 7 also speaks of the anniversary of the day of marriage 'यञ्जनयोः प्रियं स्यात्तवेतस्मिन्नहनि सुन्नीयाताम्'.

^{595.} The नित्याचारपद्धति has these verses 'अश्वत्थामा विलर्थासो हनूमांश्व विभीषणः । क्वपः परशुरामश्व सप्तैते चिरजीविनः । सप्तैतान्यः स्मरेक्तित्यं मार्कण्डेयमथाष्टमम् । जीवेद्वर्षशतं साग्रं सर्वव्याधिविवजितः ॥'. The निर्यणसिन्धु quotes some verses from the क्वत्यचिन्तामणि about मार्कण्डेय.

this festival 'abdapūrti'. The Samskāraratanamālā contains a very extensive discourse on this rite (pp. 877-886) and calls this festival 'āyurvardhāpana'. The Nirnayasindhu and the Samskāraratnamālā set out the verses that are addressed to Mārkandeya and others. In modern times women do celebrate every month the birthday of a child and the first anniversary of birth. They make the child cling to the principal house-post or to the post used for churning out butter from the pail of curds and water.

Caula or Cūdākarma or Cūdākaraņa:—(the first cutting of the hair on the child'd head). This samskāra is mentioned by every writer. 'Cūdā' means the 'lock or tust of hair' kept on the head when the remaining part is shaved (i. e. the sikhā); so cūdākarma or cūdākaraṇa means that rite in which a lock of hair is kept (for the first time after birth). We get 'cauda' from 'cūdā' meaning 'a rite the purpose of which is keeping a lock of hair' and 'da' and 'la' often interchange places. So we get 'cauda' or 'caula' also as the name of the ceremony.

According to many ⁵⁹⁷ writers caula was performed in the third year from birth. Baud. gr. (II. 4), Pār. gr. (II. 1), Manu II. 35, Vaik. III. 23 say that it may be performed in the 1st or 3rd year; Āśv. gr. and Vārāha gr. say it may be performed in the 3rd year or in the year in which it is the custom of the family to perform it. Pār. also refers to family usage. Yāj. specifies no year, but mentions only family usage. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 29) allowed it in the first, 2nd or 3rd year, while Śańkha-Likhita allowed it in the 3rd or 5th (Aparārka p. 29), Ṣaḍ-guru-śiṣya quoted in the Sańskāraprakāśa (p. 296) and Nārāyaṇa (on Āśv. gr. I. 17.1) say that some performed it at the time of upanayana.

^{596.} स च चूडाकरणशब्दः कर्मनामधेयम् । योगिकस्यायेनो।द्विदादिशब्दवत्। योगश्च, चूडायाः करणं चूडार्धे करणं चूडा क्रियते यस्मिन्कर्मणीति वा त्रिधेव संभवति। संस्कारमंकाश p. 295. The महाभाष्य (vol. II. p. 362 on qr. V. 1. 97) explains it as 'चूडा प्रयोजनमस्य चौडम् ' and we know from works on poetics that 'यमकश्लेषचित्रेषु बवयोर्डलयोर्न भित् (there is no distinction between 'ba' and 'va' or da and la in Yamaka, paronomasia and citrakavya).

^{597.} Vide Āsv. gr. I. 17. 1-18 (S. B. E. 29 pp. 184-186), Āp. gr. 16. 3-11 (S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 283-84), Gobbila II. 9. 1-29 (S. B. E. 30 pp. 60-63), Hir. gr. II. 5. 1-15 (S. B. E. 30 pp. 216-218), Kāthaka gr. 40, Khādira II. 3.16-33 (S. B. E. 29 pp. 597-599), Pār. 1 II. (S. B. E. 29 pp. 301-303), Śān. (I. 28. S. B. E. 29. pp. 55-57), Baud. gr. II. 4, Mānava gr. I. 21. 1-12, Vaik. III. 23 for a treatment of this topic.

Whether such a ceremony was performed in the Vedic ages cannot be ascertained with certainty. Bhār. gr. I. 28 expressly⁵⁹⁸ refers to the Vedic verse (Rg IV. 75. 17 or Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 5) as indicative of the practice of Caula in Vedic times 'where arrows fall together like boys having many tufts of hair'. Manu II. 35 also has in view this Vedic verse.

The principal act in this ceremony is the cutting of the hair of the child. The other subsidiary matters are the performance of homa, feeding of brāhmaṇas, receiving of their benedictions and giving of dakṣiṇā, the disposal of cut hair in such a way that no one can find them.

The ceremony is to be performed on an auspicious day as set out in note 494 above. Āp. gr. 16. 3 says it should be performed when the moon is in conjunction with Punarvasu nakṣatra, while Mānava gr. says that it should not be done on the 9th tithi of a month. Later works like the Samskāraprakāśa (pp. 299-315) give very intricate rules about the auspicious times, which rules are passed over here. The most exhaustive treatment of this ceremony in the sūtra works is to be found in Āśv., Gobhila, Vārāha 4 and Pār. II. 1.

The materials required in this ceremony are stated as follows:—(1) To the north of the fire are placed four vessels each of which is separately filled with rice, barley, masa beans and sesame respectively (Asv. gr. I. 17. 2), but Gobbila (II. 9. 6-7) says that they are to be placed to the east and Gobbila and San, say that these are to be given to the barber at the end of the rite; (2) to the west of the fire the mother with the boy on her lap is to be seated and two vessels one filled with the dung of a bull and the other with sami leaves are to be also placed to the west (Gobhila II. 9. 5 and Khādira II. 3. 18 place the dung to the north of the fire and Khādira says that she sits to the north); (3) to the right of the mother the father sits holding 21 bunches⁵⁹⁹ of kuśa grass or the brahmā priest (if there be any) may hold them; (4) warm and cold water or only warm water; (5) an ordinary razor or one made of Udumbara wood (according to Khādira II. 3. 17 and Gobhila II. 9. 4); (6) a

^{598.} अधास्य स्रोवत्सरिकस्य चौटं कुर्वनित यथर्षि यथोपज्ञं वा । विज्ञायते च । यत्र घाणाः संपतनित कुमारा विशिखा इव । इति बहुजिखा इवेति । भारद्वाज गृ. 1. 28.

^{599. 21} bunches are required because he cuts off the hair four times on the right side and three times on the left side and each time three kusa bunches are required.

mirror (Gobhila and Khādira). According to Gobhila and Khādira the barber, hot water, mirror, razor and bunches of kuśa grass are to the south of the fire and bull's dung and a mess of rice mixed with sesame are to the north of the fire. Āśv., Pār., Kāthaka and Mānava say that the razor is to be of loha (which the commentator Nārāyaṇa explains as copper).

After homa is performed, the principal matter (of cutting the hair) is to be begun. According to Gobhila and Khādira the father having contemplated upon Savitr, looks at the barber with the mantra 'here comes Savitr' (Mantra-br. I. 6.1) and contemplating on Vāyu looks at the warm water with the mantra 'with warm water, Oh Väyu, come hither' (Mantra-Br. I. 6. 2). The father then mixes the hot and cold water and may put, in a part of the water, butter or drops of curds and apply the water to moisten three times the boy's head with the mantra 'may Aditi cut thy hair; may the waters moisten (thy hair) for vigour'. Then⁶⁰⁰ on the right portion of the boy's hair the father puts three kusa bunches with the points towards the boy with the formula 'herb, protect him' (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1). With the words 'Axe, do not harm him' (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1) he presses a copper razor (on the kusa blades). The hair is cut with the manira 'with that razor with which Savitr, the wise, cut (the hair) of king Soma and of Varuna, cut now his (the boy's hair). Oh brāhmanas, so that he may be endowed with long life and (reach) old age '. Each time the hair is cut, he gives 601 the cut hair with their ends turned towards the east together with sam! leaves to the mother, who puts them down on the bull dung. Cutting is done a second time with the mautra 'with what Dhātā shaved (the head) of Brhaspati. Agni and Indra for the

^{600.} The several sutras generally cite different mantras at the time of the performance of the several acts. It is not possible for want of space to set out all these different verses. Only the mantras used in the Asv. gr. are cited in order to convey some idea of the rite as it was practised in ancient times.

^{601.} It appears that originally the father himself performed the cutting of the hair. Some of the gihya sutras like those of Baud. and San nowhere mention the barber in this ceremony. Hence it appears that later on the father performed only the home and repeated the mantras, while a barber was employed to shave the boy's head. 'तेन यश्चुडानां कास्यिता पित्रादि: स एव वपनकर्तेति सिद्धं भवति । इदानीं त ताहुशाशिक्षाया अभावाह्योकविद्विष्टरवाञ्च समन्त्रकं चेष्टामात्रं कृत्वा नापितेनैव वपनं कारयन्ति शिष्टाः ॥' संस्काररन्तमाळा p. 901.

sake of their long life, with that I shave thy (head) for the sake of long life, fame and happiness'. The cutting is done a third time with the mantra 'with what he may after night (is past) see the sun again and again, with that I shave thy (head) for the sake of long life, fame and happiness'. The cutting is done for the fourth time with all the three mantras together. Then the hair is cut three times on the left side similarly. The edge of the razor is then wiped off with the mantra 'when thou shavest as a shaver the hair (of the boy) with the razor that wounds and is well-shaped purify his head, but do not deprive him of life'. Then he gives orders to the barber 'doing with lukewarm water what has to be done with water, arrange his bair (well) without causing him (the boy) any wound'. Let him have the hair of the boy arranged according to the custom of the family. The rite only (without the mantras) is performed for a girl. 60B

According to several sūtras, the cut hair placed in the dung of a bull is buried in a cow stable 603 or is thrown in a pond or in the vicinity of water (Pār., Bhār.) or is buried at the root of the Udumbara tree (Bhār.) or in a bunch of darbha grass (Baud. Bhār., Gobhila) or in the forest (Gobhila). The Mānava gr. prescribes that as the hair fall down when cut they are gathered by some friendly person. The Kāṭhaka gr. and Mānava gr. say that the barber gets a sesame cake and a fine piece of cloth, while Vaik. says food is given to him. A bath for the boy is expressly prescribed by Baud. and some others.

There is a great divergence of views about the number of locks of hair to be left on the head and the portion of the head where they are to be left. Baud. gr. says that one or three or five locks 604 may be left on the head or according to family usage and he further says that some sages say that the locks should

^{602.} All the mantras in Asv. gr. occur also in Manava gr., some occur in Baud., Bhar., Par., and others. The mantras in Asv. viz उच्णेन वाय, येनावपत्, येन धाता, येन भूयक्ष, यत्क्षुरेण मर्चयता are आए. म. पा. II. 1. 1, 3-5 and 7 with slight variations. The verse यत्थुरेण मर्चयता is almost the same as अथर्ववेद VIII. 2. 17. and Asv. appears to have adapted it purposely to make it suit the caula.

^{603.} अधैनं गोमयपिण्ड गोष्ठ उद्कान्त उदुम्बरमूले दर्भस्तम्बे वा निद्धाति। भारद्वाज गृ. I. 28; अनुग्रुप्तमेतं सकेशं गोमयपिण्डं निधाय गोष्ठे पल्बले उद्कान्ते वा॥ पार. गृ. II. 1.

^{604.} अधैनमेकशिखिस्रिशिखः पञ्चशिखो वा यधैवैषां कुलधर्मः स्यात्। यथर्पि शिखाः निद्धातीस्येके। बी. गृ. II. 4.

be as many as the pravaras invoked by the father. 605 Āśv. gr., and Par. gr. sav that locks may be kept according to family usage. Ap. gr, says that the locks may in number follow the pravara or they may be kept according to family usage. Gobhila and Khādira say that the locks should be arranged according to gotra and family usage. Whether they mean by 'gotra' the number of pravaras of the gotra or some rule such as the Kāthaka gives is not clear. The Kāthaka gr. says that the Vāsisthas keep a lock on the right, that persons of Atri and Kāśyapa gotra (or pravara) keep locks both on the right and the left, that the Bhrgus shaves the entire head, that the Angiras gotra keeps five locks or only a line of hair, while persons of other gotras (like Agastya, Viśvāmitra &c.) keep a śikhā (without any particular number of locks) simply because it is an auspicious sign or one may follow the usage of one's 606 family. Vaik. 607 says that the locks may be one, two, three, five or seven according to the pravaras. Rgveda 608 VII. 33. 1 refers to the fact that Vasisthas had a lock of hair on the right side of the head and so the rule of the Kāthaka has a very hoary antiquity behind it. Up to modern times one of the characteristic outward signs of all Hindus was the sikhā (the top-knot). A verse of Devala says that whatever religious act a man does without the vainopavita or without sikhā is as good as undone and Hārīta rules that a person who cuts off his sikhā through hate or ignorance or foolishness becomes pure only after

^{605.} The pravaras or rais of the several gotras are generally three but some gotras have one, two or five *pravaras*, but never four. Vide below under marriage for pravara.

^{606.} दक्षिणतः कपुजा वसिष्ठानाम्। उभयतोऽत्रिकाश्यपानाम्। मुण्डा भृगवः। पश्चचूडा अङ्गिरसः। वाजि (राजि?) मेके । मङ्गलार्थ शिखिनोऽन्ये। यथाकुलधर्म वा। काठक
गृह्य 40. 2-8. These sutras are quoted by अपरार्क p. 29 and by the स्मृतिच॰
I. p. 23. The स्मृतिच॰ in explaining the words मङ्गलार्थ says that some keep a sikhu of the form and size of the leaf of the Vata tree. The सं. प्र. p. 316 arranges the sutras differently and remarks मङ्गलार्थः वाजि केशपिक्षं कुर्वन्ति। साच समन्तात् ललाटकर्णमूलस्पिशिनी मालेव भवति। मृतिडेषु केचन पश्चाच्युडाः केचन पुरश्चाद्याः।

^{607.} ऋषिक्रमेण । स्वस्यैकार्ष-द्वचार्षत्र्यार्षपञ्चार्षसप्तार्षाच्च्छा विभजेत् । वैद्यानस III. 23.

^{608.} श्वित्यश्चो मा दक्षिणतस्कपर्दा धियंजिन्तासो अभि हि प्र मन्दुः। उत्तिष्ठन् वोचे परि वर्हिषो नृक्त मे दूराद्वितवे वसिष्ठाः॥ ऋ. VII. 33, 1.

performing the taptakrcchra penance. 609 In the Mudrārākṣasa (I.8) there is a reference to the sikhā of Cānakya having been kept untied when he was angered by the Nandas. Sabara (on Jaimini I. 3. 2) remarks that the sikhā (its position and locks) is a sign to indicate the gotra and quotes Rg. VI. 75, 17 (yatra bānāh &c. cited above in note 598). Vasistha (II. 21) prescribes that members of all varnas (including the śūdra) should arrange their hair according to the fixed usage (of their family) or should shave the whole head except the sikhā. A Vedic passage⁶¹⁰ is 'the head that has no sikhā on it is unholy'. For rules about the sikhā of students vide later on under upanavana. During recent times men, particularly those receiving English education in towns and cities, are forsaking the ancient practice of keeping a sikhā and follow the western method of allowing the hair to grow on the whole head.

In modern times the rite of cūdākarana generally takes place if at all on the day of Upanayana.

Aśv. gr. (I. 17. 18) expressly says that the ceremony of cūdākaraṇa was to be performed for girls also, but no Vedic mantras were to be repeated. Manu (II. 66) says that all the ceremonies from jātakarma to caula must be performed at the proper times for girls also in order to purify their bodies but without mantras and Yāj. (I. 13) is to the same effect. Even such late writers as Mitramiśra say that the caula of girls may be performed according to the usage of the family and that their hair may be entirely shaved or a śikhā may be kept or there should be no shaving at all. 611

In some castes even in modern times girls when mere children are shaved once, it being supposed that the first hair are impure.

Vidyārambha:—The grhya sūtras and dharmasūtras are entirely silent as to what was done for the child's education

^{609.} सदोपवीतिना भाग्यं सदा बद्धाशिखेन च। विशिखो य्युपवीतश्च यत्करोति न तत्कु-तम् ॥ देवल; 'शिखां छिन्दन्ति ये मोहार् द्वेषाद्ज्ञानतोपि वा । तमकुन्छ्रंण ग्रुध्यन्ति वर्षा वर्णा द्विजातयः ॥ हारीत, both quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 316. लघुहारीत verses 18-19 (Anand. Ed.) are very similar to the 2nd verse. The first is गोभिलस्पृति I. 4 and is quoted as भृगु's in स्मृतिच. I. p. 32.

^{610.} अमेध्यं वा एतन्छिरो यद्शिखम्। quoted by the commentators on काठकगृह्य 40.7.

^{611.} कुमारी चौलेऽपि यथाकुलधर्मामित्यस्रवर्तते । ततश्च सर्वसण्डनं शिखाधारणं असु-ण्डनमेव वेति सिध्यति । संस्कारमकाश p. 317; एतच स्त्रीणामपि । 'स्त्रीश्च्यो त शिखां छित्त्वा क्रोधाद् वैराग्यतोऽपि वा । प्राजापत्यं प्रकुर्वीताम्' इति प्रायश्चित्तविधिवलात् । एतत्परिग्रहपक्षे । अत्र देशभेदाद् व्यवस्था द्रष्टव्या । स्त्रीणां केशधारणमेव शिखाधारणम् । एतच्चामन्त्रकमेव स्त्रीणां कार्यम् । ...होमोपि न । संस्काररत्नमाला p. 904.

between the third year when usually caula was performed and the 8th year (from conception) when the upanayana usually took place (in the case of brahmanas). They state that rarely upanayana was performed even in the 5th year (as will be shown hereafter). Some faint light is thrown on this matter by the Arthasastra of Kautilya, 612 which says that the prince after the performance of caula is to engage in the study of the alphabet and of arithmetic, and after his upanayana he is to study the Vedas, anviksiki (metaphysics), varta (agriculture and the science of wealth) and dandanīti (the art of government) up till the 16th year when the godana ceremony is to be performed and after which year he may marry. also (in Raghuvamsa III. 28) says that prince Aja first mastered the alphabet and then entered into the ocean of (Sanskrit) literature. Bāna has 613 probably the Arthasastra in view when he makes prince Candrapida enter the temple of learning (vidyamandira) at 6 and remain there till he became sixteen and he (like Milton in his letter to Hartlile) tells us how extensive the ideal curriculum of studies in arts and sciences for the prince was thought to be. In the Uttararāmacarita (Act II) it is said that Kuśa and Lava were taught vidyās other than the Veda after their caula and before upanayana.

It appears that at least from the early centuries of the Christian era, a ceremony called Vidyārambha (commencement of learning the alphabet) was celebrated. Aparārka (pp. 30-31) and the Sm. C. (I. p. 26) cite verses from the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa⁶¹⁴

^{612.} वृत्तचौलकर्मा लिपि संख्यानं चोपयुश्चीत। वृत्तोपनयनस्रयीमान्वीक्षिकीं च शिष्टेभ्यो वार्तामध्यक्षेभ्यो दण्डनीतिं वक्तुपवक्तुभ्यः। ब्रह्मचर्यं चाषोडशाद्वर्षात्। अतो गोदानं दारकर्म च। अर्थशास्त्र I. 5.

^{613.} Vide काद्म्बरी para 69 for विद्यामन्दिर and para 71 for the various arts and sciences 'पदे वाक्ये प्रमाणे धर्मशास्त्रे राजनीतिषु व्यायामविद्यासु सर्वे- क्वायुधिविशेषेषु रथचर्यासु गजपृष्ठेषु तुरंगमेषु वाद्येषु भरतादिप्रणीतेषु दृत्यशास्त्रेषु नार्दियपभृतिषु गान्धर्ववद्विशेषेषु ग्रहगणिते ... वास्त्राविद्यास्वायुर्वेदे यन्त्रप्रयोगे ... कथासु नाटकेषु आख्यायिकासु काव्येषु महाभारतपुराणितिहासरामायणेषु सर्वालिपिषु सर्वदेशभाषासु सर्वशिल्पेषु छन्दःसु अन्येष्वपि कलाविशेषेषु परं कौशलमवाप।; vide para 74 about 6 and 16 years.

^{614.} माप्तेथ पञ्चमे वर्षे अप्रस्ति जनार्दने। षष्ठीं प्रतिपदं चेव वर्जयित्वा तथाष्टमीम्॥ रिक्तां पञ्चद्वर्शी चेव सौरभौमदिनं तथा। एवं सुनिश्चिते काले विद्यारम्भं तु कारपेत् ॥ पूज-यित्वा हरिं लक्ष्मीं देवीं चेव सरस्वतीम्। स्विवद्यासूत्रकारांश्च स्वां विद्यां च विशेषतः॥ एतेषामेव देवानां नाम्ना तु जुहुयाद्वृतम्। दक्षिणाभिद्विजन्द्वाणां कर्तव्यं चात्र पूजनम्॥ पाङ्क्सुको गुरुरासीनो वारुणाशासुकं शिश्चम्। अध्यापयेत प्रथमं द्विजाशीर्भः सुपूजितम्॥ ततः प्रभृत्यन-ध्यायान्वर्जनीयान् विवर्जयेत्। अपरार्क pp. 30, 31. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (quoted in सं. प्र. p. 321) says 'आषाढशुक्रद्वाद्श्यां शयनं कुरुते हरिः। निद्दां त्यजति कार्तिक्यां तयोः संपूज्यते हरिः॥ ग.

about vidyārambha as follows: in the fifth year of the child on some day from the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika to the 11th of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, but excluding the 1st, 6th, 8th, 15th tithi or $rikt\bar{a}$ tithis (i. e. 4th, 9th and 14th) and Saturday and Tuesday, the ceremony of beginning to learn should be performed. Having worshipped Hari (Viṣṇu), Lakṣmi, Sarasvati, the sūtra writers of one's $s\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ and the lore peculiar to one's family, one should offer in the fire oblations of clarified butter to the above mentioned deities and should honour brāhmaṇas by the payment of dakṣiṇā. The teacher should sit facing the east and the boy should face the west and the teacher should begin to teach the first lesson to the boy who should receive the benedictions of brāhmaṇas. Thereafter teaching should be stopped on the days of anadhyāya (which will be specified later on).

The Samskāra-prakāśa (pp. 321-325) and Samskāraratnamālā (pp. 904-907) have an extensive note, a considerable part of which is devoted to astrological matters. The Samskāraprakāśa quotes passages from Viśvāmitra, Devala and other sages and works that vidyārambha is performed in the 5th year or in any case before upanayana. It also quotes a verse from Nrsimha that Sarasvati and Ganapati should be worshipped and then the teacher should be honoured. The modern practice is to begin learning the alphabet on an auspicious day, generally the 10th of the bright half of Asvina, Sarasvatī and Ganapati are worshipped, the teacher is honoured and the boy is asked to repeat the words 'om namah siddham' and to write them on a slate and then he is taught the letters ('a', 'ā' &c.) of the alphabet. The Samskāraratnamālā⁶¹⁵ calls this ceremony Aksarasvīkāra (appropriately enough) and among other texts cites a long prose passage from Garga quoted in the Pārijāta and prescribes a homa also with ajyahutis to Sarasvati, Hari, Laksmi, Vighneśa (Ganapati), sūtrakāras and one's vidyā.

^{615.} सरस्वतीपूजनादिपकारमाह पारिजाते गर्गः । स्तात्या शुची समे देशे गोचर्ममात्रसुपिलिप्य सैकतं स्थण्डिलं कृत्वा पलाशशाख्या मृदं खिनत्वा तत्र सरस्वतीमावाहयेत् ।
स्वनमातः सर्ववाद्ध्ययस्ये आगच्छागच्छेति । ततः प्रणवेनासनाध्येपाद्याचमनीयस्नानवस्त्रगन्धस्वणाक्षतधूयद्वीपपायसगुडौद्ननेनेवेद्यसमर्पणनमस्कारान्कृत्वा विद्यशं संपूज्याचार्य शक्तितो
विद्यालंकारादिभिः पूजियत्वा सरस्वतीविद्येशाचार्यक्षिः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य प्रणवपूर्वकमक्षरमारभेत । तत आचार्यादिवन्दनं कृत्वा सरस्वत्यादिनावाहनक्रमेणोद्धासयेदिद्यावृद्धिर्भवित ।
संस्कारस्नमाला p. 906.

CHAPTER VII

UPANAYANA

This word literally means 'leading or taking near'. But the important question is 'near what'? It appears that it originally meant 'taking near the ācārya' (for instruction); it may have also meant 'introducing the novice to the stage of student-hood'. Some of the grhyasūtras bring out this sense clearly e. g. the Hir. gr. I. 5. 2⁶¹⁶ says "The teacher then makes the boy utter 'I have come unto brahmacarya. Lead me near (initiate me into it). Let me be a student, impelled by the god Savitr'". The Mānava and Kāthaka gr. (41.1) also use the word upāyana for upanayana and Ādityadarsana on Kāthaka gr. (41.1) says that upānaya, upanayana, mauñjibandhana, batukarana, vratabandha are synonyms.

A few words about the origin and development of this most important samskāra would not be out of place here. Comparison with the ancient Zoroastrian scriptures (vide S. B. E. vol. V. pp. 285-290 about the sacred girdle and shirt) and the modern practices among the Parsis of India tend to show that Upanayana goes back to an Indo-Iranian origin. But that subject is outside the scope of this work. Confining ourselves to Indian Literature, we find that already in the Rg. X. 109. 5 the word 'brahmacāri' occurs 'oh gods! he (Bṛhaspati), all pervading one, moves as a brahmacāri pervading all (sacrifices); he is only one part of the gods (i. e. of sacrifices); Bṛhaspati secured by that (i. e. by his service to the gods) a wife (me who am named) Juhū, who was (formerly) taken by Soma'. The

^{616.} अधैनमभिश्याहारयति। ब्रह्मचर्यमागामुप मा नयस्व ब्रह्मचारी भवानि देवेन सवित्रा प्रस्तः। हिरण्यः गृ. I. 5. 2 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 150); ब्रह्मचर्यमागामिति बाचयति ब्रह्मचार्यसानीति च।पारः गृ. II 2; vide गोभिलगृह्य II. 10. 21 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 65). The phrases ब्रह्मचर्यमागाम् and ब्रह्मचार्यसानि occur in the शतपथ XI. 5. 4. 1; vide आप. म. पा. II. 3. 26 for ब्रह्मचर्यः प्रस्तः विश्वस्प on या. I. 14 remarks 'वेदाध्ययनायाचार्यसमीपनयनमुपनयनं तदेशेपनायनमित्युक्तं छन्दोन्तरोच्यात्। तद्वर्थं वा कर्म। '. Vide मानृद्तं on हिरण्यकेशिगृ. I. 1. 1.

^{617.} ब्रह्मचारी चरति वेविषद् विष: स देवानां भवत्येकमङ्ग्य । तेन जायामम्बविन्द्र् भृहस्पतिः सोमेन नीतां जुह्नं न देवाः ॥ ऋ. X. 109.5 = अथर्व V. 17. 5. The reference to Soma recalls Rg X. 85. 45 'सोमो द्दृद्रम्थर्वाय.' Every girl was supposed to have been under the protection of Soma, Gandharva and Agni before her marriage with a human bridegroom.

word 'upanayana' 618 can be derived and explained in two ways: (1) taking (the boy) near the ācārya, (2) that rite by which the boy is taken to the ācārya. The first sense appears to have been the original one and when an extensive ritual came to be associated with upanayana the second came to be the sense of the word. Such an ancient work as the Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 19 says that upanayana is a samskāra (purificatory rite) laid down by revelation for him who seeks learning (i. e. it accepts the second explanation) or this sutra may mean 'it is a samskara brought about by imparting the śruti (viz. Gāyatrī mantra) to him who seeks learning'. This would mean that upanayana principally is gāyatryupadeśa (the imparting of the sacred Gāyatri mantra). This appears to be suggested by the Vedic passage quoted above (p. 154 f. n. 356) 'he created the brāhmana with Gāvatrī, the kṣatriya with Tristubh, the vaisya with Jagati', and by Kātyāyana Śrauta 'one should initiate the brāhmana with Gāyatri'. Jaimini⁶¹⁹ also (in VI. 1.35) propounds the view that upanayana is a samskāra and has a seen result viz. thereby the boy is brought near the teacher for learning Veda.

Rg. III. 8. 4 620 is a verse that clearly indicates that some of the characteristics of upanayana described in the grhya sūtras were well known even then. There the sacrificial post (yūpa) is praised as a young person (i. e. in the language of the later classical rhetoricians there is the first kind of the figure Atisayokti) here comes the youth, well dressed and encircled (the boy by his mekhalā and the post by its raśanā); he, when born, attains eminence; wise sages, full of devotion to the gods in their hearts and entertaining happy thoughts, raise him up'. Here in 'un-nayanti' we have the same root that we have in upanayana. This mantra is employed in the upanayana by several grhya sūtras e. g. Āśv. I. 20. 8 (who employs it for

^{618.} तत्रोपनयनशब्दः कर्मनामधेयम् । तत्र यौगिकसुद्धिद्न्यायात् । योगश्च भावच्युत्पत्त्या करणब्युत्पत्त्या वेत्याह भाकितः । स यथा । उप समीपे आचार्यादीनां बटोर्नयनं प्रापणसुपनयनम् । समीपे आचार्यादीनां नीयते बहुर्येन तहुपनयनामिति वा । तत्र च भावच्युत्पत्तिरेव साधीयसीति गम्यते । श्रोतार्थविधिसंभवात् । संस्कारमकाश p. 334.

^{619.} संस्कारस्य तद्र्थत्वात् विद्यायां पुरुषश्चतिः । जैमिनि VI. 1. 35; ' विद्यायामे-वैषा श्चतिः (वसन्ते ब्राह्मणसुपनयीत)। उपनयनस्य संस्कारस्य तद्र्थत्वात् । विद्यार्थसुपाध्या-यस्य समीपमानीयते नादृष्टार्थ नापि कटं कुड्यं वा कर्तुम् । दृष्टार्थमेव सेषा विद्यायां पुरुष-श्चतिः । कथमवगम्यते । आचार्यकरणमेतद्वगम्यते । कथमवगम्यते । अत्मनेपद्वर्शनात् । १ शवर.

^{620.} युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगात्स उ श्रेयान्भवति जायमानः । तं धीरासः कवय उक्तयन्ति स्वाध्यो मनसा देवयन्तः ॥ ऋ. III. 8. 4. आश्व. गू. 1. 19. 8 prescribes that the boy is to be adorned and is to wear now clothes 'अलंकृतं कुमारं...अहतेम वाससा संवीतं । &c. and I. 20. 8 is युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगादित्यर्धचेनेनं प्रदक्षिणमावर्तयेत् ।

making the boy circumambulate) and Pār. II. 2. (prescribes that the mantra is to be recited when tying the girdle round the boy's waist). In the Tai. S. VI.⁶²¹ 3. 10. 5 we have the famous passage referring to the three debts where the words 'brahmacāri' and 'brahmacarya' occur. 'Every brāhmaṇa when born is indebted in three debts viz. in brahmacarya to the sages, in sacrifice to the gods and in offspring to the manes; he indeed becomes free from debts who has a son, who sacrifices and who dwells (with the teacher) as a brahmacāri.'

In the other Vedas and in the Brahmana literature there is ample material to show what the characteristic features of upanayana and brahmacarya were. The whole of Atharvaveda XI. 7 (26 verses) is a hymn containing hyperbolical laudation of the brahmacari (Vedic student) and brahmacarya. very first verse 622 may be cited as a sample 'The brahmacari incessantly covering (the world by his glory) roams in the two worlds; the gods have the same thoughts (of grace and favour) about him; he fills his teacher by his austerities. Verse 3 says 'the teacher leading (the boy) near him makes the brahmacārī like unto a foetus' (here the word 'upanayamānah' occurs). Verse 4 states that the heaven and the earth are the 'samidh' (the fuel stick) of the brahmacari and that the brahmacari by his mekhalā (girdle), by his samidh and by his life of hard work fills the world with austerities. Verse 6 tells us that the brahmacari wears the skin of a black antelope and has a long beard; verse 13 says that the brahmacari offers samidh into fire (or if fire is not available) to the sun, to the moon, to the wind or into waters. This hymn thus brings out most of the characteristic features of the brahmacāri and of upanayana (viz. deerskin, mekhalā, offering of samidh, begging and a life of hard work and restraint). From the reference to the beard and from the words 'this man (ayam purusah)' occurring in the Atharvaveda VIII. 1. 1 and elsewhere it appears probable that upanayana was performed rather later in those ancient days than in the days of the sūtras.

^{621.} जायमानो ह वै बाह्मणस्त्रिभिक्तणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण क्रिष्यो यज्ञेन देवे^रयः प्रजया पितृस्य एष वा अन्तर्णो यः पुत्री यज्या ब्रह्मचारिवासी। तै. सं.VI. 3. 10. 5.

^{622.} ब्रह्मचारीष्णंश्वरति रोदसी उमे तस्मिन्देवाः संमनसो भवन्ति। स द्राधार पृथिवीं दिवं च स आचार्यं तपसा पिपर्ति॥ अथर्ववेद् XI. 7. 1. This verse is explained in गोपथबाह्मण II. 1. आचार्य उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं कृष्णुते गर्भमन्तः। अथर्व XI. 7. 3; the idea is found in Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 16-18 (quoted above p. 189 f. n. 443) and compare इातपथानाः XI. 5. 4. 12 'आचार्यो गर्भीभवति इस्तमाधाय दिक्षणम्। तृतीयस्यां स जायते साविज्या सह बाह्मणः॥ ग. ब्रह्मचार्योते समिधा समिद्धः कार्णे वसानो दीक्षितो दीर्घरमश्चः। अथर्व XI. 7. 6.

In the Tai. Br. III. 623 10. 11 there is the story of Bharadvāja who remained a brahmacari for three parts of his life (i.e. till 75) and to whom Indra said that in all that long period of brahmacarya he had mastered only an insignificant portion (three handfulk out of three mountains) of the Vedas, which were endless in extent. The story of Nabhanedisths, son of Manu, who was excluded from ancestral property at a partition made by his brothers, narrated in the Ait. Br. shows 624 that he was a brahmacari staving with a teacher away from his father's place. The Sat. Br. XI. 5. 4. contains many and almost complete details about the life of brahmacarins which bear a very close similarity to those taught in the grhva sutras. brief summary is set out below. The boy says 'I have come unto brahmacarya 'and 'let me be a brahmacari'. Then the teacher asks him 'what is your name'; then the teacher takes him near (upanayati); the teacher takes hold of the boy's hand with the words 'you are the brahmacari of Indra: Agni is your teacher, I am your teacher, N. N. (addressing the boy by his name)'. Then he consigns the boy to (the care of) the elements. The teacher instructs him 'drink water, do work (in the teacher's house), put a fuel stick (on the fire), do not sleep (by day). He repeats the Savitri (mantra sacred to Savitr). Formerly it was repeated a year (after the boy came as a brahmacāri), then at the end of six months, 24 days, 12 days, 3 days: but one should repeat to the brahmans boy the verse at once (on the very day of upanayana); the teacher repeats it to him first each $p\bar{u}da$ separately, then the half and then the whole. Being a brahmaçâri one should not eat honev. 625

^{623.} भरद्वाजो ह वै जिभिरायुर्भिर्मक्रमचर्यस्वास तं ह...इन्द्र उपवज्योवाच। यत्ते चतुर्थमायुर्द्यां किमेतेन कुर्या इति। ब्रह्मचर्यमेवैतेन चरयमिति होवाच। तं हि त्रीन् गिरिरूपान-विज्ञातानिव दर्शयांचकार। तेषां हैकैकास्मिन्सुष्टिनाददे स होवाच भरद्वाजेत्यामन्त्रय वेदा ा एते। अनन्ता वै वेदाः। एतद्वा एतैस्त्रिभिरायुर्भिरन्ववोचधाः। अथ त इतरद्नन्तुक्तमेव। तै. बा. III. 10, 11.

^{624.} नाभानेदिष्ठं ये मानवं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं भ्रातरो निरभजन् । सोबवीदेत्य किं महा-मभाकेति । ऐ. बा. 22. 9. This story occurs also in Tai. S. III. 1, 9, 5.

^{625.} ब्रह्मचर्यमागामित्याह। ... ब्रह्मचर्यमानीत्याह। अधेनमाह को नामासीति। अधारय हस्तं गृह्णाति। इन्द्रस्य ब्रह्मचार्यासे अग्निराचार्यस्तवाहमाचार्यस्तवामाविति। अधेनं भूतेन्यः परिदद्माति। अप्रेम् स्तेन्यः परिदद्माति। अप्रेम् स्तेन्यः परिदद्माति। अप्रेम् स्तेन्यः परिदद्माति। अप्रेम् स्तेन्यः । तां ह स्मेतां पुरा संवत्मरेऽन्वहुः। अध्य षद्म मासेषु। अध्य चतुर्विशत्यहे अध्य द्वाद्व- शाहे। अध्य चतुर्विशत्यहे अध्य द्वाद्व- शाहे। अध्य चतुर्विशत्यहे अध्य द्वाद्व- शाहे वाह्मण इति। सद्यो ह वात्वाव ब्रह्मणायाद्वव्यादाग्नेयो वे ब्रह्मगः। तं वे पच्छोऽन्वाह अधार्थ- चंशोऽन्वाह अध्य कुरस्नाम्। तदाहुः। न ब्रह्मचारी सन् मध्यस्तीयात्। शतपथ्य XI. 5. 4. 1–17.

The word 'antevāsi' (lit. one who dwells near a teacher) occurs in the Śat. Br. V. 1. 5. 17 and in the Tai. Up. I. 11. The Śat. Br. (XI. 3. 3. 2) says⁶²⁶ 'he who takes to brahmacarya indeed takes upon himself a sacrificial session of long duration.' It further says (XI. 3. 3. 3-6) that the boy when entering upon studenthood approaches giving a fourth part of himself to Agni. Death, the teacher and himself and that by the offering of samidh (to fire), by begging and by doing work in the teacher's house respectively he secures freedom from the action of the first three. It also says that after one finishes studenthood and takes the ceremonial bath one should not beg. Vide Gopatha Br. (ed. by Gastra) 2. 3 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 53. The Śat. Br. (III. 6. 2. 15) further says 'therefore brahmacārins protect the teacher, his house and his cattle, with the idea that otherwise he might be taken away from them'. 627

Janamejaya Pāriksita asks the hamsas (who were the Ahavaniya and Daksina fires) 'what is holy' and the latter reply 'It is brahmacarya' (vide Gopatha Br. 2.5). Gopatha (2.5) further says 'the period of studenthood for the mastery of all Vedas is 48 years, which, being distributed among the Vedas in four parts, makes brahmacarya last for 12 years, which is the lowest limit; one should practise brahmacarya according to one's ability before taking the ceremonial bath. The same work says that the brahmacārī should fetch samidhs every day for worshipping fire and beg and that if he does not do so continuously for seven days he has to undergo upanayana again (2, 6) and that the lady of the house should daily give alms to a brahmacarin with the idea that he may not deprive her of her wealth, of merit due to istāpūrta. It also says that a brahmacārī should not sleep on a cot, should not engage in singing and dancing, should not roam about, should not spit about nor go to a cemeterv.629

^{626.} द्धिसत्रं चा एष ,उपैति यो ब्रह्मचर्यस्पैति। ज्ञातपथ XI. 3. 3. 2. This is quoted in Baud. Dh. S. 1. 2.52. The words 'अपोऽज्ञान' refer to sipping water before and after bhojana respectively with the words 'amitopastaranamasi svaha' and 'amitapidhānam-asi svaha.' Vide संस्कारत्वत्र p. 893. These two मन्त्र s occur in आप. म. पा. II. 10. 3-4.

^{627.} तस्माट् ब्रह्मचारिण आचार्य गोपायन्ति गृहान्पञ्चित्रोऽपहराानिति। शतपथ III. 6. 2. 15.

^{628.} अष्टाच्दवारिंशद्वर्षं सर्ववेद्बद्धाचर्यं तञ्चतुर्धा वेदेषु व्युह्य द्वाद्शवर्षं ब्रह्मचर्यं द्वाद्श-वर्षाण्यवरार्धमपि स्नास्यंश्वरेद्यथाशक्ति। गोपथ 2, 5.

^{629.} तस्माद् ब्रह्मचारिणे अहरहर्भिक्षां द्याद् गृहिणी मा मारामिष्टापूर्तसुकृतद्वि णमवरु-ध्यादिति । नोपरिशायी स्थास गायनो न नर्तनो न सरणो न निष्ठीवेद्गः न श्मशान-मातिष्ठेत् । गोपथ 2. 5-7.

It appears from the above and from the Upanisad passages set out immediately below that originally Upanayana was a very simple matter. The would-be student came to the teacher with a samidh in his hand and told the teacher that he desired to enter the stage of studenthood and begged to be allowed to be a brahmacari living with the teacher. There were no elaborate ceremonies like those described in the grhya sūtras. The word brahmacarya occurs in the Katha. Up. I. 1. 15, Mundaka II. 1. 7, Chāndogya VI. 1. 1 and other Upanisads. The Chāndogya and the Br. Up., probably the oldest among the Upanisads. furnish very valuable information. That some ceremonies were required before a young boy was admitted as a student even in Upanisadic times is clear from the statement in the Chandogva V. 11. 7 630 that when Asvapati Kekaya was approached by Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava and four others who carried fuel in their hands (like young students) and who were grown-up householders and theologians, 'he (Asvapati) without submitting them to the rites of Upanayana began the discourse'. When Satyakāma 631 Jābāla tells the truth about his gotra to Gautama Hāridrumata, the latter says 'fetch, dear boy, fuel, I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth' (Chāndogya IV. 4.5). Similarly in the Br. Up. VI. 2. 7, it is said that former students (i. e. students in former ages) approached (the teacher for brahmacarya) only in words (i. e. without any further solemn rite or ceremony).632 In the most ancient times it is probable that the father himself always taught his son. 6331 But it appears that from the times of the Tai. S. and the Brāhmanas the student generally went to a guru and staved in his house (vide note 624 about Nabhanedistha). Uddalaka Āruni who was himself a profound philosopher of brahma asks his son Svetaketu to enter upon brahmacarva and sends him to a teacher to learn the Vedas. 634 The same Upanisad describes the

^{630.} ते ह समित्पाणयः पूर्वाह्ने प्रतिचक्रामिरे तान्हान्तुपनीयैवैतदुवाच । छान्ह्याय V. 11. 7.

^{631.} समिधं सोम्याहरोप त्वा नेष्ये न सत्यादगा इति । छान्दोग्य IV. 4. 5.

^{632.} उपैम्यहं भवन्तमिति वाचा ह स्मैव पूर्व उपयन्ति स होपायनकीत्योवास । ब्रह. उ. VI. 2. 7.

^{633.} Vide बृह. उ. VI. 2. 1 'अनुशिष्टोन्यसि पित्रेत्योमिति होवाच.' विश्वस्य on या. I. 15 remarks गुरुग्रहणं तु मुख्यं पितुरुपनेतृत्यमिति । तथा च श्रुतिः । तस्मात्युत्रमनुशिष्टं लोक्यमाहुरिति । आचार्योपनयनं तु ब्राह्मणस्यानुरुत्तः ।

^{634.} श्रीतुकेतुर्हारुणेय आस तं ह पितोवाच श्रेतकेतो वस ब्रह्मचर्य स ह द्वाद्श वर्ष उपेत्य चतुर्विशतिवर्षः सर्वान्वेदानधित्य महामना अनूचानमानी स्तब्ध एयाय तं ह पितोवाच श्रेतकेतो ... उत तमादेशमप्राक्ष्यः येनाश्चतं श्वतं भवति । छान्दोग्य VI.'1.'1-2.

āśrama of brahmacarya 'dwelling as a brahmacārī in the house of a teacher, mortifying his body in the house of his teacher till his 625 end'. Chāndogya IV. 4. 4. shows that the teacher asked the pupil his gotra (in order that he may address him by that name). The same Upaniṣad shows that the brahmacārī had to beg for food (IV. 3. 5), that he had to look after the fire of his teacher (IV. 10. 1-2) and that he had to tend his cattle (IV. 4. 5). The age when upanayana was performed is not expressly stated in the Upaniṣads except in the case of Śvetaketu who was 12 (vide note 634 above). The period of student-hood was usually twelve (Chāndogya II. 23.1, IV. 10.1, VI.1.2), though the Chāndogya (VIII. 11. 3) speaks of Indra's brahmacarya for 101 years and Chāndogya II. 23. 1; speaks of brahmacarya for life.

We shall now turn to upanayana as described in the sutras and smrtis. The following matters fall to be treated under Upanayana: The proper age for upanayana, the auspicious seasons for it; the skin, the garments, the girdle and the staff for the brahmacarins of different varnas; the yajnopavita; the preliminaries of upanayana, such as homa, taking of curds by the boy, afijalipūrana, asmārohana; the principal rites of upanayana viz. taking of the student's hand by the teacher. touching the chest of the student expressive of acceptance as pupil, handing the boy to Savitr and other gods (paridana). instruction in the duties of the student (such as putting fuel on fire, begging &c.), instruction in the famous Savitri mantra: medhājanana; study of the Vedas and daily recitation of Vedic texts; special vratas of the brahmacārī; Patitasāvitrīka (those whose upanayana has not been performed at all) and rules about them. These matters will now be dealt with in order. It should be remembered that all these matters are not dwelt upon by all the smrtis nor are they treated of in the same order. Further the Vedic mantras often differ in the different sutras.

The proper age for Upanayana

The Asv. gr. 636 (I. 19. 1-6) says that a brāhmana boy should undergo upanayana in the eighth year from birth or from conception, a kṣatriya in the 11th year, a vaisya in the

^{635.} छान्दोग्य II. 23. 1. This refers to the नैष्ठिक ब्रह्मचारिन.

^{636.} अष्टमे वर्षे ब्राह्मणस्पनयेत् । गर्भाष्टमे वा । एकावृत्ते क्षत्रियम् । द्वावृत्ते चैद्दयम् । आ बोड्डावृ ब्राह्मणस्यानतीतः कालः । आ द्वाविंद्यात्क्षात्रियस्य । आ चतुर्विद्याद्वेद्दयस्य । आश्व. गृ॰ रा. 19. 1-6.

12th and that to the 16th, 22nd and 24th years respectively for the three varnas it cannot be said that the time for upanavana has passed. Ap. 637 (10. 2), San. (II. 1), Baud. (II. 5. 2) and Bhar. (1. 1), Gobhila (II. 10. 1) grhya sūtras, Yāj, I. 14, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 19 expressly say that the respective years are calculated from conception. The Mahābhāsya 628 also refers to the rule that a brāhmana's upanayana is to be performed in the 8th year from conception. Par. 639 gr. (II. 2) allows upanayana in the 8th year from birth or conception and adds that in the case of all varnas family usage may be followed. Yāi, I, 14 also refers to family usage. Sān. gr. (II. 1. 1) allows upanavana in the 8th or 10th year from conception, the Manava gr. (I. 22.1) allows it in the 7th or 9th year, the Kāthaka gr. (41, 1-3) prescribes 7th, 9th and 11th years for the upanavana of the three varnas respectively. In some smrtis upanayana is allowed to be performed even earlier or at different ages, e.g. Gautama (I. 6-8) prescribes that upanayana for a brāhmana is in the 8th year from conception but it may be in the 5th or 9th according to the result desired; and Manu. II. 37 says that if spiritual eminence (for the boy) is desired (by his father) then upanayana may be performed in the 5th year for a brahmans, in the 6th year for a ksatriya if there is a desire for military power, in the 8th for a vaisya if there is desire for endeavour to accumulate wealth. Vaik. (II. 3) also prescribes the 5th, 8th, 9th years from conception for a brahmana if there is a desire respectively for

^{637.} गर्भाष्टमेषु बाह्मणस्पनित गर्भेकाद्शेषु राजन्यं गर्भद्वादशेषु वैश्यम्। आप. ग्र. 10. 2-3. Vide सं. प्र. pp 340-341 for discussion whether there is option of counting the years from conception or birth in the case of kṣatriyas and vaisyas. Ap. and several others employ the Atmanepada 'उपनयीत ' while Adv., Khādira (II. 2. 1) and Pār. employ the Parasmaipada उपनयेत्. It should be noticed that in the Atharvaveda XI. 7. 3., इत्तपथ XI. 5. 4. 1, छा. उ. IV. 4. 5 and elsewhere in the Vedic texts it is the Atmanepada that is found. Pāṇini (I. 3. 36) lays down that the root 'nī' takes the Atmanepada alone in the case of several senses one of which is आचार्यकरण (and so we should have उपनयेत only). हरदत्त quotes a कारिका that the परस्तेपद is a mistake 'परस्तेपद्वाटोऽयमध्येतूणां प्रमादतः! आचार्यकरणे यसमास्प्रासेत्यज्ञात्मनेपद्य ॥. Vide संस्कारप्रकाश p. 339 for criticism of हरदत्त's view. Vide ज्ञाच quoted above (p. 269 f. n. 619).

^{638.} गर्भाष्टमे बाह्मण उपनेय इति सकृदुपनीय कृतः शास्त्रार्थः । महाभाष्य vol. III. p. 57.

^{639.} अष्टवर्षे बाह्मणसुपनयेदूर्भाष्टमे वैकाद्शवर्षे राजन्यं द्वाद्शवर्षे वैक्यं यथामङ्गलं वा सर्वेदाम् । पारस्करतृः II. 2. वी. गृ. adds त्रयोद्शे मेधाकामं चतुर्दशे पुष्टिकामं पञ्चवृत्ते आतृश्यवन्तं षोडशे सर्वकाममिति ।

spiritual eminence, long life and wealth. The Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 21 and Baud. gr. (II. 5) prescribe 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th years respectively for one desiring spiritual eminence, long life, brilliance, abundant food, physical vigour and cattle.

Therefore, the 8th, 11th and 12th years from birth for the three varnas are the principal time for upanayana; while the years from 5th onwards up to 11th are the secondary time (gauna) for a brāhmaṇa, 9th to 16th are secondary for kṣatriya and so on. From 12th to 16 is gaunatara for brāhmaṇas and after 16 gauṇatama for them. Vide Samskāra-prakāśa p. 342.

The auspicious times according to the Ap. gr. and Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 19, Hir. gr. (I. 1) and Vaik. are vasanta (spring), grīṣma (summer), and śarad (autumn) for the three varṇas. The Bhār. gr. (I. 1) says that upanayana for a brāhmaṇa should be performed in vasanta, for a kṣatriya in summer or hemanta, for a vaiṣya in ṣarad, in the rains for a carpenter (rathakāra) or in ṣiṣira for all. Ṣabara in his bhāṣya on Jaimini VI. 1. 33 where upanayana is denied to ṣūdras quotes 'vasante brāhmaṇam upanayīta' as a Vedic text. Āṣv. gr. I. 4. 1 (quoted above in f. n. 494), Hir. gr. (I. 1. 5, S. B. E. vol. 30 p.1 37) and Bhār. gr. (1. 1) say that upanayana should be performed in the bright half of a month, on an auspicious nakṣatra, particularly under a nakṣatra the name of which is masculine.

Later works introduced very intricate rules about the proper months, tithis, days and times for upanayana. It is neither possible nor very necessary to go into these astrological details. But a few words must be said as in modern times upanayana is performed only in accordance with these rules. Vrddhagārgya⁶⁴¹ laid down that six months from Māgha were the proper months for upanayana, while others say that five months from Māgha are the proper ones. Then 1st, 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 13th, 14th, 15th i. e. (full moon and new moon) tithis are generally avoided (though there are some counter exceptions which are not set out here). It is stated that upanayana should not be performed when Venus is so near the sun that it cannot be seen, when the sun is in the first degree of any zodiacal sign, on anadhyāya

⁶⁴⁰. आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्ये नक्षत्रे विशेषेण पुंनामधेये। भारद्वाज I.~1.~ For पुंना- मधेयनक्षत्र see note 512.

^{641.} मासानाह बृद्धगार्ग्यः। माधादिमासषद्देक तु मेखलाबन्धनं मतम्। quoted in संस्कारमकाश p. 355; तथा च ज्योतिःशास्त्रम्। माधादिषु च मासेषु मौस्त्री पञ्चसु शस्यते। एतञ्च वर्णञ्चयसाधारणम्। स्मृतिच् I. p. 27.

days and on galagraha 642 (the tithis specified above). Jupiter, Venus, Mars 643 and Mercury are respectively the presiding deities of the Rgveda and the other Vedas. Therefore the upanayana of those who have to study these Vedas should be performed on the week days presided over by these planets. Among week days Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are the best, Sunday is middling, Monday is the least suitable, but Tuesday and Saturday are prohibited (except that for students of the Sāmaveda and ksatrivas Tuesday is allowed). Among the naksatras⁶⁴⁴ the proper ones are Hasta, Citrā, Svāti, Pusya, Dhanisthā, Aśvini, Mrgaśiras, Punarvasu, Śravana and Revati. There are other rules about naksatras with respect to those who follow a particular Veda (which are passed over). One rule is that all naksatras except Bharani, Krttikā, Maghā, Viśākhā, Jyesthā, Śatatārakā are good for all. The Moon and Jupiter must be astrologically strong with reference to the boy's horoscope. The rule about Jupiter probably arose from the fact that Jupiter was supposed to rule over knowledge and happiness and as upanayana was meant to be the entrance for Veda-study, Jupiter's benevolent aspect was thought to be necessary. If Jupiter and Venus are not to be seen owing to nearness to the sun, upanayana cannot be performed. Jupiter when in the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th zodiacal sign from the sign of birth (calculation to be made inclusive of the sign of birth) is auspicious, when in the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 10th place from the sign of birth it is auspicious after the performance of a propitiatory home and when it is in the 4th, 8th, 12th place from birth, it is inauspicious. The moon is supposed to be malefic when she is in the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th or 12th place from the sign of birth. Four hours from sunrise is the best for upanayana, from that time to noon is middling and afternoon is prohibited. Some said that a person's upanayana should not be performed in the month in which he was born, others restricted the prohibition to the paksa (the half) of the month in which he was born. There are other rules about the Lagna (the rising

^{642.} नष्टे चन्द्रेऽस्तगे ह्युके ानरंशे चैव भास्करे । कर्तन्यमौपनयनं नानध्याये गलग्रहे ॥ त्रयोदशीचतुष्कं तु सप्तम्यादित्रयं तथा । चतुथ्येकादशी प्रोक्ता अष्टावेते गलग्रहाः ॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 27; अपरार्क p. 32 cites the first as from पुराण.

^{643.} The निर्णयसिन्धु quotes नारव as to गलग्रह differently 'कृष्णपक्षे चतुर्थी च सप्तम्यादिदिनत्रयम् । त्रयोदशीचतुष्कं च अष्टावेते गलग्रहाः ॥'. गुरुर्भुगुसुतो धात्रीपुत्रः शशधरात्मजः । स्युरेते ऋग्यज्ञःसामाधर्वणामधिषाः क्षमात् ॥ स्युतिच॰ I. p. 27.

^{644.} इस्ताश्रये पुष्यधनिष्ठयोश्य पौष्णाश्विसौम्यादितिविष्णुभेषु । इस्ते तिथौ चन्द्र-बलोपयुक्तो कार्यो द्विजानामुपनायनो विधिः ॥ अपरार्क p. 32, स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 27.

zodiacal sign at the time of upanayana) which are not set out here. There are other prohibited astrological conjunctions like Vyatīpāta, Vaidhṛti &c. For detailed rules on these, works like the Sam. Pr. (pp. 355-385), Nirṇayasindhu and Dharmasindhu may be consulted.

For persons who are entitled to perform the upanayana of a boy, vide note 480.

A brahmacari had to wear two garments, one for the lower part of the body (vasas), another for covering the upper part of the body (uttariya). Ap. Dh. S. (I. 1. 2. 39-I. 1. 3. 1-2) says that 'the garment⁶⁴⁵ (vāsas) for a brāhmana, ksatriya or vaišya brahmacārī is respectively to be made of hemp, flax, ajina (deerskin), some teachers prescribe that the lower garment should be of cotton but coloured reddish-yellow for brahmanas; dyed with madder for ksatriyas, dyed with turmeric for vaisyas.' Pār. gr. (II. 5), Manu (II. 41) speak of 'āvika' (made of wool) for vaisya instead of. 'ajina'. Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 64-67) says that a brāhmana (brahmacārī) should wear a (lower) garment which is white and unblemished (or new) and for a ksatriya or vaisya it should be the same as in Āp. Dh., but for vaisya Vas. prescribes also one made of kuśa grass or he says that all should wear cotton cloth that is undyed. Gaut. (I. 17-20) on the other hand says 'for all the lower garment may be made of hemp, flax or kuśa grass (cīra) or of the hair of the mountainous goat (kutapa); other teachers prescribe coloured garments, one coloured with the juice of trees for brāhmanas and madder-red and yellow for ksatriya and vaisya. Āsv. gr. (I. 19. 8), Pār. gr. (II. 5), Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 61-63), Baud. gr. (II.5.16) say that the upper garment for a brahmana should be the skin of a black deer, for ksatriya the skin of ruru-deer and for a vaisya of cow-skin or of goat skin. Baud, and Asv. prescribe only goat skin. Par. gr. adds that if any one cannot secure a skin suited to one's varna, he may wear an upper garment of cow-hide as the cow is the chief among animals. 646 Baud. gr. II. 5. 16 prescribes the skin of black deer for all in the same

^{645.} वासः । शाणीक्षोमाजिनानि । काषायं चैके वस्त्रमुपदिशन्ति । माजिष्ठं राजन्यस्य । हारिद्रं वैश्यस्य । आप. ध. 1. 1. 2. 39-41-1. 1. 3. 1-2; शुक्कमहतं वासो ब्राह्मणस्य । माजिष्ठं क्षत्रियस्य । हारिद्रं कौशेयं वा वैश्यस्य । सर्वेषां वा तान्तवमरक्तम् । वसिष्ठ X1. 64-67; what is अहत is defined by प्रचेतम् । ईषद्धौतं नवं श्वेतं सद्शं यज्ञ धारितम् । अहतं तद् विजानीयात्मर्वकर्मसु पावनम् ॥ ' quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 29.

^{646.} ऐणेयमजिनमुत्तरीयं ब्राह्मणस्य रौरवं राजम्यस्याजं गव्यं वा वैश्यस्य सर्वेषां वा गव्यमसित प्रधानत्वात् । पारस्कर II. 5.

circumstances. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 3. 7-8) gives the option to all varnas to use a sheep skin (as upper garment) or a woollen plaid (kambala). Āsv. gr. (I. 19. 8-9) appears to suggest that the lower and upper garments may be of the same skin or that the lower garment may be white or coloured (as stated above by Āp. Dh. S.). The Kāthaka gr. 647 (41. 13) says that the upper garment for the three varnas should be respectively of the skins of black deer, tiger and ruru deer. A vestige of these rules survives in the modern practice of tying a small piece of deer skin to the yajñopavita of the boy when his upanayana is performed.

That the rules about the lower and upper garments go back to great antiquity is shown by a reference to a Brāhmaṇa passage in the Ap. Dh. S.⁶⁴⁸ I. 1. 3. 9 'one should wear only deerskin (as lower and upper garments) if one desires the increase of Vedic lore, only (cotton) garments if one desires the increase of martial valour and both if one desires both'.

Danda (staff):-There is some divergence of view about the trees of which the staff was to be made. Asv. gr. (I. 19. 13 and I. 20.1) says 'a staff of the palasa wood for a brahmana. of udumbara for a ksatriya and of bilva for a vaisya or all the varnas may employ a staff of any of these trees.' The Ap. gr. 11. 15-16 (this is the same as Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38) says that the staff should be of palāśa wood for a brāhmana, of the branch of the nyagrodha tree (so that the downward end of the branch forms the tip of the staff) for a ksatriya, of badara or udumbara wood for a vaisya; while some teachers say that the staff should be made of a tree (which is used in sacrifices) without reference to any varna. Gaut. (I. 21) and Baud. Dh. S. (II. 5, 17) say that the staff of palasa or bilva should be used for brahmana and Gaut. (I. 22-23) says that asvattha and pilu wood staff should be used respectively for ksatriya and vaisya or of any sacrificial tree for all varnas. Baud, gr. prescribes nyagrodha or rauhitaka for ksatriya, and badara or udumbara for vaisya. Pār. gr.

^{647.} ऐणेयं चर्म ब्राह्मणाय भयच्छति वैयाघं राजन्याय रौरवं वैश्याय। काठकगृह्य 41. 13.

^{648.} बह्मवृद्धिमिच्छक्षिजिनान्येव वसीत क्षत्रवृद्धिमिच्छन्वस्त्राण्येवोभयवृद्धिमिच्छक्षु-भयमिति हि बाह्मणम् । अजिनं त्वेवोत्तरं धारयेत् । आप. ध. І. 1. 3. 9-10; compare भारद्वाजगृद्ध І. 1 यद्जिनं धारयेद्वद्धावर्चसवद्वासो धारयेत्कात्रं वर्धयेदुभयं धार्यसभयोर्वृद्धचा इति विज्ञायते ।; compare the गोपथबा. 2. ४ न तान्तवं वसीत यस्तान्तवं वस्ते क्षत्रं वर्धते न बद्धा तस्मात्तान्तवं न वसीत बद्धा वर्धतां मा क्षत्रमिति ।

(II. 5) recommends a staff of palāśa, bilva and udumbara respectively for the three varnas (or any of these for all). Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 22) recommends palāśa, aśvattha and nyagrodha respectively for the three. Manu (II. 45) prescribes bilva and palāśa for brāhmaṇa, vaṭa and khadira for kṣatriya, pilu and udumbara for vaisya, and Kulluka adds that two staffs should be used by the boy, as two are recommended in a compound.

The staff was required for support, for controlling the cattle of the teacher (which the student was to tend), for protection when going out at night and for guidance when entering a river or the like.⁶⁴⁹

The length of the staff varied according to the varna of the boy. Asv. gr. I. 19. 13, Gaut. I. 25, Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 55-57), Pār. gr. (II. 5), Manu (II. 46) prescribe that in the case of the brāhmana, ksatriya or vaisya boy respectively the staff should be as high as his head, forehead or the tip of the nose. The San. gr. (II. 1. 21-23, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 260) on the other hand reverses this (the brahmana having the shortest staff and the vaisya the longest). Gaut. I. 26 says that the staff should be one not eaten by worms, should have the bark attached to it. and should have a curved tip, while Manu II. 47 adds that the staff should be straight, pleasing to look at and should not have come into contact with fire. The San. gr. (II. 13. 2-3) prescribes that the brahmacari should not allow any one to pass between himself and his staff and that if the staff, girdle or the yajñopayīta break or rend, he has to undergo a penance (same as the one for the breaking of a chariot at a wedding procession) and that at the end of the period of brahmacarya, he should sacrifice in water the yajñopavīta, staff, the girdle and the skin 650 with a mantra to Varuna (Rg. I. 24. 6) or with the sacred syllable 'om'. Manu II. 64 and Visnu Dh. S. (27, 29) say the same thing.

Mekhalā (girdle):—Gaut. (I. 15), Āśv. gr. (I. 19. 11), Baud. gr. (II. 5. 13), Manu II. 42, Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 12), Bhār. gr. (I. 2) and others prescribe that a girdle made of muñja grass should be

^{649.} दण्डाजिनोपनीतानि मेखलां चैव धारयेत्। या. I. 29; 'तत्र दण्डस्य कार्यमधल-म्बनं गनादिनिनारणं तमोनगाहनमण्सु प्रवेशनमित्यादि' अपरार्क. As the carrying of a staff has a seen result, it need not be carried at all times, according to Apaiarka (p. 57), but the others having unseen results must be worn always.

^{650.} उपवीतं च दण्डे बध्नाति । तद्प्येतत् । यज्ञोपवीतदण्डं च मेखलामजिनं तथा। जुहुयादण्डु वते पूर्णे वाषण्यर्चा रसेन । ज्ञा. गृ. II. 30. 31. रस means 'ओस्'.

tied round a brāhmaņa boy's waist, one made of mūrvā grass (which is used for making a bowstring) for a ksatriya and one of hemp cords for a vaisya. Pāraskara says that the string of a bow should be used for a ksatriya and of mūrvā grass for a vaiśya and add that in the absence of these the girdle should respectively be made of kuśa, aśmantaka and balvaja grass (for brāhmana, ksatriya and vaisya). Manu (II. 42-43) gives the same rules as Pār. gr. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.2. 35-37) 651 optionally allows a girdle of munja grass with an iron piece intertwined in it for ksatriyas and woollen string or the yoke-string or a string of tāmala bark for vaisyas (according to some). Baud. gr. (II. 5. 13) allows mauñji girdle also to all. Some of the sütras (e.g. Baud. gr., Ap. Dh. S.) further prescribe that the girdle of munia grass should have three strings to it and the grass should have its ends turned to the right and the knot of the girdle should be brought near the navel. Manu (II. 43) says that there may be one knot or three or five (according to family usage, says Kullūka). 652

In order to convey an idea of the rites of upanayana in the days of the grhya sutras the ceremony as contained in the Asv. gr. sūtra (which is among the shortest) is set out in full. 658 Let him initiate the boy who is decked, whose hair (on the head) is shaved (and arranged), who wears a new garment or an antelope skin if a brāhmaņa, ruru skin if a kṣatriya, goat's skin if a vaisya; if they put on garments they should put on dyed ones, reddish-yellow, red and yellow (for a brahmana, ksatriya, vaisya respectively), they should have girdles and staffs (as described above). While the boy takes hold of (the hand of) his teacher, the latter offers (a homa of clarified butter oblations) in the fire (as described above) and seats himself to the north of the fire with his face turned to the east, while the other one (the boy) stations himself in front (of the teacher) with his face turned to the west. The teacher then fills the folded hands of both himself and of the boy with water and with the verse 'we choose that of Savitr' (Rg. V. 82. 1) the teacher drops down the water in his own folded hands on to the water in the folded

^{651.} ज्या राजन्यस्य मौर्खा वायोमिश्रा। आवीसूत्रं वैदयस्य। सेरी तामली वेत्येके। आप. घ. सू. I. 1. 2. 34-37. तामल is explained as ज्ञण (hemp) in the com. on गोभिल II. 10. 10 and by हरदत्त as 'तामलो मूलोदकसंज्ञो वृक्षः। तस्य त्वचा ग्रथिता तामली ?.

^{652.} The number of knots was probably regulated by the number of the pravara sages invoked by a person.

^{653.} Vide Appendix for the text of Asv. gr. and for a very concise form prepared recently.

hands of the boy; having thus poured the water, he should seize with his own hand the boy's hand together with the thumb (of the boy) with the formula by the urge (or order) of the god Savitr, with the arms of the two Asvins, with the hands of Pusan, I seize thy hand, oh! so and so';658 with the words' Savitr has seized thy hand, oh so and so' a second time (the teacher seizes the boy's hand): with the words 'Agni is thy teacher, oh so and so 'a third time. The teacher should cause (the boy) to look at the sun, while the teacher repeats 'God Savitr! this is thy brahmacari, protect him, may he not die '654 and (the teacher should further) say 'Whose brahmacari art thou? thou art the brahmacari of Prana. Who does initiate thee and whom (does he initiate)? I give 655 thee to Ka (to Prajāpati)'. With the half verse (Rg. III 8.4.) 'the young man, well attired and dressed, came 656 hither' he (the teacher) should cause him to turn round to the right and with his two hands placed over (the boy's) shoulders he should touch the place of the boy's heart repeating the latter half (of Rg. III. 8.4). Having wiped the ground round the fire the brahmacari should put (on the fire) a fuel stick silently, since it is known (from sruti) what belongs to Prajāpati is silently (done)', and the brahmacārī belongs to Prajāpati. Some do this (offering of a fuel stick) with a mantra 'to Agni I have brought a fuel stick, to the great Jatavedas; by the fuel stick mayst thou increase, Oh Agni and may we (increase) through brahman (prayer or spiritual lore), syāhā'.657 Having put the fuel stick (on the fire) and having touched the fire, he (the student) thrice wipes off his face with the words 'I

⁶⁵³a. Here the boy should be addressed by his name. The formula devasya tvā 'occurs in several connections (e.g. in adoption etc.) in several sanhitās. Vide for this बाज. सं. II. 11, ते. सं. II. 6. 8. 6. A similar formula occurs in आप. मन्त्रपाट II. 3. 24 and II. 9. 5, हिर्ण्य. गृ. I. 11. 17, मानवगृ. I. 22. 5, बी. गृ. II. 5. 28 (देवस्य.....हस्ताभ्यास्पनयेऽसी), काटकमृ. 41. 16 (reads as in बी. गृ.)

^{654.} देव मा मृत. This मन्त्र occurs also in the आप. मन्त्रपाठ II. 3. 31 (असावेष ते देव सूर्य मृत) and in मानवगृह्य I. 22. 5, ज्ञां. गृ. II. 18. 4 and others.

^{655.} The words कस्य ... परिवृदामि occur in आए. म. पा. II. 3. 29, मानवगृह्य I. 22. 5, पारस्कर II. 2 (with variations in all)

^{656.} For the whole verse gar garnt: vide note 620 above.

^{657.} अग्नये समिधमाहार्षे &c—The first half occurs in आए. म. पा. II. 6. 2 पारस्कर II. 4, हिरण्य ग्र. I. 7. 2, गोभिलगृह्य II. 10. 46, भारद्वाजगृ. I. 8, all of which have a long latter half like यथा त्वमग्ने समिधा समिध्यसे एवं मामायुषा ... मेधपा प्रजया etc.

anoint myself with lustre'; it is known (from sruti) 'for he does anoint himself with lustre'. 'May Agni bestow on me, insight, offspring and lustre; on me may Indra bestow insight. offspring and vigour (indriva); on me may the sun bestow insight, offspring and radiance; what thy lustre is, Oh Agni may I thereby become lustrous; what thy strength is, Agni may I thereby become strong; what thy consuming power is Agni, may I thereby acquire consuming power'. 658 Having waited upon (worshipped) Agni with these formulas, (the student) should bend his knees, embrace (the teacher's feet) and say to him 'recite, Sir, recite, Sir, the Savitri'. Seizing the student's hands with the upper garment (of the student) and his own hands the teacher recites the Sāvitrī, first pāda by pāda, then hemistich by hemistich (and lastly) the whole verse. He (the teacher) should make him (the student) recite (the Savitri) as much as he is able. On the place of the student's heart the teacher lays his hand with the fingers upturned with the formula 'I place thy heart'59 unto duty to me; may thy mind follow my mind; may you attend on my words single-minded; may Brhaspati appoint thee unto me'. Having tied the girdle round him (the boy) and having given him the staff, the teacher should instruct him in the observances of a brahmacārī with the words 'a brahmacārī 650 art thou, sip water, do service, do not sleep by day, depending (completely) on the teacher learn the Veda'. He (the student) should beg (food) in the evening and the morning; he should put a fuel stick (on fire) in the evening and the morning. That (which he has received by begging) he should announce to the teacher; he should not sit down (but should be standing) the rest of the day." 661

The whole procedure of upanayana is more elaborately described in the Ap. gr., in Hir. gr. and Gobhila. A few points

^{658,} मिर्च मेधां &c. Those mantras occur in तै. सं. III. 3. 1. 2 and III. 5. 3. 2; also in हिरण्य. मू., बी. मृ. II. 5. 62 &c.

^{659.} सम ज्ञते &c. These words also occur in पारस्तरमृ. II. 2., मानवमृ. I. 22. 10, हिरण्यमृ. (where we have मम हृद्ये). These words also occur in the marriage ceremony (as addressed by the husband); vide पारस्तरमृ. I. 8.

^{660.} ब्रह्मचार्यासे &c. These words (with some additions and omissions) occur in आप. म. पा. II. 6. 14, पारस्करम्. II. 3, काठकम् 41. 17 and several others. These are based on the शतपथ passage quoted in note 625 above. In some it is said simply 'do not sleep' and this is explained in आप. ध. स. I. 1. 4. 28. as 'अथ यः पूर्वीत्थायी जयन्यसंवेशी तमाहुर्न स्वपितीत'.

^{661.} अनुप्रवचनीय sacrifice is to be performed after a part of the Veda has been learnt., vide आन्त्र, य. l. 22. 10-16, गोभिलयुद्धा III. 2. 46-47.

of interest and divergence may be noted here briefly. It is remarkable that Āśv., Āp. and several other sūtrakāras do not say a word about the sacred thread, while a few like Hir. gr. (I. 2. 6), Bhār. gr. (I. 3) and Mānava gr. (I. 22. 2) say that the boy already wears the yajñopavita before the homa begins; while Baud. gr. 662 (II. 5. 7) says that the boy is given the vaiñopavita and then made to recite the well-known mantra the Yainopavita is extremely sacred' and the Vaik. smarta (II. 5) says that the teacher gives the upper garment to the boy with 663 the verse 'paridam vasah', the sacred thread with the mantra 'YajñopavItam' and the black antelope skin with the mantra 'the eye of Mitra'. Sudarsana on Ap. gr. 10.5 says that the boy puts on the yajñopavita with the mantra before he takes his meal (according to some) or (according to others) before 664 he puts the fuel stick on the fire and relies on Ap. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 for support. According to Karka and Harihara (on Pāraskara) the yainopavita was given to the student by the teacher after the tving of the girdle. The Samskaratattva p. 934 says the same. Late works like the Samskāraratnamālā (p. 202) prescribe the wearing of the sacred thread before the homa. The origin and development of the ideas about yajñopavita will be dealt with separately later on. Ap. gr. (X.5), Baud gr. (II. 5.7) and Par. gr. (II. 2) prescribe a dinner to brahmanas before the ceremonies begin and receiving their benedictions. Ap. gr. (X.5), $Bh\bar{a}r.\bar{g}r.$ (I.1), Baudgr. 665 (II.5.7) say that the boy also is made to take food; according to later works (e.g. Samskāraratnamālā) the boy takes his meal in the same dish with his mother (for the last time) and other brahmacarins (eight in number) are also invited at the same time for meals in the

^{662.} स्नात छुचिवाससं बद्धशिखं यज्ञोपवीतं प्रतिसुश्चन् वास्त्रपति 'यज्ञोपवीतं प्रसं पवित्रं प्रजापतेर्यसहजं पुरस्तात् । आयुष्यमन्त्यं प्रतिसुश्च छुन्नं यज्ञोपवीतं बलमस्तु तेजः॥ । । इति । यज्ञोपवीतिनमप आस्त्रमञ्याथ देवयजनसुद्गानयति । बी. मृ. II. 5. 7-8; the verse यज्ञोपवीतं is quoted as from मृद्धपरिशिष्ट in स्मृतिस् (I. p. 31) and is repeated even in the island of Bali by the pedandas. In some mss. of Par. gr. this mantra occurs, but it is an interpolation, as Karka, Jayarama and Harihara say 'यद्याप सूत्रकारेण यज्ञोपवीतधारणं न स्त्रितम् ! (हरिहर).

^{663.} परीवृं वास: — this is आप. म. पा. II. 2. 8; मित्रस्य चक्षुः is आप. म. पा. II. 2. 11.

^{664.} Acc. to शाङ्खायनगृह्य II. 2. 3 the आचार्य हे कप्रेष्ठ 'यज्ञोपनीतमसि यज्ञस्य स्वापनीतेनोपनह्यामि.'

^{665.} बी. गृ. सू. 'कुमारं भोजियता तस्य चालैवसूर्वणीं केशानीय स्नातं श्राधि-वाससं बद्धाशिखम्' &c. (II. 5.7).

company of the boy. This practice is observed even in modern times. Almost all prescribe that the boy is shaved on this day (as in caula); this also is done in modern times. But in ancient 666 times the shaving was done by the ācārya himself as stated by Sudarsana on Ap. gr. 10.6-8. There are several other matters detailed in Ap. and others, on which Asv. and some others are silent. The important ones are mentioned below.

- (a) Ap. gr. (10.9), Mānava gr. (I. 23.12), Baud. gr. (II. 5.10), Khādira gr. (II. 4) and Bhār. gr. (I. 8) make the boy tread on a stone to the north of the fire with his right foot after homa. The mantras repeated in the several sūtras are significant asking the boy to be firm like a stone.
- (b) Mānava gr. (I.22.3) and Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 10) prescribe after homa the tasting of curds thrice after repeating the verse 'Dadhikrāvņo akāriṣam' (Rg. IV. 39. 6=Tai. S. I. 5. 4. 11).
- (c) Pār. gr. (II. 2), Bhār. gr. (I. 7), Āp. gr. (11. 1-4), Āp. Mantrapātha (II. 3. 27-30), Baud. gr. II. 5. 25 (quoting Śātyāyanaka), Mānava gr. I. 22. 4-5, and Khādira gr. II. 4. 12 refer to the fact that the teacher asks the boy his name and the latter pronounces his name. The teacher also asks whose brahmacārī the boy is.

A person was given (as shown above at pp. 246-247) an abhivādanīya name either derived from the nakṣatra of birth or from a deity name or the gotra name. This was necessary for several purposes. The teacher had to know that the boy came from a good family, he had also to address him by name (as there might be several pupils). It is wrong to suppose 668 from the story of Satyakāma Jābāla (where the

- 666. त्रींस्नीन दर्भानन्तर्धायोत्तराभिश्चतस्भिः चतस्भिः प्रतिमन्त्रं प्रतिदिशं प्रवपित । वपन्तस्तरयाद्धमन्त्रयते दक्षिणतो माता ब्रह्मचारी वा । आनङ्कहे शक्वत्रिपण्डे यवास्त्रिधाय तिस्मिन्केशास्त्रपयस्योत्तरयोद्धम्बरमूले दर्भस्तम्ब वा निद्धाति । आप. य. X.6-8. सुदर्शन on sutra says 'प्रशब्दकरणात्कुशलीकरणमध्याचार्यस्यै व 'and on sutra 8 'केचित्—आचार्यः पूर्व वपनमारभते ततो नापितः संस्रष्टाभिरेवाद्भिरवर्धे कुर्वन् केशान् प्रवपति । तं च वपन्तस्तरया आचार्याद्धमन्त्रयते । दक्षिणतो मातेत्युक्तार्थमेव । तस्त्र । एतद्वपनं नापितः समापयन्तिस्य वचनाभावात् तत्कल्पनायां चात्रपप्त्यभावात् । ' हरद्वत्त on आप. य. X. 6 says 'पूर्व मन्त्रवद्वपनं करोत्याचार्यः पश्चात् नापित इत्युक्तं भवति,' which is combated by सद्द्र्शन.
- 667. आतिष्ठेममञ्मानमञ्ज्ञेव त्वं स्थिरो भव । अभि तिष्ठ पृतन्यतः सहस्व पृतनायतः। आप. म. पा. II. 2. 2, which is the मन्त्र in आप. यू., भार॰ यू., भी. यू.
- 668. Vide Keay in 'Ancient Indian Education' p. 23 where he says 'it was still the rule for brahmanas to be received as students.' Dr. Ghurye in 'Caste and race in India' p. 43 merely repeats this dictum.

teacher asked him his gotra) that only brāhmaṇas were admitted to brahmacarya. All smṛtis, even the latest, contemplated that the three castes had the right to learn the Veda. It is one thing to have a right and another to exercise it. Probably very few kṣatriyas cared to submit their sons to the rigorous discipline of brahmacarya as laid down in the smṛtis and cared much less for Veda studies. In the Mahābhārata and in the Kādambari it is said that the princes were taught in a special house constructed for the purpose and teachers were paid handsomely and brought there to teach instead of the princes going to the teachers.

It is not possible for want of space to show how the greatest possible confusion prevails as to the order of the various components of the ceremony of upanayana. But a few striking examples may be given. Aśvalāyana gr. treats of the tying of the girdle and the giving of the staff almost at the end of the ceremony, while Ap, gr. puts this after homa and immediately before anjalipurana (filling the folded hands of both with water): Aśvalavana puts adityadarśana after the boy's hand is held by the teacher and before paridana (handing the boy over to the deities), but Bhar. (I. 9) puts it after the instruction in the observances of brahmacarya. The Bhar, gr. (I.9) treats of adityadarsana almost at the end of the rites, while Asv. places it among the earlier ones after homa. Besides the same mantras are employed by different sutras for different purposes; for example, the mantra 'susravah &c.' is employed by Ap. at the time of taking the staff by the boy (XI. 14 and Mantrapatha II. 5. 1), while Asv. gr. (I. 22, 19), Bhar. gr. (I. 10), Manava gr. (I. 23, 17) employ it in 'medhājanana' (on the 4th day after upanayana) and Par. gr. (II. 4) employs it at the time of putting a fuel stick on fire. Asv. employs the verse 'yuvā suvāsāh' (Rg. III. 8. 4) for making the boy turn round (first half) and for touching the region of the boy's heart (latter half), while the same verse is employed at the time of tying the girdle round the boy's waist by the Manava gr. (I. 22.8) and Par. gr.(II. 2).

Later writers went on adding mantras and details. On the day prior to upanayana the Nāndīśrāddha was performed as said by Haradatta on Āp. gr. 10. 5. Grahamakha (a sacrifice to the planets) also may be performed the previous day or on any day within 7 or 10 days of the upanayana. Then before the actual upanayana, there is the worship of Ganapati and of Kuladevatās, puņyāhavācana, the worship of Mātṛs and the consecration of the mandapa-devatās. For the detailed modern procedure (prayoga) of upanayana, the S. R. M. (pp. 197-210), which in the main follows the briefer procedure in the gṛḥya sūtṛas, may be consulted. Up to the act of making the boy dine with his mother it is the father who does everything; thereafter it is the ācārya who does the rest. The saṃkalpa of upanayana is given below 669.

Yaiñopavīta 670:—A few words must be said on the history of yajñopavita from ancient times. Among the earliest references is one from the Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1 'the nivita 671 is (used in actions) for men, the prācīnāvīta (is used in rites) for pitrs, the upavīta (in rites) for gods; he wears it in the upavita mode (i.e. slung from the left shoulder), thereby he makes a distinguishing sign of the gods'. In the Tai. Br. (I. 6.8.) we read 'wearing in the prācināvīta form he offers towards the south; for in the case of pitrs, acts are performed towards the south. Disregarding that one should wear in the upavita form and offer in the north only. since both gods and pitrs are worshipped (in this rite)'.678 The three words nivita, pracinavita and upavita are explained in the Gobhila gr. (I. 2. 2-4) which says 'raising his right arm, putting the head into (the upavita) he suspends (the cord) over his left shoulder in such a way that it hangs down on his right side; thus he becomes yajñopavītin. Passing his left arm, putting the head (into the upavita) he suspends it over his right shoulder, so that it hangs down along his left side; in this way he becomes prācīnāvītin; a person becomes prācīnāvītin only in the sacrifice offered to the Manes' 673. To the same effect is

^{669.} आचम्य प्राणानायम्य देशकालौ संकीर्त्यास्य कुमारस्य द्विजन्वसिद्धिपूर्वकवेदा-ध्ययनाधिकारसिद्धिद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थमाचार्यत्पैतृकसावित्रीमातृकसुपनयनाख्यं संस्कारं करिष्य इति सङ्कल्पं कुर्यात् ।

^{676.} Vide 'Orion' by the late Mr. Tilak pp. 145-148 for discussion on this.

^{671.} निवीतं मनुष्याणां प्राचीनावीतं पितृणासुपवीतं देवानाम् । उपव्ययते देवलक्ष्ममेव सत्कुरुते । ते. सं. II. 5. 11. 1.

^{672.} दक्षिणतः प्राचीनावीती निर्वपति । दक्षिणादृद्धि पितृणाम् । अनाद्दत्य तत् । उत्तरत एवोपवीय निर्वपेत् । उभये हि देवाश्च पितरश्चेज्यन्ते । अथो यदेव दक्षिणार्धेधिश्रयति तेन दक्षिणाकृत् । ते. बा. I. 6. 8.

^{673.} द्क्षिणं बाहुसुर्धृत्य शिरोऽत्रधाय सन्येंने प्रतिष्ठापयति द्क्षिणं कक्षमन्वत्रलम्बं भवत्येवं यज्ञोपविति भवति । सन्यं वाहुसुर्धृत्य शिरोऽवधाय द्क्षिणेंसे प्रतिष्ठापयति सन्यं कक्षमन्ववलम्बं भवत्येवं प्राचीनावीती भवति । पितृयज्ञे त्वेव प्राचीनावीती भवति । गोभिल सुद्धा I. 2. 2-4.

Khādira gr. I. 1. 8-9, Manu II. 63, Baud. gr. paribhāṣā-sūtra II. 2. 7 and 10, Vaik. I. 5. The Baud. 474 gr. paribhāṣā-sūtra II. 2. 3 says 'when it is carried over the neck, both shoulders and the chest and is held with both the thumbs (of the two hands) lower than the region of the heart and above the navel, that is nivīta; (when the śruti says it is) for men, what it means is that it is for sages. The occasions when nivīta mode is used are: rṣi-tarpana, sexual intercourse, samskāras of one's children except when homa is to be performed, answering the calls of nature, carrying a corpse and whatever other actions are meant only for men; nivīta is what hangs from the neck'.

The Sat. Br. (II. 4. 2. 1. S. B. E. vol. 12, p. 361) says "the gods being yajñopavitins approached near, bending their right knee; he (Prajapati) said to them 'the sacrifice is your food, immortality is your strength, the sun is your light'; then the pitrs approached him, being prācīnāvītins and bending their left knee and then men approached him covered with a garment and bending their bodies" etc. 675 It is important to note here that men are said to have been covered only with a garment and there is no reference in their case to any mode of wearing either as yajñopavita or nivita or prācināvita. This rather suggests that men wore only garments when approaching gods and not necessarily a cord of threads. In the Tai. 676 Br. III. 10.9. it is said that when $v\bar{a}k$ (speech) appeared to Devabhaga Gautama he put on the vajñopavita and fell down with the words 'namo namah'.

It seems to follow from a passage in the Tai. A. (II.1) that a strip of black antelope skin or of cloth was used in ancient times as upavIta⁶⁷⁷ 'the sacrifice of him who wears the

^{674.} उपरिष्टाद्रैसाभ्यां ग्रीवां हृद्यं च संपरिगृह्य हृद्यस्याधस्ताद्वृध्वे नाभेरङ्क्गृष्ठाभ्यां परिगृह्णाति तिक्षिपीतं मञ्जण्याणामिति ऋषीणामित्येवेद्गुक्तं भवति । अथ निवीतकार्पाणि ऋषीणां तर्पणं व्यवायः भजासंस्कारोऽन्यत्र होमात्, मूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गः भेतोद्वहनं यानि चान्यानि मञ्जष्यकार्याणि कण्ठेऽवसक्तं निवीतमिति । बौ. गृ. परिभाषासूत्र II. 2. 3 and 6.

^{675.} ततो देवा यज्ञोपवीतिनो भूत्वा दक्षिणं जान्वाच्योपासीदंस्तानजवीद्यज्ञो वोऽज्ञ-ममृतत्वं व ऊर्ग्धः स्पों षो ज्योतिरिति । अथैनं पितरः पाचीनावीतिनः सध्यं जान्वाच्य ... अथैनं मनुष्याः पावृता उपस्थं कृत्वोपासीदन् १ शतपथ II. 4. 2. 1.

^{676.} एतावात ह गौतमः यज्ञोपवीतं क्रत्वा अधो निपपात नमो नम इति। तै. बा. III. 10.9. सायण remarks ' स्वकीयेन वस्त्रेण यज्ञोपवीतं क्रत्वा.'.

^{677.} प्रस्तो है वै यज्ञोपवीतिनो यज्ञोऽप्रस्तोऽन्त्रपवीतिनो यक्तिं च बाह्मणो यज्ञोपवीत्य-धीते यज्ञत एव तत्। तस्माद्यज्ञोपवीत्येवाधीयीत याज्ञयेद्यजेत वा यज्ञस्य प्रस्तये। अजिने वासो वा दक्षिणत उपवीय दक्षिणं बाहुसुद्धरतेऽवधत्ते सन्यमिति यज्ञोपवीतमेतदेव विपरीतं प्राचीनावीतं संवीतं मानुषम्। ते. आ. II. 1. This passage is quoted as from the Kathaka in the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जैमिनि I. 3. 7 (p. 201).

yajñopavita becomes spread out (prosperous, famous), while the sacrifice of him who does not wear it does not spread; whatever a brāhmaņa studies, wearing a yajñopavīta, he really (therein) performs a sacrifice. Therefore one should study, sacrifice or officiate at a sacrifice with the yajñopavīta on for securing the spreading of sacrifice; having worn an antelope skin or a garment on the right side, he raises the right hand and keeps the left down; this is yajñopavIta; when this position is reversed it is prācīnāvīta; the position called samvīta is for men.' It is remarkable that here at any rate no cord of threads is meant by upavita, but only a piece of skin or cloth. The Par. M. (I. part 1 p. 173) quotes⁶⁷⁸ a portion of the above passage and remarks that the Tai. Ar. lays down that a man becomes an upavitin by wearing one of the two, viz. antelope skin and (cotton) garment.

In the Pürvamimämsäsütra (III. 1. 21) it is established (with reference to the words) in the Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1 (upavyayate etc. quoted in f. n. 671) that one has to be an upavitin throughout all the actions, prescribed in the sections on the Darśa-Pūrnamāsa sacrifice and not only when the Samidheni verses are recited. The first part of the same passage is discussed by Jaimini (III. 4. 1-9) and it is established that the passage enjoins the wearing of upavīta in Darśa-Pūrņamāsa which is devakarma and that the reference to pracinavita and nivita is only an anuvada intended to emphasize the desirability of the wearing of upavita in sacrifices to gods. The Tantravārtika 679 explains that nivīta is tying the upavita round the throat like a braid of hair (according to some), while according to others it is tying it round the waist as if for girding up the loins and that the first is not done except in battle, while the latter has to be resorted to in all acts in order to devote sole attention to them. So according to the Tantravārtika, the Tai. S. is not referring (in II. 5. 11. 1) to a cord of threads but to a piece of cloth. Some of the sūtrakāras and commentators drop hints that garments were used or could be used as upavita. Ap. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 22-23) says that a householder should always wear an upper garment and then adds 'or the sacred thread may serve the purpose of an upper garment.' This shows that originally

^{678.} तत्रेतिकर्तव्यतारूपेण क्रुज्णाजिनवाससोरन्यतरेण।पवीतित्वं तैत्तिरीयके विधीयते । परा. मा. I. 1. p. 173.

^{679.} निवीतं केचिद्रलवेणिकावन्धं स्मरन्ति । केचित्युनः परिकरबन्धम् । तत्र गलवेणि-कावन्धो युद्धादन्यत्र न प्राप्तोति । परिकरवन्धस्तु सर्वकर्मस्वय्यग्रताकरस्वात्प्राप्तः । तन्त्रवार्तिक on जोमेनि III. 4. 2 (p. 891).

upavita meant an upper garment and not merely a cord of In another place the same sūtra says (II. 8.19.12) one (who partakes of śrāddha dinner) should eat covered with an upper garment slung over the left shoulder and passing under the right arm'. Haradatta gives two explanations of this, viz. that one should wear an upper garment (while dining at a śrāddha) like a yajñopavita i. e. under the right arm and over the left shoulder, that is, a brahmana cannot rely on Ap, Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 23 and wear at śrāddha repast only the sacred thread (but he must wear the garment in that fashion) and give up the sacred thread for the time. 680 While another view is that he must wear the sacred thread and the upper garment both in the fashion of upavita. Ap. Dh. S. (I. 2. 6. 18-19) prescribes that when a student wears two garments he should wear one of them (i.e. the upper one) in the yajñopavita mode, but when he wears only one garment then he should wear it round the lower part of the body (and should not cover the upper body with a portion of the garment though it may be long enough for that). Ap. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 prescribes that a man must be vajñopavitin at the time of waiting upon teachers, elders, guests, at the time of homa, in japa (murmuring prayer), at meals and in taking acamana and at the time of daily vedic study. On this Haradatta says 'yajñopavīta means a particular mode of wearing the (upper) garment; if one has no upper garment, then there is another (but inferior) mode stated in Ap. Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 23 and that at other times it is not necessary to have the vajñopavita'.

The Gobhila gr. (I. 2.1) in treating of upanayana 681 says the student takes as yajñopavita a cord of threads, a garment

^{680.} नित्यमुत्तरं वासः कार्यम्। अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे। आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 4. 22-23; सोत्तराच्छादनश्चैव यज्ञोपवीती भुजीत। आप. ध. सू. II. 8. 19. 12; हरद्त्त explains "उत्तराच्छादनश्चपिवासः। तेन यज्ञोपवीतेन यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा भुजीत। नास्य भोजने 'अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे' इत्ययं कल्पो भवतित्येके। समुज्ञय इत्यन्ये।''; यज्ञोपवीती द्विवन्तः। अधोनिवीतस्त्वेकवन्तः। आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 6. 18-19; उपासने गुरूणां वृद्धानामतिथीनां होमे जप्यकर्मणि भोजन आचमने स्वाध्याये च यज्ञोपवीती स्यात्। आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15. 1, where हरद्त्त says 'वाक्षोविन्यासविशेषो यज्ञोपवीतम् । दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धरत्त इति ब्राह्मणविहितम्। वाससीऽसंभवेऽनुकल्पं वश्यति अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थं इति। पृषु विधानात् कालान्तरे नावश्यभावः।'; vide औज्ञानसस्मृति (Jivānanda, part I. p. 502) 'अग्न्यगारे गवां गोष्ठे होमे जप्ये तथैव च । स्वाध्याये भोजने नित्यं ब्राह्मणानां च संनिधौ। उपासने गुरूणां च संध्यपोक्षभयोरिप। उपवीती भवेषित्यं विधिरेष सनातनः॥'

^{681.} यज्ञोपवीतं कुरुते वस्तं वापि वा कुशरञ्जुमेव । गोभिलगृह्य I. 2. 1; सूत्रमपि वस्त्राभावाद्देदितय्यमिति । अपि वाससा यज्ञोपवीतार्थान् कुर्यात्तद्भावे त्रिवृता सूत्रेणेति ऋष्य- शृङ्गस्मरणात् । स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 32.

or a rope of kuśa grass'. This indicates that though a cord of threads was considered in Gobhila's days as the appropriate yajñopavita, that was not an invariable rule in his day and that a garment could be employed instead. The commentator being brought up in the latter day tradition explains by saying that if the sutra was lost in a forest then a garment may be worn like the sacred thread and if even that was lost a rope of kuśa. But this appears to be rather far-fetched as an explanation of Gobhila's unqualified words. Manu (II. 44) says that 'the upavita of a brāhmana should be made of cotton, its strands should be twined with the right hand moved over them (or the twist of the strands must be upwards) and it should have three threads'. Medhātithi comments on this that 'upavīta' means a particular mode of wearing a garment or a particular position of it and therefore here by upavita is meant that which can be worn in that mode. The Sm. C. quotes a prese passage from Rsyaśrnga or one may carry out all the purposes for which yajñopavita is required by means of a garment and in its absence by a string of three threads'. From the above passages, from the fact that many of the grhyasūtras are entirely silent about the giving or wearing of the sacred thread in upanayana and from the fact that no mantra 682 is cited from the Vedic Literature for the act of giving the vaiñopavita (which is now the centre of the upanayana rites), while scores of vedic mantras are cited for the several component parts of the ceremony of upanayana, it is most probable, if not certain, that the sacred thread was not invariably used in the older times as in the times of the later smrtis and in modern times, that originally the upper garment was used in various positions for certain acts, that it could be laid aside altogether in the most ancient times and that the cord of threads came to be used first as an option and later on exclusively for the upper garment.

A few rules about yajñopavīta may now be stated here. The yajñopavīta is to have three threads of nine strands well

^{682.} The mantra ' यज्ञोपनीतं प्रमं &c. is cited only in Baud. gr. (note 662 above) and in Vaik. (II. 5), has certainly a comparatively modern ring about it and is not cited in any well-known ancient work.

^{683.} Vide स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 4 and सं. प्र. pp. 416-418 as to how the upavita is to be manufactured and who is to manufacture it, one interesting fact being that an upavita prepared by a maiden was to be preferred to one prepared by a widow. मदनरान quoted in the आचाररान defines ऊर्ध्ववृत in Manu II. 44 as 'करेण दक्षिणेनोर्ध्वगतेन त्रिग्रणी इतम्। विति मानवे शास्त्रे सूत्रमूर्धवृत्तं स्मृतम्॥' (p. 2).

twisted (for each thread). Vide Baud. Dh.S.I. 5.5., Devala quoted in the Sm. C. 684. The nine devatās of the nine tantus (strands) are given by Devala viz. Omkāra, Agni, Nāga, Soma, Pitrs, Prajāpati, Vāyu, Sūrya, 685 all gods. Medhātithi on Manu II.44 says that in istis, animal sacrifices and soma sacrifices, the yajñopavita was to have only one thread of three tantus, but it was three-fold in three classes of ahina, ekūha, and sattra sacrifices as they required three fires and in the seven somasainsthas seven-fold and five-fold when viewed with reference to the three savanas and two samdhyās. The yajñopavīta should reach as far as the navel, should not reach beyond the navel, nor should it be above the chest. 686 Manu II. 44 and Visnu Dh. S. 27. 19 prescribe that the yajñopavita for brāhmana, ksatriya and vaisya should respectively be of cotton, hemp and sheep wool. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 5). Gobhila gr. (I. 2.1) say that it may be of cotton thread or of kuśa grass and Devala as quoted in Sm. C. says that all twice-born persons should make their yajñopavīta of cotton, of ksumā, hair of cow's tail, hemp, tree bark or kusa according to the availability of the material. 687 The remarks of the Samskaramayükha after quoting Manu II. 44 are interesting 'we do not know the origin of (or authority for) the practice of present-day ksatriyas and vaisyas, viz. of wearing cotton yajñopavīta. This shows that in the 17th century A.D. many ksatriyas and vaisyas put on yajñopavīta. 688 Kumārila also savs that wearing vajñopavīta and studying Vedas is common to all the three varnas.

The number of yajñopavītas to be worn differed according to circumstances. A brahmacārī was to wear only one yajñopavīta and samnyāsins, when they kept yajñopavīta at all, also wore

^{684.} कौंशं सूत्रं वा त्रिस्तिवृद्यज्ञोपवीतम् । आ नाभेः । बौ. ध. सू. रि. ५. ५-६; उक्तं देवलेन यज्ञोपवीतं कुर्वीत सूत्रेण नवतन्तुकम् । इति । स्मृतिच्. रि. १. ३१,

^{685.} अत्र प्रतितन्तु देवताभेदमाह देवलः । आंकारः प्रथमस्तन्तुर्द्धितीयोऽग्निस्तथैव च । द्वतीयो नागदैवत्यश्चतुर्थो सोमदैवतः । पश्चमः पितृदैवत्यः षष्ठश्चैव प्रजापितः । सप्तमो वायु-दैवत्यः सूर्यश्चाष्टम एव च ॥ नवमः सर्वदैवत्य इत्येते नव तन्तवः । स्युतिच० I. p. 31

^{686.} कात्यायनस्तु परिमाणान्तरमाह । पृष्ठवंशे च नाभ्यां च धृतं यद्विन्दते किटम् । तद्धार्यस्पवीतं स्याकातिलम्बं न चोच्छितम् । देवलः । स्तनादूध्वमधो नाभेर्न कर्तन्यं कथंचन । स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 31

^{687.} कार्पासक्षीमगोबालशणवल्कतृणोद्भवम् । सदा संभवतः कार्यस्पवीतं द्विजा-तिभिः ॥ स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 32; परा. मा. I. 2. p. 36; वृद्धहारीत (VIII. 47-48) has a similar verse.

^{688.} एवं च यदिवानींतनानां क्षत्रियवैदयानां कार्पासोपवीतधारणं तत्र मूलं न विद्याः । संस्कारमयुखः

only one. A snātaka 689 (i. e. one who has returned from the teacher's house after brahmacarya) and a house-holder were to wear two while one who desired long life may wear more than two. Vas. Dh. S. XII, 14 says 'snātakas should always wear a lower garment and an upper vajñopavitas, should have a stick and a pot filled with water'. Kasyapa allowed a householder to wear any number up to ten. Whether yajñopavīta as worn in modern times was worn from the most ancient times or not, it is certain that long before the Christian era it had come to be so worn and it had become an inflexible rule that a brahmana must always wear a yajñopavita and have his top-knot (of hair) always tied up; if he did any act without observing this rule, it was inefficacious. 690 Vas. 691 and Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 1) both say that a man must always wear yajñopavīta. If a brāhmana took his meals without wearing yajñopavita, he had to undergo prāyaścitta viz. to bathe, to mutter prayers and fast; vide Laghu-Hārīta verse 23 quoted by Aparārka pp. 1171, 1173. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 prescribes prāyaścitta for answering calls of nature without having the yajñopavīta placed on the right ear (as Yāj. I. 16 prescribes). Manu IV. 66 forbids the wearing of another's yajñopavīta along with several other things (such as shoes, ornament, garland and kamandalu). In Yāj. (I. 16 and 133) and other smrtis the yajñopavita is called brahmasūtra.

An interesting question is whether women ever had upanayana performed or whether they had to wear the yajñopavita. Several smrtis contain instructive dicta on this point. 692 The

^{689.} स्नातकानां तु नित्यं स्यादन्तर्वासस्तथोत्तरम् । यज्ञोपविते हे यष्टिः सोद्कश्च कमण्डलुः ॥ विसष्ठ XII. 14; विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71. 13-15 bas similar rules; the verse of Vasistha is quoted by the Mit. on Yaj I. 133; compare मन्त. IV. 36; एकैकस्प्यवीतं तु यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । यहिणां च वनस्थानासुपवीतद्वयं स्मृतम् । सोत्तरीयं त्रयं विषि विभृयाच्छुभ्रतन्तु वा । वृद्धहारीत VIII. 44-45. Vide देवल quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 32 and त्रीणि चरवारि पञ्चाष्ट यहिणः स्युर्दशापि वा । सर्वैर्वा शुचिभिर्धार्यस्थातीतं हिजातिभिः ॥ कश्यप quoted in the संस्कारमयुखः

^{690.} Vide note 609 above.

^{691.} नित्योदकी नित्ययज्ञोपवीती नित्यस्वाध्यायी पतिताज्ञवर्जी। ऋती च गच्छन् विधिवच जुह्नक ब्राह्मणश्च्यवते ब्रह्मलोकात्॥ वसिष्ठ 8. 9, बी. ध. स्. II. 2. 1, उद्योगपर्व 40. 25, the first pada is quoted in the तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 896.

^{692. &#}x27;यत्तु हारीतेनोक्तं द्विविधाः स्त्रियो नहावादिन्यः सद्योवध्वश्च। तत्र नहावादिनी-नामुपनयनमग्नीन्धनं नेदाध्ययनं स्वगृहे च भिक्षाचर्येति। सद्योवधूनां तु उपस्थिते विवाहे कथंचिदुपनयनमात्रं छुत्वा विवाहः कार्यः॥' quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 24; संस्कार-मकाश p. 402.

Hārltadharmasūtra as quoted in the Sm. C. and other digests says 'there are two sorts of women, those that are brahmavādinis (i. e. students of sacred lore) and those that are sadyovadhūs (i. e. who straightway marry). Out of these brahmavādinīs have to go through upanayana, keeping fire, vedic study and begging in one's house (i. e. under the parental roof); but in the case of sadvoyadhūs when their marriage is drawing near, the mere ceremony of upanayana should somehow be performed and then their marriage should be celebrated.' In the Gobhila gr. 693 II. 1. 19 it is said "leading forward towards the sacred fire (from the house) the bride who is wrapped in a robe and wears the sacred thread (slung from her left shoulder, in the yajñopavita mode) he (the husband) should murmur the verse 'Soma gave her to Gandharva' (Rg. X. 85. 41)". It is clear that the girl, according to Gobhila, wore the yajñopavita as a symbol of the rite of upanayana. The commentator to whom this procedure naturally seemed strange explains 'yajñopavītinīm' as meaning 'whose upper garment is worn in the fashion of the sacred thread'. In the Samskaratattva of Raghunandana it is stated that Harisarmā held that according to Gobhila the bride was to wear a yajñopavita. though Raghunandana himself does not approve of this explanation. In the ceremony of Samāvartana, Āśv. gr. III. 8, 694 on the subject of applying ointment says 'after having smeared the two hands with ointment a brahmana should salve his face first, a ksatriya his two arms, a vaisya his belly, a woman her private parts and persons who gain their livelihood by running, their thighs'. It is improper to say. as some do, that as to women this is a general rule interpolated in the treatment of samavartana and has nothing to do with the latter. We should rather hold that Asv. knew of women undertaking Vedic study and so prescribed what they should do in their samāvartana. In the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 305. 20) 695 a brāhmana is said to have taught to the

^{693.} पावृतां यज्ञोपवीतिनीमम्युदानयन् जपेत् सोमो द्ददृन्धर्वायेति ।' गोभिल्युद्ध II. 1. 19; the com. says 'यज्ञोपवीतवत्कृतोत्तरीयाम्'; 'न तु यज्ञोपवीतिनीमित्यनेन स्त्रीणामपि कर्मोङ्गरेवन यज्ञोपवीतधारणमिति हरिश्चर्मोक्तं युक्तं स्त्रीणां यज्ञोपवीतधारणातुप-पत्तेः।' संस्कारतस्व p. 896.

^{694.} अनुलेपनेन पाणी मलिप्य सुखमग्रे ब्राह्मणोऽनुलिम्येत् । बाहू राजम्यः । उद्दरं वैश्यः । उपस्थं स्त्री । ऊरू सुरणजीविनः । आश्व. गृ. III. 8. 11.

^{695.} ततस्तामनवद्याङ्गीं ग्राहयामास स द्विजः । मन्त्रग्रामं तदा राजक्रधर्वशिरासि श्रुतम् ॥ वनपर्व 305. 20.

mother of the Pandava heroes a number of mantras from the Atharvasiras. Hārīta696 prescribes that in the case of women samavartana took place before the appearance of menses. Therefore brahmavādinī women had upanayana performed in the 8th year from conception, then they studied Vedic lore and finished student-hood at the age of puberty. Yama 697 says 'in former ages, tying of the girdle of munja (i. e. upanayana) was desired in the case of maidens, they were taught the vedas and made to recite the Savitri (the sacred Gayatri verse); either their father, uncle or brother taught them and not a stranger and begging was prescribed for a maiden in the house itself and she was not to wear deer-skin or bark garment and was not to have matted hair'. Manu seems to have been aware of this usage as prevalent in ancient times, if not his own. Having spoken of the samskāras from jātakarma to upanayana, Manu winds up (II. 66) 'these ceremonies were to be performed in their entirety for women also, but without mantras' and adds (II. 67) the ceremony of marriage is the only samskara performed with Vedic mantras in the case of women; (in their case) attendance on the husband amounts to serving a guru (which a student had to do) and performance of domestic duties to worship of fire' (which the student had to perform by offering a fuel-stick in the evening every day). This shows that in the day of the Manusmrti, upanayana for women had gone out of practice, though there were faint glimmerings of its performance for women in former days. Relying on the words 'in former ages' occurring in the verses of Yama quoted above medieval digests like the Sm. C., the Nirnayasindhu and others say that this practice belonged to another yuga. In Banabhatta's Kādambarī, 698 Mahāśvetā (who was practising tapas) is described as 'one whose body was rendered pure by (wearing) a brahmasütra (i. e. yajñopavīta)'. The yajñopavīta came to have superhuman virtues attributed to it and so probably even women who were practising austerities wore it. The Sam. Pr.

^{696.} प्रायजसः समावर्तनम् । इति हारीतोक्त्या-संस्कारपकाश p 404.

^{697.} यमोपि। पुराकल्पे कुमारिणां मौजीवन्धनामिष्यते। अध्यापनं च वेदानां साविधी-वाचनं तथा॥ पिता पितृत्यो भ्राता वा नैनामध्यापयेत्परः। स्वगृहे चैव कन्याया भैक्षचर्या विधीयते॥ वर्जयदाजिनं चीरं जटाधारणमेव च ॥ संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 402-403; these verses are ascribed to Manu in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (I. p. 24) edited by Mr. Gharpure, but this seems to be a misreading for यम (which is the reading of the Mysore ed.)

^{698.} ब्रह्मसूत्रेण पवित्रीकृतकायाम् in para 133 of काद्म्यरी (पूर्वार्ध)

(p. 419) quotes a verse saying that the Supreme Being is called yajña and yajñopavita is so called because it belongs to the Supreme Being (or is used in sacrifices for Him).

Though ksatriyas and vaisyas also were entitled to have the upanayana performed, it appears that they often neglected it or at least neglected the constant wearing of yajñopavīta, so much so that from comparatively early times the yajñopavita came to be regarded as the peculiar indicator of the wearer's being of the brahmana caste. For example, Kalidasa in Raghuvamsa (XI. 64) 700 while describing the irate brāhmana hero Paraśurāma says 'wearing the upavīta, which was the heritage that came to him from his father, and holding a formidable bow that came to him from the side of his mother (who was a ksatriya princess)'. If the upavita had been as constantly worn by the ksatriyas as by brāhmanas in Kālidāsa's day he would not have spoken of it as the peculiar sign of a brāhmaņa. In the drama Venīsamhāra (Act III) when Karna resented the attitude of Aśvatthāman, who raised his left foot for kicking Karna, and said that he could not cut off his leg as by virtue of his caste (as brāhmana) he could not be punished in that way, Asvatthāman replied by throwing away his sacred thread with the words 'here do I give up my caste'.701 That shows that in the days of the Venisamhāra (not later than about 600 A. D.) the yajñopavīta had become the peculiar indicator of the caste of brāhmanas only.

The Baudhāyana-sūtra quoted in the Samskāra-ratnamālā (p. 188) says that yarn spun by a brāhmaṇa or his maiden daughter is to be brought, then one is to measure first 96 angulas of it with the syllable bhūḥ, then another 96 with bhuvaḥ and a third 96 with svaḥ, then the yarn so measured is to be kept on a leaf of palāśa and is to be sprinkled with water to the accompaniment of the three mantras 'āpo hi sṭhā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3), with the four verses 'Hiraṇyavarṇāh' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1 and Atharva I. 33. 1-4) and with the anuvāka beginning with 'pavamānaḥ suvarjaṇaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 4.8) and with the Gāyatrī, then the yarn is to be taken in the left hand and there is to be a clapping of the two hands thrice, the yarn is to be twisted

^{699.} यज्ञार्थः परमात्मा य उच्यते चैव होतृभिः । उपवीतं ततोऽस्येदं तत्स्याद्यज्ञीपवीत-कम् ॥ सं. प्र. p. 419.

^{700.} पित्रयमंशसुपवीतलक्षणं मातृकं च धतुरूजितं द्धत् । रघुवंश XI. 64.

^{701.} जात्या चेदवध्योऽहमियं सा जातिः परित्यक्ता। वेणीसंहार III.

with the three verses 'bhūragnim ca' (Tai. Br. III. 10. 2) and then the knot is to be tied with the formula 'Bhūrbhuvah svaścandramasam ca' (Tai. Br. III. 10. 2) and the nine deities 'omkāra, Agni (quoted above in note 685)' have to be invoked on the nine strands, then the upavīta is to be taken with the mantra 'devasya tvā' and then it is to be shown to the sun with the verse 'ud vayam tamasaspari' (Rg. I. 50. 10). and then the yajñopavīta is to be put on with the verse 'yajñopavītam &c.' Then there is to be a japa of the gāyatrī verse and then ācamans. For a brief statement of the mode of putting on a fresh sacred thread vide note below.

The Baudhāyana-gṛhyaśeṣasūtra (II. 8. 1-12) gives a few insignificant points of difference as to the upanayana of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, ambaṣṭha and karaṇa (son of a vaiśya from a śūdra female). It is not necessary to go into these details.

The next important question is as to whether upanayana was performed in the case of the blind, the deaf and dumb, the idiotic &c. Jaimini has established that those who are devoid of a limb⁷⁰⁸ are not eligible for agnihotra, but this inability arises only when the defect is incurable. Similarly the Ap. Dh.S. II. 6. 14. 1, Gaut. 28. 41-42, Vas. 17. 52-54, Manu 9. 201, Yaj. II. 140-141. Visnu. Db. S. 15. 32 ff. lay down that persons who are impotent. patita, congenitally blind or deaf, cripple and those who suffer from incurable diseases are not entitled to share property on a partition, but are only entitled to be maintained. But they all allow even these to marry. As marriage is not possible for dvijātis unless upanayana precedes it, it appears that the ceremony of upanayana was gone through as far as it could be carried out in the case of the blind, the deaf and dumb &c. Baud, gr. sesasūtra (II. 9) prescribes a special procedure for the upanayana of the deaf and dumb and idiots. The principal

^{702.} In modern times whenever a new yajñopavita has to be worn (because the one worn is lost or cut &c.) the ceremony briefly consists in repeating the three verses 'apo hi stha' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3) over water with which the yajñopavita is to be sprinkled; then there is the repetition of the Gayatri ten times (each time preceded by the vyahitis, as 'om bhur bhuvah svah') and then the yajñopavita is to be put on with the mantra 'yajñopavitam paramam' (cited above in note 662).

^{703.} अञ्चलीनश्च तद्धर्मा । उत्पत्ती नित्यसंयोगात् । जै. VI. 1. 41-42. The exclusion of these from inheritance will be dealt with later.

points in which their upanayana differs from that of others are that the offering of samidh, treading on a stone, putting on a garment, the tying of mekhala, the giving of deer skin and staff are done silently, that the boy does not mention his name, it is the ācārva himself who makes offerings of cooked food or of clarified butter, all the mantras are muttered softly by the ācārya himself. The sūtra 704 says that according to some the same procedure is followed as to other persons who are impotent, blind, lunatics, or suffering from such diseases as epilepsy, white leprosy or black leprosy &c. The Nirnayasindhu quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāna cited in the Prayogapārijāta about the upanayana of the impotent, the deaf and others which contains rules similar to Baudhāyana's. The Sam. Pr. (pp. 399-401) and S. R. M. (pp. 273-274) also quote the passage and explain it. The purana 705 says that those who cannot repeat the Gayatri (such as the deaf and dumb) should be brought near the teacher or fire and that the teacher should then touch them and then mutter the Gavatri himself, but that in other cases such as lunatics, they should be made to repeat the Gāyatrī at least if possible and if that too is not possible, then on touching them the ācārva should repeat it. The same purāna prescribes that kunda and golaka (the first being the offspring of an adulterous intercourse when the husband of the woman is living and the second when the husband is dead) should have upanayana performed in the same way as for the deaf and dumb, if it is known that the adulterer and the woman were both of the brahmana caste. There is some difference of opinion as to kunda and golaka. Manu (II. 174) defined them as above. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 1, Manu (10. 5) and Yāj. (I. 90, 92) 706 expressly say that a person born of a brahmana from a brahmana woman belongs to the same caste only if he is born in lawful wedlock and that even the anuloma sons must be born in wedlock. The kunda and golaka being the offspring of adultery

^{704.} षण्ढजढक्कीबान्धव्यसनिव्याधितोनमत्तर्हीनाङ्गवधिराधिकाङ्गामयावि-अपस्मारि-श्वित्रि-कृष्टि-दीर्घरोगिणश्चेतेन व्याख्याता इत्येके । चौ. यू. शेषसूत्र II. 9. 14.

^{705.} ध्वस्तपुंस्स्वेषु चैतेषु संस्काराः स्युर्पशोचितम्। मत्तौन्मत्तो न संस्कार्याविति केचित्रस्वक्षते। कर्मस्वनधिकाराञ्च पातित्यं नास्ति चैतयोः। तद्यत्यं च संस्कार्यमपरे त्वाहु- एत्यथा। संस्कारमन्त्रहोमाद्गीत् करोत्याचार्य एव तु। उपनेयांश्च विधिवद्याचार्यः स्वसमीपतः। आनीयाग्निसमीपं वा सावित्रीं स्पृष्ट्य वा जेपत्। कन्यास्वीकरणाद्यन्यत्सर्वे विशेण कारयेत्। एव- मेच द्विजेर्जातौ संस्कारों कुण्डगोहकौ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in निर्णयसिन्धु and संस्कारप्रकाशः; the स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 4) quotes some of these verses.

^{706.} विकास्त्रेष विधि: स्मृत: ॥ या. I. 92.

would not really be brāhmaṇas even though both parents were brāhmaṇas. Thus, though these two are not strictly brāhmaṇas, upanayana of a secondary kind is allowed to them. Manu (III. 156) included the kuṇḍa and golaka among brāhmaṇas not to be invited at śrāddha. Elaborate discussions have been held why they were so specially mentioned, when they were not on Manu's own dictum brāhmaṇas. Some like the author of the Saṅngraha held that the kuṇḍa and golaka forbidden by Manu in śrāddha were those born under the ancient practice of niyoga; while others repudiated the idea that those born under the practice of niyoga had any taint attaching to them. 707

It is not necessary to go into the question of the upanayana Manu (X. 41) says that the six anulomas are of mixed castes. eligible for the rites of dvijas (and so for upanayana) and the Mit. 708 on Yaj. I. 92 and 95 says that the anulomas have upanayana performed according to the rules of the caste of the mother and further mixed castes arising from the six anuloma castes in the anuloma order are also eligible for upanayana. The Baud, gr. sesasūtra II. 8 gives rules for the upanayana of ksatriyas, vaisyas and of mixed castes like rathakāra, ambastha &c. Gaut. 709 IV. 21 made an exception in the case of the son of a brāhmana from a śūdra woman. All pratilomas were like śūdra according to Manu (IV. 41) and the offspring of a brāhmana from a śūdra woman, though anuloma, was like pratilomas. A sūdra is only ekajūti and not dvijūti (Gaut. X. 51) and for the pratilomas (as well as for the śūdra) there was no upanayana.

Upanayana was so highly thought of that some of the ancient texts prescribe a method of upanayana for the Asvattha tree. Vide Baud.gr. sesasūtra II. 10. In modern times also rarely this upanayana is performed. To the west of the Asvattha tree homa is performed, the samskāras from pumsavana are imitated but with the vyāhṛtis only, the tree being touched with Rg. III.

^{707.} Vide स्मृतिचिन्दिका on आद्ध (II. pp. 399-400, Gharpure's ed.) for this elaborate discussion; vide also संस्कारमकाञ्च pp. 397-398.

^{708.} अतश्च मूर्धावसिक्तादीनां क्षत्रियादेवकंतरेव दण्डाजिनोपवीतादिभिव्यनयनादिकं कार्यम् । मिता॰ on या. I. 92 and 'एवं ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियोत्पन्नमूर्धावसिक्तमाहिष्याद्युलोमसंवरे जात्यन्तरता उपनयनादिवासिश्च वेदितच्या तयोद्धिजातित्वात् । ' मिता॰ on या. I. 95.

^{709.} प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः। श्रूदायां च। गौतम IV. 20-21; अश्रूदाणामदुष्ट-फर्मणासुपायमं वेदाध्ययनमग्न्याधेयं फलवन्ति च कर्माणि। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 6,

8. 11 'vanaspate'. A piece of cloth is held between the tree and the performer, then eight auspicious verses are repeated (mangalāṣṭaka), the cloth is removed and then the hymn called Dhruvasūkta (Rg. X.72. 1-9) is repeated. Other mantras (like Rg. X.62-63) are also recited. Then a piece of cloth, yajñopavIta, girdle, staff and deer-skin are given with appropriate mantras and lastly after touching the tree, the GāyatrI is repeated. In E. C. vol. III. Malavalli No. 22 there is a reference to the upanayana of Aśvattha trees performed by one Bāchappa in 1358 A. D.

Savitryupadeśa:—It will be seen from the passage of the Sat. Br. quoted above (in note 625) that the sacred Gayatri verse was imparted in very ancient times to the student by the teacher a year, or six months, 24, 12 or 3 days after upanayana and that the Sat. Br. prescribes that in the case of brahmana students this must be done immediately. This ancient rule was probably due to the fact that students in those far-off times when they came to the teacher at the age of seven or eight had hardly any previous instruction and so must have found it difficult to pronounce properly and correctly the sacred verse immediately on initiation. It is for this reason that so modern a work as the S. R. M. (p. 194) says that such mantras as 'San-no devirabhistaye' (Rg. X. 9. 4) which have to be repeated by the brahmacari in the rites of upanayana should be taught to him even before upanayana, just as the wife (who being a woman had no upanayana performed) was taught the Vedic mantras accompanying such acts as that of examining ajya in sacrifices. 710 The same rule 711 of postponing the instruction in Gāyatrī is stated in Śān. gr. II. 5, Mānava gr. I. 22, 15. Bhar. gr. I. 9, Par. gr. II. 3. The general practice however seems to have been to impart the Gayatri that very day. According to most of the sūtras the teacher sits to the north of the fire facing the east and in front of him the student sits facing the west and then the student requests the teacher to recite to him the verse sacred to Savitr and the teacher imparts to him first one pada at a time, then two padas and then the whole. According

^{710.} ब्रह्मचारिकर्तृकिकियाकरणीभूतमन्त्राणां शं नो देवीरित्येवमाद्यीनासुपनयना- त्यागेव शिक्षणं कर्तव्यं सूत्रद्वाचिकुद्ग्यद्यज्ञातत्वात्। पत्न्या यथाऽवेक्षणादिमन्त्राणाम्। सं. रत्नमाला p. 194.

^{711.} संवत्सरे सावित्रीमन्वाह त्रिरात्रमन्वक्षं वा। शां. गृ. II. 5; तां खल्बिमां सावित्रीं संवत्सरावेक आहुई।वृशरात्रावेके त्रिरात्रावेके सच एके। भारहाज गृ. I. 9.

to Baud, gr. II. 5. 34-37 the student places on the fire four fuel sticks of the palasa or other sacrificial tree anointed with clarified butter and repeats mantras to Agni. Vayu. Aditva and the lord of vratas with 'svāhā' when offering 718 Various intricate modes occur in the sutras and the commentaries thereon about how this first instruction Gayatri is to be carried out. The differences are due to the place assigned to the vyāhrtis713 (bhūh, bhuvah, syah). Two illustrations are set out below from Sudarsana 714 on Ap. gr. II. 11. The syllable 'om' has been looked upon as very sacred from ancient times and is a symbol of the Supreme Being. The Tai. Br. II. 11 contains a eulogy of 'omkara' and quotes Rg. I. 164. 39 in support 'reo aksare parame &c.' taking the word 'aksara' to mean the 'omkara'. The Tai. Up. I. 8. says '(syllable) om is Brahma; om is all this (universe)'. A brāhmana about to begin the teaching (of the Veda) says 'om' with the idea that he may reach near brahma. 'Om' is called pranava. Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 13. 6 says 'omkāra is the door to

^{712.} अंग्ने व्रतपते सावित्रं व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यतां स्वाहा। वायो व्रतपते आदित्य वंतपते व्रतानां व्रतपते सावित्रं व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यतां स्वाहा। बी. गृ. II. 5. 36-37.

^{713.} The mystic words भू:, भुव:, स्य: are sometimes called महाज्याहृतिङ (vide Gobhila gr. II. 10. 40, Manu II. 81). They are also called simply ज्याहृतिङ; vide ते. उप. I. 5. 1, where मह: is said to be the 4th. The number of vyāhitis is usually seven, भू:, भुव:, स्व:, मह:, जन:, तप:, सत्यं (Vasi\tau harma (1. 52. and 25. 8) speaks of only five, viz भू:, भुव:, स्व:, पुरुष:, सत्यं, while the त्याहृतिसाम has the same five, but पुरुष is last.

^{714.} ब्याह्नतीर्वह्नताः पादादिष्यन्तेषु वा तथर्षच्योरुत्तमां कृत्स्नायाम्। आप. ग्.
11. 11; on which सुद्र्झन says 'ऑ भूस्तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यम्। ऑ भुवः भर्गो देवस्य धीमिति ।
ऑ: सुवः धियो यो नः प्रचोद्यात्। ऑ सुवः तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमिति । ओं भुवः
धियो यो नः प्रचोद्यात्। ऑ सुवः तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमिति । अं भुवः
धियो यो नः प्रचोद्यात्। ऑ सुवः तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भूः। अं भर्गो देवस्य धीमिति । धियो यो नः
प्रचोद्यात् सुवः। ओं तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भूः। ओं भर्गो देवस्य धीमिति भुवः। ओं धियो यो नः प्रचोद्यात् भुवः।
ओं तत्सवितु ... यात् सुवः॥; compare Bhar, gi. I, 9. बी. ग्. II. 5. 40 is the same
as आप. ग्. 11. 11. स्वः is often pronounced as सुवः. ओमिति बह्म। ओमितिवं
सर्वम्। ... ओमिति बाह्मणः प्रवक्ष्यासाह बह्मोपामवानीति। बह्मवामोति। ते. उ. I. 8;
योगसूत्र I. 27 declares 'तस्य वाचकः प्रणयः'. आंकारः स्वर्गद्दारं तस्माद् बह्माध्येष्यमाण
पतदादि प्रतिपद्येत। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13. 6. मेधाः on मन्न II. 74 'सर्वदाम्रहणमध्ययनविधिमात्रधर्मो यथा स्यात्। ... अतो होमगन्त्रजपशास्तानुवचनयाज्यादीनामारम्भे
नास्ति प्रणवोऽन्यत्रापि उदाहरणार्थे वैदिकवाक्यव्याहारे.' In the माण्डूक्योपनिषद् (12)
and in गौद्धपाद's कारिकाः (I. 24-29) ओकार is identified with the supreme
Brahma.

heaven; therefore one who is about to study the Veda, should start his study by first repeating om.' Manu (II. 74) prescribes the repetition of pranava at the beginning and at the end of daily Vedic study and further on (II. 76) says that the three letters 'a', 'u', 'm' (in om) and the three vyāhrtis were distilled from the three vedas by Prajāpati as the essence. Medhātithi on Manu (II. 74) says that 'om must be uttered at the beginning of the daily Vedic study by the student or by the householder (when performing brahmayajña), but it is not necessary in japa' &c. In the Mārkandeya-purāna chap. 42, Vāyu chap. 20, Vrddha-Hārīta-smrti VI. 59-62 and in numerous other places there are hyperbolical or esoteric identifications of the three letters of om with Visnu, Laksmi and the jiva, with the three Vedas, with the three worlds, with three fires &c. Kathopanisad I. 2, 15-17 om is said to be the end of all Vedas, the source of the knowledge of brahma and also its symbol.

The sacred Gayatri verse is Rg. III. 62. 10 and occurs in the other Vedas also. It is addressed to Savitr (the sun) and may also be interpreted as a prayer to the Source and Inspirer of everything. It literally means 'we contemplate that esteemed (longed for) refulgence (glory) of the divine Savitr who may inspire our intellects (or actions). Some grhya sūtras prescribe the same verse for all students, whether brahmanas, ksatriyas or vaisyas. But others say that for brahmana the Savitri verse is the Gayatri, but for ksatriyas and vaisyas, a savitri (verse addressed to Savity) in the Tristubh (having 11 syllables in each quarter) or Jagati (12 syllables in each quarter) should be the proper one. Here again there is difference. According to the commentators on the Kāthaka gr. (41, 20), the verse 'adabdhebhih savitā' (Kāthakam IV. 10) and the verse 'Viśvā rūpāni' (Kāthakam XVI. 8) are cited as the Sāvitrī for a ksatriya and a vaisya respectively; while the commentator on San. gr. (II. 5. 4-6) says that the Tristubh which is to be taught as the Sāvitrī to the kṣatriya students is 'ā kṛṣṇena rajasā' Rg. I. 35. 2) and the Jagati Savitri for the vaisya is 'Hiranyapānih savitā' (Rg. I. 35. 9) or 'hamsah śucisad' (Rg. IV. 40. 5). According to the Vārāhagrhya (5) 'devo yāti savitā' and 'yunjate manah' (Rg. V. 81.1) are the Tristubh and Jagati meant as Sāvitrī for the ksatriya and vaisya respectively. According to Śātātapa quoted in the Madanapārijāta (p. 23) the verse 'Deva savitah' (Tai. S. I. 7. 7. 1. Kāthakam XIII. 14) is the sāvitrī for the ksatriya. According to Medhātithi on Manu II. 38 'ā kṛṣṇena (Rg. I. 35. 2) and 'viśvā rūpāṇi' (Kāṭhakam XVI. 8)

are the two Savitris respectively for ksatriya and vaisya. all these rules about the Savitri being in the Gayatri, Tristubh and Jagati metres for the three varnas respectively are probably very ancient follows from the text 'gavetrya brahmanamasrajata tristubhā rājanyam &c.' (quoted in note 356 above). The Asv. gr., Ap. gr., and some other sutras are entirely silent on the point, while Par. gr. II. 3 allows an option viz. all varnas may learn the Gayatri or the Savitri verses in the Gayatri, Tristubh and Jagati respectively. 715 Why the Gayatri verse (Rg. III. 62, 10) came to be famous it is difficult to say. Its fame was probably due to its grand simplicity and to its adaptability to an idealistic conception of the world as emanating from an all-pervading Intelligence. The Gopatha Brāhmana (I. 32-33) explains the Gāyatrī in various ways. In the Tai. Ar. (II. 11) it is stated that the mystic words 'bhūh, bhuvah, svah' are the truth (essence) of speech and that Savitā in the Gāyatri means 'one who engenders glory'.716 Atharvaveda 19.71.1 calls it 'vedamātā' and prays that it may confer long life, glory, children, cattle &c. on the singer, 717 The Br. Up. V. 14, 1-6718 contains a sublime eulogy of Gāyatrī which word is there derived from 'gaya' meaning 'prana', and the root 'trai' (to save) and it is said that when the teacher repeats the Gayatri for the benefit of the young student he thereby saves the boy's life (from ignorance and the effects of sin). The Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 10 mentions a brāhmana text to the effect that the Savitri is recited for all the Vedas (i. e. by its recital all Vedas become recited as it is their essence). Manu II. 77 (=Visnu Dh. S. 55, 14) says that each pada of the Savitri was as if extracted from each of the three Vedas and that (II, 81 = Visnu Dh. S. 55, 15) the Savitri together with om and the three mystic syllables (bhuh &c.) is the mouth of Vedic lore (since Vedic study starts with it, or 'brahma' may mean 'the Supreme Being'). Manu II. 77-83, Visnu Dh. S. 55, 11-17, Sankhasmrti XII, Samvarta (verses 216-223),

^{715.} गायत्रीं ब्राह्मणायाञ्चबूयादाग्नेयो ने ब्राह्मण इति श्रतेख्रिष्टुमं राजन्यस्य जगतीं वैदयस्य सर्वेषां ना गायत्रीम् । पार. गृ. II. 3.

^{716.} त्रीनेव प्रायुक्त भूर्भुवः सुविरत्याहैतहै वात्तः सत्यं यदेव वात्तः सत्यं तत्याः सुक्ताः अध सावित्रीं गायत्रीं त्रिरत्वाह पच्छोऽर्धर्चज्ञोऽनवानं सविता श्रियः प्रसविता । ते. आ. II. 11 (अनवानं means 'without stopping or break').

^{717.} स्तुता मया वरदा वेदमाता प्रचोद्यन्तां पावमानी द्विजानाम् । आयुः प्राणं प्रजा पर्छु कीर्ति वृषिणं ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । मह्यं द्त्ता व्रजत ब्रह्मठोकम् ॥ अथर्ववेद् 19. 71. 1.

^{718.} सा हैवा गयांस्तत्रे प्राणा वे गयास्तत्प्राणांस्तत्रे तद्यद्र्यांस्तत्रे तस्माद्रायत्री नाम स यामेवाम् सावित्रीमन्वाहेवैव सा स यस्मा अन्वाह तस्य प्राणांखायते । कृ. उ. V. 14. 4.

Bṛhat-Parāśara chap. V (where the mystical significance of each of the 24 letters of the Gāyatrī is explained) and numerous⁷¹⁹ other works contain hyperbolical eulogies of Gāyatrī. Parāśara V. 1 calls it 'Vedamātā'. The words 'Apo jyotī rasomṛtam brahma bhūr-bhuvaḥ svarom' are said to be the śiras (head) of the Gāyatrī (vide Śankhasmṛti XII. 12). Manu (II. 104) and others prescribe that every day a brahmacārī (as well as others) must perform japa of Gāyatrī. Baud. Dh. S. II 4. 7-9 prescribes that in the evening Samdhyā adoration one should murmur the Gāyatrī a thousand times, or a hundred times with prāṇāyāma each time or ten times with 'om' and the seven vyāḥṛtis. 720 Vas. Dh. S. 26. 15 prescribes that a man desirous of purifying himself from sin should repeat the divine Gāyatrī 1000 times (daily) as the maximum or 100 times (as the middle way) or at least ten times. There are mantras for invoking the Gāyatrī and for taking leave of it. 721

Brahmacāri-dharmāḥ:—Certain rules and observances are prescribed for all brahmacārins 722. They are of two kinds, some are prescribed for a very short time and some have to be observed for all the years of studenthood. The Āśv. gr. I. 22. 17 728 says "for three nights, or twelve nights or a year, after upanayana

^{719.} Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 143-152 for lengthy remarks on several matters connected with the Gayatri; on p. 145 there is a dhyāna of the 24 letters of the sacred verse. पाज. I. 23 refers to the siras of Gayatri.

^{720.} विश्वक्तप on या. I. 25 quotes a verse of हारीत 'देवी सहस्रक्षीषां मु शतमध्या दृशावरा । जपेदतः सहस्रान्तां शतमध्यां दृशावराम् ।' and adds तृतु कार्योपरोधा-दृश्चिहोत्रिविषयं दृष्टस्यम् । पाक् स्योदियादुपस्थानानुपपत्तेरुकर्ष इति केचित् । न त्वेवं समान्वारः ।

^{721.} The आवाहनमन्त्र acc. to गोभिल is 'आयाहि वरवे देवि अक्षरे ब्रह्मवाविनि। गायत्रीं छन्द्रसां मातर्बह्मयोने नमे। इस्तु ते ॥' quoted in स्मृतिच॰ (I. p. 143) and the विसर्जनमन्त्र is 'उत्तरे शिखरे जाता भूम्यां पर्वतवासिनि। ब्रह्मणा समद्भक्तते गच्छ देवि यधासुखम् ' quoted in the गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 241. The स्मृतिच॰ (I. p. 151) quotes from गोभिल 'महेश्वरसुखोत्यक्ता विष्णोईद्यसंभवा। ब्रह्मणा ... यथेच्छया ' and also 'उत्तमे शिखरे जाते &c.' These are recited in the modern Saindhyā also.

^{722.} अध एवासीताधः शयीताधस्तिष्ठेद्धो व्रजेत् । गोपथ 2. 4.

^{723.} अत उध्वीमक्षारलवणाशी बद्धान्वार्यधःशायी त्रिरात्रं द्वाद्शरात्रं संवत्सरं वा। आश्व. गृ. I. 22.17; त्रवहमेतमाग्नें धारयन्ति क्षारलवणवर्जमधःशय्या च। बी. गृ. II. 5.55; त्रिरात्रं क्षारलवणदुग्धामिति वर्जयेत्। खादिर गृ. II. 4.33. There is great divergence of views on the meaning of क्षारलवण. According to Narayana on आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 10 क्षार means certain cereals 'हें हिम्बका राजमाणा माणा सुद्रा मस्रिकाः। लक्ष्मवाहरुयाश्च निष्पावास्तिलाधाः क्षारसंज्ञिताः।'; मातृद्व on हिरण्यकोशिग्. I. 8. 1 explains 'सहादिरक्षविकारः क्षारः'; मेधा॰ on मन्तु V. 72 explains that क्षार means such salts as यवक्षार and लवण means सैन्धवः हरद्त्त on आप. ध. स्. II. 6. 15. 12 explains 'यद् भक्ष्यमाणं पर्यतो लालोत्पद्यते तत् क्षारं ग्रहलिकुन्धादिः' कुल्लक on मन्तु V. 72 explains क्षारलवण as 'manufactured salt'.

the brahmacārī should not eat 'kṣāra' and 'lavaṇa' and should sleep on the ground". The same rule is stated by Baud. gr. II. 5. 55 (adding the maintenance of the fire kindled at the upanayana for three days), Bhār. gr. I. 10, Pār. gr. II. 5, Khādira gr. II. 4. 33 (adding avoidance of milk also for three days). Hir. gr. (I. 8. 2) specially prescribes for the first three days the avoidance of kṣāra, of lavaṇa and vegetables, and the duty of sleeping on the ground, of not drinking out of an earthen vessel, of not giving the remnants of his food to śūdras and several other observances which he has to continue throughout the period of student-hood. These latter are briefly indicated in Manu II. 108 and 176 viz. offering samidhs into fire, begging for food, not using a cot, working for the teacher, daily bath, tarpaṇa of gods, sages and pitṛs &c.

The observances that last throughout the period of studenthood are first seen in the passage of the Sat. Br. (quoted above in note 625). The same are laid down in Asv. gr. I, 22, 2 (quoted on p. 283 above), Par. gr. II. 3, Ap. Mantrapatha (II. 6. 14), Kāthaka gr. (41.17) and other texts. These are principally ācamana, gurušušrūsā, vāksamyama (silence), samidādhāna. When the teacher says in the upanayana 'drink water, do work &c'. the student is to reply with the word 'yes' ('bādham' or om). But the sūtras and smṛtis lay down many rules about these and other observances; vide Gaut, II, 10-40, San. gr. II, 6.8. Gobhila gr. III. 1.27, Khādira gr. II. 5. 10-16, Hir. gr. 8.1-7, Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 11-I. 2. 7. 30, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2, Manu II. 49-249. Yai. I. 16-32 &c. The rules centre principally round agniparicarva (worshipping fire), bhiksa (begging for food). samdhyopāsana, study of Veda and its methods and duration. avoidance of certain foods and drinks and other matters like singing &c., guruśuśrūsā (including honouring him and his family and other elders), and the special vratas of the brahmacarl. These principal topics will be dealt with in some detail now. Before doing so some other matters will have to be briefly disposed off.

On the 4th day after upanayana a rite was performed called Medhājanana 724 (generation of intelligence) by virtue of which

724. Compare मेधाजनन in जातकर्म above (on p. 233). 'वेद्यहणसामर्थरयुक्ता मेधाजनात । येन तन्मेधाजननकर्मोपदिशति स्वयम् ॥' संग्रह quoted in सं. प्र. p. 446.
Three directions viz. south, south-east and south-west are objectionable
(निन्द्त); the rest are unobjectionable. शीनक (quoted in संस्कारपकाश
p. 445) 'स्ववासापेक्षयाग्रेयीं दिशं याग्यां च नैर्म्नतीम्। वर्जयित्या दिशोऽनिन्छास्तिस्रोऽन्यस्या दिशि स्थितम्॥

it was supposed that the student's intellect was made capable of mastering Vedic lore. Asv. gr. I. 22. 18-19 deals with this. The teacher makes the student sprinkle water in an unobjectionable direction thrice from the left to the right with a pot of water round about a palasa tree that has one root, or round a bunch of kuśa grass if there is no palāśa, and makes him repeat the mantra 'Oh glorious one, thou art glorious. glorious one, are glorious, thus, glorious one, make me full of glory. As thou art the preserver of the treasure of sacrifice for the gods, thus may I become the preserver of the treasure of Veda among men'725. The Bhār, gr. (I. 10) also prescribes this rite on the fourth day after upanayana and says that a palāśa tree with one root is to be anointed with $\bar{a}jya$ and the mantra 'suśravah' (the same as in Aśv.) is to be muttered. Kāthaka gr. 41. 18, Mānava gr. I. 22. 17 also refer to this. The Sam. Pr. (pp. 444-446) gives a more elaborate description. In addition to what is stated in Asv. gr. it quotes from Saunaka and adds a few more details, viz. the student deposits at the root of the palāśa his garments already worn. the staff and the girdle and then wears new ones and then when the boy returns to the house, a stream of is poured before him. The teacher takes the garments &c. left by the boy. The Ap. gr. 11. 24 says that on the fourth day the teacher takes the garments worn on the day of upanayana by the student and the boy wears new ones. Sudarsana on Ap. 11. 24 speaks of palāśa-karma on the fourth day. The boy goes out with his ācārya to the east or north and three sthandilas are prepared to the north or east of a palasa tree and on these three pranava (om), śraddhā and medhā are invoked, are worshipped with unguents, flowers, lamp &c. (as in the regular worship of an image), then the pranava is worshipped with the formula 'yaś-chandasām' to 'śrutam me gopāya' (Tai. Up. I. 4.1), śraddhā with the hymn 'śraddhayāgnih' Rg. X. 151 and Medhā with the anuvāka 'Medhā devi' (Tai. Ār. X. 39). Then the staff is deposited at the foot of the palasa, another staff is taken and the student returns to the house with the ācārya. In modern times in the Decean a similar ceremony is gone through under the (Marāthi) name 'Palasulā'.

^{725.} सुझवा: has two meanings (1) 'glorious,' (2) 'who hears well' (i. c. who learns the Veda well by hearing it from the teacher). This occurs in आए. म. पा. II. 5.1 also (but in आए. म्. XI. 14 it is the मन्द्र for taking the staff).

We have seen above that the student has to offer samidh (fuel stick) into the fire on the day of upanayana. The fire kindled at the time of upanayana was to be kept up for three days and the fuel-sticks were offered in that fire during those days. Afterwards samidh was to be offered in the ordinary fire (vide Baud. gr. II. 5. 55-57, Ap. gr. 11. 22). The student is required to offer every day after upanayana a samidh into fire in the evening and in the morning. Asv. gr. I. 22, 6 prescribes this and the commentator Nārāyana adds that in so doing he has to observe the procedure prescribed in Asv. gr. I. 20, 10-I. 21, 4 for the putting on of samidh on the first day. San. gr. II, 10, Manu II. 186, Yaj. I. 25 and almost all others prescribe the offering of samidh into fire in the evening as well as in the morning: but Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 17 notes that according to some 'agnipūjā' was to be performed in the evening only. Ap. Dh. S. (1.1.4. 14-20) lays down the following rules: 'the student 726 should always bring fuel from the forest and heap it on a low place (otherwise if placed high it may fall on anybody's head), one should not go out after sunset for bringing fuel-sticks. Having kindled fire, having swept round it he should offer fuel-sticks in the evening and the morning as already directed (in the grhyasūtra). One should sweep round the fire that is burning red-hot with the hand and not with a broom (of kusa grass)." The Ap. Dh. S. I. 5. 15, 12 further prescribes that no fuel is to be placed on fire (in śrauta and smārta rites) unless water has been sprinkled over it. The student had not only to offer samidhs on his own account into the fire, but he had to help his ācārya in the latter's worship of fire by bringing fuel and by offering oblations for his ācārva when the latter was away on a journey or was ill. The Asv. gr. I. 9. 1 says 727 beginning from marriage a householder should worship grhya fire himself or his wife or son or maiden daughter or pupil may do so.' The Chāndogya Up. IV. 10 contains the story of Upakosala Kāmalāyana who was a student of Satyakāma Jābāla and looked after his teacher's fires for twelve years and whom Satyakāma did not teach anything, though the wife of Satyakama interceded on behalf of the dejected pupil.

^{726.} सद्ारण्यादेधानाहृत्याधो निद्ध्यात् । नास्तमिते समिद्धारो गच्छेत् । अझिमिद्ध्या परिसमूह्य समिध आद्ध्यात्सायं प्रातर्यथोपदेशस् । सायमेवाशिपूजेत्येके । समिद्धमश्चिं पाणिना परिसमूहेस्न समूहत्या । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 14-18; नाप्रोक्षितमिन्धनमझावाद्ध्यात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15. 12.

^{727.} पाणिग्रहणादि गृह्यं परिचरेत्स्वयं पत्न्यिप वा एत्रः कुमार्यन्तेवासी वा। आश्व. पू. I. 9. 1.; vide also ज्ञां. मू. II. 17. 3 to the same offect. The various kinds of fires will be discussed later on under 'marriage.'

A few words about samidhs may be said here. The samidh 728 must be of palāśa or some other yajñiya tree (used in sacrifices). Such trees are palāśa, aśvattha, nyagrodha, plaksa, vaikankata, udumbara, bilva, candana, sarala, śala, devadāru and khadira. The Vāyupurāna quoted by Aparārka (p. 51) says that palāśa samidhs should be preferred, in their absence samidhs of khadira, in the absence of the first two, of śami, rohitaka and aśvattha and in the absence of all these of and vetasa. The Trikanda-mandana (II. 82-84) has several rules on this point. The principal trees for fuelsticks (samidh) are palāśa and khadira, but samidhs of kovidāra, bibhītaka, kapittha, karabha, rājavrksa, sakadruma, nīpa, nimba, karañja, tilaka, ślesmātaka or śālmali are not to be employed. The samidh was not to be thicker than the thumb, was to have its bark on it, was not to be worm-eaten nor divided, nor longer nor shorter than the span (pradesa) nor having two branches, it was to be without leaves and was to be strong.729 According to Harita 'when death wanted to seize the brahmacārī formerly, Agni saved him from death and so a brahmacārī should serve fire '.730

The number of samidhs varied as shown above and not only in the worship of Agni by the brahmacārī, but also elsewhere.

Bhikṣā:—The \overline{A} sv. gr. after prescribing begging for food states (I. 22. 7-8) that the student should first beg of a man who would not refuse or of a woman who would not refuse and that in begging he should say 'sir, give food'. More detailed rules are laid down by others.

The Hir. gr. (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 157) says "after giving the student the staff the teacher gives him a bowl (for collecting

^{728.} पलाशाश्वरथन्यश्रोधएश्रवैकङ्कतो द्भवाः । अश्वरथोद्धम्बरी बिल्वश्वन्दनः सरल-स्तथा। शालश्च देवदारश्च खादिरश्चेति पश्चियाः॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in क्रुत्यरनाकर p. 61, where अश्वरथन्यश्रोध is said to mean अश्वरथसंपृक्तो वटः; the same verses are quoted in हेमाद्भि, व्रतखण्ड part 1 p. 76 as शमीवलाशन्यश्रोधः; compare या. I. 302 for the nine स्तिध्श for the nine grahas. याज्ञ. I. 302 is the same as मत्स्यपुराण 93. 27. Vide वायुपुराण vol. II. 13. 70-72 for similar verses.

^{729.} नाङ्गुष्ठाद्धिका कार्या समित्स्थूलतया क्रःचित्। न वियुक्ता त्वचा चैव न सकीटा न पाटिता। प्रादेशास्त्रिका नोना तथा न स्याद्विज्ञास्त्रिका। न सपर्णा न निर्वीर्था होमेषु च विज्ञानता॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 51 and स्मृतिच॰ (I. p. 33) as कारयायन'8 (= गोभिलस्मृति I. 114-115).

^{730.} पुरा जग्राह वै मृत्युर्हिसयन ब्रह्म चारिणम् । अग्निस्तं मोक्षयामास तस्मात्यरिचरेखि तम् ॥ ब्रह्मचारी यदा त्वग्रावाद्ध्यात्सामिधो निर्ह । गृङ्कीयात्तं तदा मृत्युराद्ध्यात् समिध-सतः ॥ हारीत quoted in स्मृतिच । I. p. 33.

alms) and says to him 'go out for alms'. Let him beg of his mother first, then in other families which are generously disposed: he brings the food to his guru and announces it to him with the words '(these are) the alms' and then the teacher accepts with the words 'these are good alms'." The Baud. gr. II. 5. 47-53 gives the same rules and adds 731 that a brahmana student should beg with the words 'bhavati bhiksam dehi' (lady, give me food), a ksatriya with the words 'bhiksam bhavati dehi'and a vaisya with the words 'dehi bhiksam bhavati.' Pār. gr. II. 5, Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 28-30, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 17, Manu II. 49, Yāj. I. 30 and others contain the same rules about addressing the ladies for alms. 732 Par. gr. II. 5 says that the student should first beg of three women who would not refuse or of six, of twelve or of an unlimited number and that according to some he should first beg of his mother. Manu II. 50 says that he should first beg of his mother, sister mother's sister. Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 26 says that if women refuse to give alms to a devout brahmacari he snatches away or destroys their merit arising from sacrifices. gifts and burnt offerings, progeny, cattle, spiritual (of their families) and food and quotes a Brahmana passage 'therefore indeed one should not refuse to give food to a crowd of students moving about (for alms) for fear that among them there may be some one who is like this (a devout student), and who has carried out all the observances for students.' If a brahmacārī cannot get food elsewhere he may beg from his own family, from his elders (like maternal uncles). his relatives and lastly from his acarya himself. As to the persons 732 from whom to beg for food, one sees how the growing strictness of caste rules about food during the lapse of centuries affected the brahmacari. Ap. Dh. S. 734 I. 1. 3. 25 prescribes that

^{731.} अधास्मै अरिक्तं पात्रं प्रयच्छक्षाह । मातरमेदाग्रे भिक्षस्वेति । स मातरमेदाग्रे भिक्षेत । भवति भिक्षां देहीति बाह्मणो भिक्षेत । भिक्षां भवति देहीति राजन्यः । देहि भिक्षां भवतीति वैदयः । तत्समाहृत्याचार्याय प्राह भैक्षमिद्गमिति । तत्सुभैक्षमितीतरः प्रनिगृद्धाति । बौ. मृ. II. 5. 47-53.

^{732.} Vide ज्ञां. मृ. II. 6. 5-8, गोभिलमृ. II. 10. 42-44, खादिरमृ. II. 4. 28-31 for similar rules.

^{733.} गीतम II. 43-44 'आचार्यज्ञातिग्रुक्सवेष्यलाभेऽन्यत्र । तेषां पूर्वे पूर्वे परिहरेत् । '; मनु II. 184 has the same rule.

^{734.} सर्वे लाभमाहरन्गुरवे सायंपातरमञ्जेण भिक्षाचर्यं चरेज्ञिक्षमाणोऽन्यत्रापपात्रेभ्योऽ-भिश्चस्ताञ्च। आप. ध. I. 1. 3. 25; सार्ववर्णिकभेक्षचरणमभिशस्त्रपतितवर्जम्। गी. II. 41. अपपात्र is variously explained; on आप. ध. स्. I. 7. 21. 6 'न पतितेः संव्यवहारो विस्यते तथापपात्रेः। हरवृत्त explains as चाण्डालावृयः (with whom no social inter-

he could beg food from anybody except apapatras (persons like candalas) and abhisastas (i. e. those who are guilty of or suspected of grave sins). Gaut. II. 41 expressly says that a brahmacārī may beg food from all the varnas except from those who are abhisasta and patita. Manu (II. 183 and 185) says a brahmacārī should beg for food at the houses of those who study the Veda and perform sacrifices, who are devoted to their duties and are virtuous in their conduct; if from such persons food cannot be had he may go about the whole village, but should avoid those who are ablisasta. Yāi, I. 29 says 'for his own maintenance a brahmacārī should beg food from brāhmanas who are blameless' and the ancient commentator Viśvarūpa says that the best way is to beg at brahmana houses, the next best is to beg of ksatriya and vaisya houses and to beg of śūdras is allowed only in $\bar{a}pad$ (time of distress or difficulty). Auśanasa (Jiv. ed I. p. 505) says that a brahmacārī should beg only from houses of his own caste (as the best way probably) or he may beg at the houses of all varnas, while Angiras quoted in the Par. M. (I. 2, p. 41) says that even in a season of distress a brahmacārī should not beg for cooked food from śūdras. Madanapārijāta p. 33 quotes a passage from the Bhavisyapurāņa to the effect that a brahmacarl may beg food from anybody except a sūdra.

Food obtained by begging was supposed to be pure as said by Manu II. 189, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 56 and Yāj. I. 187. It was further said that a brahmacārī who subsists on food obtained by begging is like one observing a fast (Manu II. 183 and Bṛhat-Parāśara p. 130). The brahmacārī was to eat food collected from several houses and was not to take food at a single person's house, except that when he was requested to dinner in honour of gods or the Manes he might do so by partak-

(Continued from last page)

course was possible), while on आप. घ. स. I. 1. 3. 25 he explains अपपान as पतिलोमाः जनतान्यः? The word literally means those who cannot be allowed to use the vessels out of which members of other castes are to take food (i. e. those vessels when used by them have to be broken or thrown away). अपराके p. 720 explains अपपान as पतितत्वात् ज्ञातिभिनेहिड्युतः (i. e. one who has lost caste through the commission of some mortal sin). According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 7-9 an abhisasta is one that kills any brahmaņa or kills a brāhmaņa woman who is Atreyī. According to Ap. Dh. S.I. 7. 21. 8 'abhisastya' is one of the grave sins and is explained by स्रवत्त कड बद्धाहरया, but एस्ट्रन्त explains अभिश्रद्धाः as उपपान किन: on गी. II. 41.

ing of such food at such dinners as would not violate his vows. Vide Manu II, 188-189 and Yāj. I. 32.

Corresponding to the duty of the student to beg was the obligation cast on householders to serve food according to their ability to brahmacārins and yatis (ascetics). Gautama V. 16 prescribes that after performing the daily yajāas to gods (vaiśvadeva) and offering bali to bhūtas, the householder should offer alms (of food) preceded by the word 'svasti' and by water. Manu III. 94, Yāj. I. 108 and others say that alms should be given to ascetics and brahmacārins with honour and welcome. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 108 says that alms should be ordinarily one morsel of food as large as the egg of a pea-hen and quotes a verse of Śātātapa⁷³⁵ saying that 'bhikṣā is as much as one morsel, that puṣkala is equal to four morsels, hanta is equal to four puṣkalas and agra is equal to three hantas.'

The idea that a brahmacārī must beg for his food and offer fuel-sticks every day was so ingrained in ancient times that the Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 54 and Manu II. 187 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 52) prescribe that if for seven days continuously a brahmacārī who was not ill failed to offer fuel-sticks and to beg for food he violated his vow and had to undergo the same penance as was prescribed for a brahmacārī having sexual intercourse. The even in modern times many brāhmaṇa students (not only those who study the Veda from orthodox teachers but even those learning English) begged for their daily food and by dint of hard discipline, patient industry and integrity rose to high positions in public life. However the practice of poor begging students attending English schools in this way is dying out, since English education does not now ensure for the poor brāhmaṇa students even a bare maintenance.

Other important rules about the begging of feod are that the student should not beg for his sake alone, should announce

735. भिक्षा च ग्रासंसिता। ग्रासश्च मयूराण्डपरिमाणः। ग्रासमात्रा भवेदिक्षा पुण्कलं तच्चतुर्ग्यम्। इन्तस्तु तैश्चतुर्भिः स्याद्गं तत् त्रिग्रणं भवेत्॥ इति शातातपस्मरणात्। मिता॰ on याज्ञ I. 108. अपरार्क p. 153 quotes a verse from the मार्कण्डेयपुराण where अग्र and हन्त are defined differently 'ग्रासममाणा भिक्षास्याद्गं ग्रासचतुष्टयम्। अग्रं चतुर्ग्यं तत्तु इन्तकारं विदुर्ज्याः। भोजनं इन्तकारं वा अग्रं भिक्षामथापि वा। अद्त्वा तु न भोक्तयं यथाविभवमात्मनः॥'. लघुशातात्व 57 is very similar to the verse quoted by the मिता॰

736. भैक्षस्याचरणे दोष: पावकस्यासमिन्धने। सप्तरात्रमऋत्वेतद्वकीणिवतं चरेत्॥ ची. ध. स्. I. 2. 54. Manu (XI. 118-123) explains who is avakīrņin and states the penance for him.

to the teacher all that he has brought and eat only that which the teacher directs him to take; if the teacher is gone on a journey then he should announce it to the teacher's family (wife, son); if even these are absent, then to other learned brāhmaṇas and eat with their permission. Vide $\bar{A}p$. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 31-35, Manu II. 51. He should leave no residue in his dish and wash it after taking his meal therein. If he is not able to eat the whole that he has brought he should bury it underground or consign it to water or place that which is more than he can eat near an $\bar{a}rya$ or give it to a śūdra who works for his teacher ($\bar{A}p$. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 37-41). $\bar{A}p$. Dh. S. (I. 1. 3. 43-44) says that alms are held to be equal to sacrificial food, the teacher holds the place of the deity and of the $\bar{a}havaniya$ fire. 737

Other miscellaneous acts that the students had to do were bringing ⁷²⁸ water for the ācārya in pots, collecting flowers, cowdung, earth, kuśa grass &c. (vide Manu II. 182).

Samdhyā:—On the day of upanayana there is no morning samdhyā. Jaimini 739 says 'as long as there is no imparting of the Gāyatrī there is no samdhyā.' So the student begins his samdhyā in the noon of the day of upanayana. As however on that day he knows no Vedic text except the Gāyatrī, his whole samdhyā worship consists of the Gāyatrī.

The word 'samdhyā' literally means 'twilight', but also indicates the action of prayer performed in the morning and evening twilight. This act is generally styled 'samdhyopāsana' or 'samdhyāvandana' or simply 'samdhyā.' This act of adoration is sometimes prescribed as necessary thrice a day viz. at day-break, in the noon and at sun-set e.g. Atri says 'a twice-born person possessed of the knowledge of the Self should perform three samdhyā adorations.' These are respectively named Gāyatrī (morning one), Sāvitrī (noon) and Sarasvatī

^{737.} ਜੜ II. 231 also calls the guru ahavanīya fire.

^{738.} भाष. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 13 सायं पातरुद्कुम्भमाहरेत्।

^{739.} यावद् बह्योपदेशो न तावत्संध्यादिकं न च । ततो मध्याह्नसंध्यादि सर्वे कर्म समाचरेत्॥ जैमिनि quoted by सं. प्र. p. 439.

^{740.} विश्वरूप on या. I. 25 says 'संध्येति चोपस्थानकर्मणो नामधेयं कर्इस्य चान्यतः प्राप्तत्वात् and the fint. (on the same verse) says 'अहोराचयोः संधो या क्रिया विधीयते सा संध्या . सेधा. on मत्तु II. 101 says 'न सर्व तमः क्षीणं नापि परिपूर्णः प्रकाश एषा संध्या।' and on IV.94 'सहचरिते जपादिविधो संध्याशब्दो वर्तते।'

^{741.} संध्यात्रयं तु कर्तव्यं द्विजेनात्मविदा सदा । उभे संध्ये च कर्तव्यं ब्राह्मणैश्च ग्रहेण्विष ॥ अत्रि quoted by अपरार्क p.49; पूर्वा संध्या तु गायत्री सावित्री मध्यमा स्मृता । या भवेत्पश्चिमा संध्या सा विज्ञेया सरस्वती ॥ योगया. (in अपरार्क p.49). Apararka says that मध्याह्मसंध्या should not be performed in the house.

(evening one) by Yoga-yājñavalkya. Generally however the samdhyā prayer is prescribed twice (Asv. gr. III. 7, Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8, Gaut. II. 17, Manu II. 101, Yāj. I. 24-25 &c).

All prescribe that the morning ⁷⁴⁸ prayer is to be begun before sunrise and should be carried on till the disc of the sun is seen on the horizon and the evening prayer begins when the disc of the sun is about to set and goes on up to the appearance of stars. This is the most proper time; but a secondary time was allowed up to three ghatikās after sunrise and sun-set. The duration of the prayer each time was to be one muhūrta (i. e. two ghatikās, according to Yoga-yājāavalkya) whatever the length of the day may be. ⁷⁴⁸ Manu (IV. 93-94) however recommends the prayer to extend as long as one could afford, since the ancient sages secured long life, intelligence, glory, fame and spiritual eminence by long saindhyā prayers. ⁷⁴⁴

According to most writers japa of Gāyatrī and other sacred mantras is the principal thing in sandhyā and other things such as mārjana are merely subsidiary, but Medhātithi on Manu II. 101 (where the words are 'japanstiṣṭhet' and not 'tiṣṭhan japet') says that japa is subsidiary or secondary and the place of the prayer and the posture of the praying person are the principal items. When it is said 'one should perform the samdhyā' what is meant is that one should contemplate the deity called Āditya represented by the orb of the sun and should also contemplate on the fact that the same Intelligence dwells in his heart. The proper place for samdhyā prayer is outside the village (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8, Gaut. II. 16, Mānava gr. I. 2. 2), in a lonely place (Śān. gr. II 9. 1 'araṇye') or on a river or other sacred spot (Baud. gr. II. 4. 1). But this does not apply to the agnihotrin, 745 who has to perform vedic rites and repeat homa

^{742.} तिष्ठेरपूर्वामासीतोत्तरां सज्योतिष्या ज्योतिषो दर्शनाष्ट्राग्यतः । गौ. 11. 17; सायमुत्तरापराभिमुखोऽन्वष्टमदेशं सावित्रीं जपेदर्धास्तमिते मण्डल आ नक्षत्रदर्शनात् । एषं प्रातः । प्राङ्मुखस्तिष्ठका मण्डलदर्शनात् । आश्व. गृ. III. 7. 4-6; vide also मनु II. 101.

^{743.} ह्नासवृद्धी तु सततं दिवसानां यथाक मम् । संध्या सहूर्तमात्रं तु ह्नासे वृद्धौ तु सा स्मृता ॥ योगयाज्ञवलक्य quoted by अपरार्क p. 49 (on या. I. 25) and by कुलूक on मन्त II. 101.

^{ं 744.} ऋषयो दीर्घसंध्यत्वाइ दीर्घमायुरवाष्ट्रयुः । प्रज्ञां यशश्च कीर्ति च ब्रह्मवर्चसमेष च ॥ मनु IV. 94. This is the same as अनुज्ञासनपर्व 104. 18 (नित्यसंध्य० for दीर्घसंध्य०) and ज्ञाङ्कस्मति X. 20.

^{745.} Vide मेथा. on मनु. II. 101 and हरद् त on आए. ध. I. 11. 30. 8 about अग्निहोत्रिन. The स्मृतिच. I. p. 136 quotes Vyasa 'ते तथैव महाराज दंशिता रण-मूर्धनि । संध्यागतं सहस्राञ्चमादित्यसुपतस्थिरे' to show that warriors, when engaged in battle, performed only the upasthana and omitted all else.

mantras at sun-rise and who therefore may perform samdhyā adoration in his house. Vasistha quoted by Aparārka says that samdhyā performed in a cowpen or on a river or near the shrine of Viṣṇu (or other deity) respectively is ten times, 100000 of times or numberless times better than samdhyāvandana in the house. All prescribe that the morning samdhyā is to be performed standing and the evening one in a sitting posture (Aśv. gṛ, III. 7. 6, Śān. gṛ. II. 9. 1 and 3, Manu II. 102) and the morning samdhyā is to be performed facing the east and the evening one facing the northwest (Aśv. gṛ. III. 7. 4, Śān. gṛ. II. 9. 1). He is to bathe, to sit in a pure spot on a seat of kuśa grass, should have the sacred cord in the usual position and restrain his speech (i. e. should be silent and not talk in the midst of samdhyā).

The principal constituents of samdhyopāsana are these: ācamanas (sipping of water), prāṇāyāma, mārjana thrice (sprinkling himself with water to the accompaniment of several mantras), aghamarṣaṇa, offering of water to the sun (arghya), japa of Gāyatrī, and upasthāna (reciting mantras by way of worship of the sun in the morning and generally of Varuṇa in the evening). Among the earliest references to Samdhyopāsana is the one in the Tai. Ar. II. 2,747 where it is said that when brahmavādins facing the east throw up water consecrated by the Gāyatrī, the evil spirits that fight with the sun are sent tumbling into the country (called) Mandeha Aruṇa (of the evil spirits). This shows that in ancient times samdhyā consisted principally of offering water (arghya) to the sun in worship and japa of Gāyatrī. Āśv. gr. III. 7.3-6, Śān. gr. II. 9.1-3 and others refer only to the japa of the Gāyatrī mantra in

^{746.} गृहे त्वेकगुणा संध्या गोष्ठे दृशगुणा समुता। शतसाहस्रिका नद्यामनन्ता विष्णु-संनिधी ॥ वसिष्ठ quoted in अपरार्क p. 50, while गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 224 quotes शातातपः गृहेषु पाकृती संध्या गोष्ठे शतगुणा भवेत्। नदीषु शतसाहस्री अनन्ता शिवसंनिधी ॥ १ (प्राकृती एकगुणफलका).

^{747.} तानि ह चा एतानि रक्षांसि गायित्रयाभिमन्त्रितेनाम्भसा ज्ञाम्यन्ति तहु ह वा एते महावादिनः पूर्वाभिमुखाः संध्यायां गायित्रयाभिमन्त्रिता अप अर्ध्व विक्षिपन्ति ता एता आपो बजीभूत्वा तानि रक्षांसि मन्देहारुणे द्वीपे प्रक्षिपन्ति । ते. आ. II. 2 . The स्मृतिच्छ I. p. 134 quotes some verses from योगयाज्ञवहत्त्वय (which are almost the same as वासुपुराण vol. I. 50. 163-65) 'विज्ञत्कोट्यस्तु विख्याता मन्देहा नाम राक्षसाः । पाद्रवन्ति सहस्राह्यस्त्रयन्तं दिने दिने ॥ अहन्यहनि ते सर्वे सूर्यमिच्छन्ति सावितुम् । अतः सूर्यस्य तेषां तु युद्धमासीत्सुद्वारुणम् ॥ ततो देवगणाः सर्वे ऋषयश्च तपोधनाः । संध्यां तु समुपासीना यिक्षपन्ति महज्जलम् । महास्याहृतिसंयुक्तं गायञ्या चाभिमन्त्रितम् । तेन दृद्धान्ति ते दैत्या वज्रभूतेन वारिणा ॥ '. Similar verses occur in लच्चहारीत IV (Jiv. part I. p. 183), बृहत्यराज्ञर p. 64, बृद्धगीतम p. 560.

Samdhyopāsana. Mānava gr. (I. 2.1-5) refers only to the arghya offering to the sun and japa of Gayatri. It is in the Baud. Dh. S. II. 4 that we find an elaboration of samdhyopasana into various components such as ācamana, mārjana, japa of Gāyatrī and upasthana (worship) of Mitra and Varuna (respectively in the morning and evening with only two verses in each case). 748 Modern writers went on adding details e. g. it is now the practice in the Deccan to repeat the 24 names of Visnu at the very beginning of the samdhyopāsana, but this is hardly anywhere prescribed by any smrti or early commentator. Similarly elaborate rules are laid down about mystic nyāsas with the sixteen verses of the Purusasükta (vide Apararka p. 140), of the nyāsa of the Nārāyanamantra of 25 letters on 25 parts of the body (Vrddha-Hārīta VI. 16-19) and of the letters of the Gāyatri Brhatparāśara chap. V. p. 83). In modern times ācamana is performed with the three names of Visnu, viz. Keśava, Nārāyana and Mādhava in the form 'om Keśavāya namah.' The 24 names are given below. 748a

A few words on each of the principal components of saindhyā may be said here. Elaborate rules about ācamana are laid down in several smrtis; vide Gaut. I. 35-40, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 2-11 and 16. 1-16, Manu II. 58-62, Yāj. I. 18-21. Such rules must have been elaborated from very ancient times. The Tai. Br. (I. 5. 10) prescribes that one should not perform ācamana with water that is in a cleft of the earth. Āp. Dh. S. (1. 5. 15. 5) says the same thing. One should perform

^{748.} बार जीश्यां रात्रिसुपतिष्ठते। इस से वर्ण तरवायामीति द्वाश्यास् । एवसेव पातः माइसुखिरितष्ठत् ॥ मेत्रीश्याम् इप्पतिष्ठते मित्रस्य चर्षणीधृतो मित्रो जनान्यातयतीति द्वाश्यास् । श्री. ध. स् II. 4. 11-14. The verses इस से वर्ण and तरवा यामि are respectively Rg. I. 25. 19 and I. 24. 11; and मित्रस्य चर्षणीधृतो and मित्रो जनान् are respectively Rg. III. 59.6 and 1. Gobhila-smṛti II. 11-12 prescribes the two verses 'udu tyam' (Rg. I. 50. 1 and in other Vedas also) and 'citram devānām' (Rg. I. 115. 1 and in other Vedas also) as the upasthāna in both samdhyās. In modern times the usages vary, many recite the whole of Rg. III. 59 in the morning adoration and Rg. I. 25. 1-10 (addressed to Varuṇa) in the evening. The Sm. C. (I. p. 139) says that the worship of the Sun should be done by the mantras from that sākhā of the Veda to which one belongs.

⁷⁴⁸a. केशव, नारायण, माधव, गोविन्द, विष्णु, मधुसूद्व, विविक्रम, वामन. श्रीधर, ह्वीकेश, पद्मनाभ, दामोद्र, संकर्षण, वासुदेव, प्रशुम्न, अनिरुद्ध, पुरुषोत्तम, अधोक्षज, नारसिंह, अच्युत, जनार्दन, उपेन्द्र, हरि, श्रीकुष्ण. They are enumerated in the अग्नियुराण chap. 48. Vide note 567 for the first twelve names.

^{749.} तस्मात्प्रवृशाद्ववृक्षं नाचामेत् । ते. वा. I. 5. 10; compare आए. ध. सू. I. 5: 15. 4-5. न वर्षधारास्वाचामेत् । न प्रवृशोदके ।

acamana in a sitting posture (and not standing nor bent) in a pure spot, facing the north or east, one should sip water thrice with water that is not hot and that is free from foam or bubbles, one should after sipping water wipe the lips twice (thrice according to Ap.) and should touch with the wet right hand one's eyes, ears, nose, heart and head. The water for acamana should be as much as would penetrate (or reach) to the heart in the case of brahmanas, to the throat in the case of ksatriyas, to the palate in the case of vaisyas; women and sudras should sip on occasions of acamana only once as much water as would reach the palate. Manu (II. 18) and Yāj. (I. 18) say that water should be sipped by the brāhmatīrtha (i. e. from the root of the thumb). 750 The further elaborate rules laid down in such smrtis as Gobhila gr. (I. 2.5-6), Sankhasmrti 10 are not set out here. The occasions for acamana are many. According to Gobbila 751 gr. I. 1. 2 one must do every grhya rite with yajñopavīta worn in the usual way and after acamana. Haradatta on Ap. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 says that acamana is a subsidiary matter in all religious acts. There are several occasions when the sipping of water twice is necessary, the principal being before and after bhojana (meals); vide Gautama I. 40, Vas. 3. 38, Yāj. I. 196, Sm. C. I. p. 100, Madanapārijāta p. 57. Par. M. I. part 1. pp. 241-243. Both the Br. Up. (VI. 1, 14) and Chan. Up. V. 2, 2 refer to the practice of sipping water before and after bhojana and the Vedāntasūtra III. 3.18 is based on these upanisad passages and says that water is looked upon as the garment of prana. 752 Numerous occasions when acamana is necessary are stated in Ap. Dh. S. I. 5. 16. 15-16, Manu V. 138 and 145, Yāj. I. 196, Kūrmapurāņa I. 2. 13. 1-8 &c.

^{750.} The roots of the smallest finger, the index finger and of the thumb and the tips of the fingers of the hand are respectively called the प्राजापत्य (or काय), विषय, बाह्म and देव सीर्थंड. Vide Yāj. 1. 19. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 62. 1-4, Vas. Dh. S. III. 64-68, Baud. Dh. I. 5. 14-18. As everywhere, there are differences here also. Vas. holds that pitrya is between the forefinger and the thumb, and that mānuṣa tīrtha is at the tips of the fingers. Others say that the roots of the four fingers constitute ārṣa tīrtha (Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 18).—Vaik I. 5. and Pār. gr. parisiṣṭa mention five tīrthas (the 5th being in the palm is called āgneya). Āgneya is also styled Saumya by others.

^{751.} यज्ञीपनीतिना आचिन्तीद्केन कृत्यम् । गोभिलगृह्य I. 1. 2.

^{752.} तद्विदांसः श्रोत्रिया अशिष्यन्त आचामन्त्यशित्वा चाचामन्ति एतमेष तद्दनमनग्नं कुर्वन्तो मन्यन्ते । बृहः उप. VI. 1. 14; तस्माद्वा एतद्शिष्यम्तः पुरस्ताचीपरिष्टाचाद्धिः परि-द्याति लम्भुको ह वासो भवत्यनग्नो ह भवति । छान्द्वीग्य V. 2. 2.

Prānāyāma (restraint of breath) is defined by the Yogasūtra 753 (II. 49) as the regulation of inhalation and exhalation of air. Gaut. I. 50 prescribes three prānāyāmas, each of which lasts for 15 mātrās (moras). Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 30 (= Vas. Dh. S. 25. 13=Sankhasmṛti VII. 14) and Yāj. I. 23 say that the śiras of Gāyatrī, the three vyāhṛtis each preceded by 'om' and the Gāyatrī verse are to be rehearsed mentally during the time of prānāyāma. According to Yoga-yājñavalkya, one should first revolve in the mind the seven vyāhṛtis, each preceded by 'om,' then the Gāyatrī and then the śiras of Gāyatrī. The Prānāyāma has three components, pūraka (inhaling the outside air), kumbhaka (keeping in the inhaled air i. e. neither taking in air nor giving it out) and recaka (exhaling air from the lungs). Manu VI. 70-71 highly praises the utility of prānāyāma in purifying the mind of sin.

Mārjana is performed by means of kuśa grass dipped in water kept in a vessel of copper or udumbara wood or earthenware and while doing so one is to repeat om, the vyāhṛtis, Gāyatrī and the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3). Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 2 adds more Vedic mantras for mārjana. The Mānava gr. I. 1. 24, Yāj. I. 22 and others prescribe mārjana only with the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3).

Aghamarṣaṇa (driving out sin) consists in taking water in the right hand formed in the shape of a cow's ear, holding it near one's nose, breathing out from the nose on the water (with the idea of driving away sin from oneself) to the accompaniment of the three verses 'rtam ca' (Rg. X. 190. 1-3) and then casting the water away to one's left on the ground.

- 753. तस्मिन्सति (आसनजये साति) श्वासप्रश्वासयोर्गतिविच्छेदः प्राणायामः । योगसूत्र II. 49.
- 754. भूर्भुवःस्वर्महर्जनस्तपः सत्यं तथैव च । प्रत्यं कारसमायुक्तस्तथा तत्सवितुर्वरम् । अभिमापोज्योतिरित्येव शिरः पश्चात्प्रयोजयेत् । त्रिरावर्तनयोगातु प्राणायामस्तु शब्दितः । योग-याज्ञवल्क्य quoted in स्मृतिचः I. p. 141.
- 755. सुरिभित्तरया अन्तिङ्गाभिर्वाक्षणीभिःहरैरण्यवर्णाभिः पावमानीभिन्याद्वितिभिरन्येश्व पावित्रेरात्मानं प्रोक्ष्य प्रयत्तो भवति। बौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 2. सुरिभिति। is the verse बृधिकान्णो &c. (Rg. IV. 39. 6), अन्तिङ्ग verses are Rg. X. 9. 1–3, वाकणी verses are इमं मे वक्षण (Rg. I. 25. 19), तत्त्वा यामि (Rg. I. 24. 11), अव ते हेळो (Rg. I. 24. 14) and यित्रेज्ञेदं (Rg. VII. 89. 5). पावमान्यः are all verses like स्वाविष्ठया मितृष्ठमा (Rg. IX. 1. 1) of the IX mandala of the Rgveda or according to some Rg. IX. 67. 21–27. शिरमो मार्जनं कुर्यान्कुशैः सोवृक्ष-बिन्दुभिः। प्रणवो भूर्भुवः स्वश्च सावित्री च तृतीयका। अन्दैवतस्तृचश्चेव चतुर्थ इति मार्जनम्। गामिलस्युति. II. 4–5 , अन्दैवततृच is ऋग्वेद् X. 9. 1–3. The तै. आ. III. 9. 7 has आपो हि हा मयोश्चव इत्यद्धिर्मार्जयन्ते। आपो वे सर्वा देवताः।

Arghya 758 (offering water out of respect to the sun) consists in taking water in one's joined hands, repeating the Gāyatrī verse over it and standing facing the sun and casting it up thrice. If a man cannot have water (being at the time of Samdhyā on a road or in jail &c.) he could use dust for water. The Tai. Ār. II. 2 says that a brāhmaṇa contemplating the rising and setting sun and doing obeisance to it by going from left to right attains all bliss, since this Āditya is Brahma.

As to japa of Gāyatrī, vide above under Sāvitryupadeśa (p. 304). There is an extensive literature about the greatness of the japa of Gāyatrī and of other holy vedic mantras which are passed over here and for which reference may be made to Aparārka pp. 46-48, Sm. C. I. pp. 143-152, Gr. R. pp. 241-250, Āhnikaprakāśa pp. 311-316. A few details will be given under āhnika.

As to upasthana vide above (p. 315, note 748). According to Baud. the worship 757 of the sun is done with the verses 'udvayam' (Rg. I. 50, 10), 'Udu tyam' (Rg. I. 50, 1), 'citram' (Rg. I. 115, 1), 'tac-caksur' (Rg. VIL 66. 16), 'ya udagat' (Tai. Ar. IV. 42. 5). Manu II. 103 prescribes that he who does not perform the Samdhyopasana in the morning and evening should be excluded from all actions meant for the benefit or honour of dvijas. Gobhila 758 smrti II. 1 says the same and adds that $br\bar{a}hmanua$ resides in the three samdhyās and that he who has no concern for samdhyopāsana is not a brāhmana. Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 20 calls upon the religious king to make brāhmanas, who do not engage in samdhyopāsana thrice a day, perform the work peculiar to sadras. The Kūrma-purāna 759 goes so far as to say that even if a person engages in other actions which are religious but gives up the performance of samdhyopāsana, in so doing he falls into numerous hells. Manu declares (II. 102) that sins committed at night through ignorance (or oversight) are removed by the performance of

^{756.} उद्यन्तमस्तं यन्तमादित्यमभिध्यायन् कुर्वन् बाह्मणो विद्वान् सकलं भद्रमश्चेतऽ-सावादित्यो बह्मोति । ते. आ. 11. 2.

^{757.} अथादित्यमुपतिष्ठेतोद्वयं तमसस्परि उद्गुत्यं चित्रं तञ्चधुर्वेवहितं य उद्गादिति । चौ. quoted in संस्काररत्नमाला p. 237 which adds एतदेव तैत्तिरीयैः स्वीकार्यम् । इतर- शाक्षापेक्षया चौधायनोक्तस्याम्यर्हितत्वात् ।

^{758.} अनर्हः कर्मणां विप्रः संध्याद्दीनो यतः स्युतः । गोभिलस्युति II.1.; एतत्संध्यात्रयं प्रोक्तं ब्राह्मण्यं यत्र तिष्ठति । यस्य नास्त्याद्दरस्तत्र न स ब्राह्मण्यं यत्र तिष्ठति । यस्य नास्त्याद्दरस्तत्र न स ब्राह्मण्यं उच्यते ॥ गोभिलस्युति II. 15–16 , घो. ध. स्. II.4.19 is similar 'संध्यां नोपासते विप्राः कथं ते ब्राह्मणाः स्युताः'. Vide note 741 above.

^{759.} योऽन्यत्र फुरुते यरनं धर्मकार्ये द्विजोत्तमः। विद्वाय संध्यामणति स याति नरकायुतम् ॥ कूर्मपुराण quoted in स्मृतिच्च० I. p. 139.

morning samdhyā and the sins committed in the day are removed by the evening samdhyā. Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 25-28, Yāj. III. 307 are to the same effect. When a person is impure owing to mourning or birth in the family, he is to perform samdhyā only up to arghya to the sun but not japa nor upasthāna.

In modern times the samdhyopāsana has become a lengthy business by the addition of materials from purānas and the tantras. But as observed by the Samskāraratnamālā rituals like nyāsa are non-Vedic 760 and many do not perform them. For various $ny\bar{a}sas$ and $mudr\bar{a}s$ (postures of the fingers, hands etc.) one may consult the Smṛti-muktāphala (āhnika pp. 328-333), Sm. C. I. pp. 146-148.761

Nvāsa means 'mentally invoking god and holy texts to come to occupy certain parts of the body to render it a pure and fit receptacle for worship and contemplation.' The sixteen verses of the Purusasūkta (Rg. X. 90) are respectively invoked to reside in the left and right hands, the left foot, the right foot, the left and right knees, the left and right sides, the navel, the heart, the throat, the left and right arms, the mouth, the eyes and the head (vide Apararka p. 140). The Bhagavata (VI. 8. 4-5) recommends that one should perform nyāsa on the hands and limbs of one's own body with the two mantras of Nārāyana and thus make Nārāyana one's armour when some danger arises and that one should perform nyasa with 'om' and other syllables on one's feet, knees, thighs, belly, heart, chest. mouth and head. The Sm. C. I. p. 144 quotes verses from Vyāsa and Brahmā as to the nyāsa of the letters of the Gayatri with 'om' and 'namah' on the several parts of the

^{760.} एषोङ्गन्यासः । एतमेके नेच्छन्ति । स ६ विधिरवैदिक इति । संस्काररत्नमाला p. 229.

^{761.} For the influence of tantra rites on the smrtis and Indian practice, the following may be consulted: The Introduction to Sadhanamala, vol. 2 (Gaikwad's Oriental Series), Indian Historical Quarterly vol. 6. p. 114, vol. 9. p. 678, vol. 10 pp. 486-492, Sylvain Levi's Introduction to 'Sanskrit texts from Bali', Modern Review for August 1934 pp. 150-156.

^{762.} क्रिस्वाङ्गकरन्यासो मन्त्राभ्यां वाग्यतः द्युचिः। नारायणमयं वर्म संनक्षेद्रय आगते ॥ पाद्योजां ज्ञनोक्त्वों रुद्दे हृद्यथोरिस । मुखे शिरस्यातुपूर्या आंकारादीनि विन्यसेत् ॥ भागवतः VI. 8. 4-5. अङ्कृष्ठाग्रे तु गोविन्दं तर्जन्यां तु महीधरम् । मध्यमायां हृषीकेशमना-मिक्यां त्रिविक्रमम् ॥ कानिष्ठिक्यां न्यसेद्विष्णुं करमध्ये तु माधवम्। एवं च करविन्यासं सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् ॥. Vide स्मृतिमुः (आद्विक p. 331) for these latter verses.

body. Vṛddha-Hārīta VI. 16-19 speaks of the nyāsa of the twenty-five letters of the mantra about Nārāyaṇa on the twenty-five parts of the body. The Nityācārapaddhati (pp. 578-579) describes the nyāsa of the letters of the alphabet (51 in all) from 'Om Keśavāya namaḥ' to 'kṣam Nṛṣimhāya namaḥ.' One well-known mode is to assign Govinda, Mahīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Trivikrama, Viṣṇu, Mādhava respectively on the tips of the thumb, the index finger, the middle finger, the ring-finger, the small finger and the middle of the palm. Manu II. 60 enjoining the touching of the limbs and head with water appears to contain the germ of this practice of nyāsa.

The Sm. C. I. (pp. 146-148) quotes long passages about the $mudr\bar{a}s$ (hand poses) to be made in the samidhyā adoration. The Sarngraha 763 quoted in the Pūjāprakāśa (p. 123) states that the mudrās are to be made in worship, at the time of japa, dhyāna (contemplation) and when starting on kāmya rites (performed for securing some desired object) and that they tend to bring the deity worshipped near to the worshipper. The names and number of mudras differ considerably. For example, the Sm. C. and Smr. Mu. (āhnika pp. 331-332) quote passages defining the following mudrās viz. sammukha, samputa, vitata, vistīrna, dvimukha, trimukha, adhomukha, vyāpakāñjalika, yamapāśa, grathita, sammukhonmukha, vilamba, mustika, mīna, kūrma, varāha, simhākrānta, mahākrānta, mudgara and pallava. The Nityācārapaddhati p. 533 derives the word mudrā from 'mud' (joy) and the root 'rā' (to give) or 'drāvay' (causal of dru, to put to flight) and says that "mudra" is so called because it gives delight to the gods and also puts to flight asuras (evil beings). That work and the Pūjā-prakāśa (pp. 123-126) give the names of mudras. They are avahant, sthāpini, samnidhāpani, samrodhini, prasādamudrā, avagunthana-mudrā, sammukha, prārthana, śankha, cakra, gadā, abja, (or padma), musala, khadga, dhanus, bāna, nārāca, kumbha, vighna (for Vighnesvara), saura, pustaka, laksmī, saptajihva (for Agni Vaiśvānara), durgā, namaskāra (bringing together both hands from the wrist to the tips of the fingers), anjali, samhāra (in all 32). The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 536) says that śankha, cakra, gadā, padma, musala, khadga, śrīvatsa and kaustubha are the eight mudrās of Visnu. The Sm. C. quotes a

^{763.} संग्रहे। अर्चने जपकाले तु ध्याने काम्ये च कर्मणि। तत्तन्सुद्धाः प्रयोक्तव्या देवतासंनिधापकाः ॥ पूजापकाशः p. 123.

work called ⁷⁶⁴ Mahāsamhitā that the mudrās are not to be performed in the presence of a crowd and if so performed the deities become angry and the mudrās become fruitless. The Śāradātilaka (23. 106) states that all deities are gladdened by the mudrās and in verses 107-114 describes the following mudrās, viz. āvāhanī, sthāpanī, samnidhāpanī, samrodhinī, sammukha, sakala, avaguņthana, dhenu, mahāmudrā. The Ācāra-dinakara of Vardhamāna-sūri composed in samvat 1468 (1411-12 A. D.) for Jainas enumerates 42 mudrās and defines them (1923, part II. pp. 385-386).

The influence of these mudrās spread outside India and they are still practised in the island of Bali. Miss Tyra de Kleen has brought out a very interesting book on the 'mudrās (the hand poses) practised by Buddhist and Śaiva priests' (called pedandas) in Bali, with 60 full page drawings (1924, New York).

Study of the Veda:—A detailed examination of the educational system from ancient times onwards, together with its methods, courses of study and kindred topics will require a volume by itself. The works 765 mentioned in the note below may be read for that purpose. Here a few salient features alone can be set out.

The pivot of the whole educational system of ancient India was the teacher (variously called ācārya, guru, upādhyāya). The instruction was oral. Rg. VII. 103.5 (speaking of frogs) says when one of these frogs follows another in making noise just as a learner repeats the words of the teacher. Vide the quotations from the Atharvaveda and the Sat. Br. cited above (f. n. 622 and 625). In the beginning the father alone may have taught his son. The story narrated in the Br. Up. V. 2. 1 and the story of Śvetaketu Āruņeya who was taught by his father everything he knew (Br. Up. VI. 2. 1 and 4) illustrate this (vide f. n. 633). But even from very ancient times the practice

^{764.} अत्र महासंहितोक्तो विशेष: । न जातु दर्शयेन्मुद्रा महाजनसमागते । शुभ्यन्ति देघतास्तस्य विफर्छ च कृतं भवेतु ॥ स्मृतिचः I. p. 148.

^{765.} Vide Rev. F. E. Keay's 'Ancient Indian Education' (1918), Dr. A. S. Altekar's 'Education in Ancient India! (1934), S. K. Das on 'Educational system of the ancient Hindus' (1930) and Dr. S. C. Sarkar's 'Educational ideas and institutions in ancient India! (1928). The last work is based entirely on the Atharvaveda and the Rāmāyaņa.

of sending 766 boys to learn from an ācārya had become usual. The Chan. Up. itself says in one passage (VI. 1) that Śvetaketus Āruneva was placed by his father for twelve years as a student with a teacher. The same upanisad (III. 11.5) says that the father should impart the 'madhuvidya' to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil only. As the boy stayed with the teacher in the latter's house and all instruction was oral, the teacher's position assumed the greatest importance. Satyakāma Jābāla 767 says to his teacher (in Chān. IV. 9.3) 'I have heard from persons like your revered self that knowledge when learnt from an ācārya reaches the highest excellence. The Svetāsva. taropanisad 768 (VI. 23) places the guru almost on a level with God and inculcates the highest devotion to him. The Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 6. 13 says 'the pupil should wait upon the ācārya as if he were 769 God. ' The story of Ekalavya, whom Drona refused to take as a pupil because he was a nisada and who by worshipping the image of Drona is alleged to have become an adept in archery, illustrates two points viz. the prevailing notion of the greatness of a guru and the necessity of singledevotion to him for attaining proficiency (vide Adiparva 132 for the story and also Dronaparva 181, 17). The Mahabharata condemns him who learns the Vedas at home and says that Raibhya became superior to Yavakrīta 770 because the former learnt from a quru, while the other did not do so. In Manu and other smrtis there is some divergence about the

^{766.} अनुशिक्षो नामि पित्रेत्योमिति होवाच। बृह. उ. VI. 2.1; यदहं किंच वेद मर्वमहं तत्तुभ्यमवोचम्। बृह. उ. VI. 2.4; छुमाराचु त्वाशिपत्पितेति। छान्दोग्य V. 3.1. मेधा॰ on मनु III.3. says 'यस्य पिता विद्यते स एवतस्याचार्यः। अभावे पितुरक्षक्तो वान्यस्या-धिकारः। आचार्यान्तरोगाद्दानेन पितुर्धिकारो निवर्तत एव।' मनु II. 142 and याज्ञ 1.34 show that guru primarily means the father; but मनु II. 69 and 149 show that the word guru was also applied to the acarya and upadhyaya. Vide मिता. on या. III. 259.

^{767.} श्रुतं होन मे भगनद्दृहोग्य आचार्याद्वेन विद्या निदिता साधिष्ठं पापयतीति छान्दोग्य IV. 9. 3: आचार्यनान्युक्षो नेद् । छान्दोग्य VI. 14. 2; vide कठोष. II. 9, मुण्डकोष- I.2.3 for the importance of guru in brahmavidyā. Also छान्दोग्य III. 11. 5 'इदं ना तज्ज्येष्ठाय पुत्राय पिता न्रह्म प्रमुयात्प्रणाय्याय नान्तेनासिने।।.

^{768.} यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ। तस्यैते कथिताः ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः॥ श्वेताश्वः उप. VI. 23.

^{769.} देवमिवाचार्यसुपासीत । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 6. 13.

^{770.} Vide अनुज्ञासनपर्व 36. 15 'अपि च ज्ञानसंपन्नः सर्वान चेदान पितुर्गृहे। श्रुष्यमान इवाधीयाद् ग्राम्य इत्येव तं विदुः॥'; वनपर्व 138. 25-26 'ऋते ग्रुप्तमधीता हि सुम्यं वेदास्त्वया पुरा। अनेन तु गुरूत् दुःखात् तोषियत्वात्मकर्मणा। काछेन महता क्किशाद् अक्षािष्णतसुत्तसम्॥

greatness of the acarya. Manu II. 146 (= Visnu Dh. S. 30. 44) savs that both the father (janaka) and the teacher are called father ($pit\bar{a}$) but the father (i. e. ācārya) who imparts the sacred Veda is superior to the father that gives (physical) birth, since the birth in spiritual learning is for a brāhmana of eternal benefit here and hereafter. But in II. 145 Manu 771 says that an ācārya is ten times superior to an upādhyāya, the father is superior to a hundred acaryas, while the mother is thousand-fold superior to the father. Gaut. II. 56 declares that the ācārya is the highest among all gurus while according to some the mother is the highest. Yāj. I. 35 also places the mother higher than the ācārya. Gaut. I. 10-11, Vas. Dh. S. III. 21, Manu II. 140, Yāi. I. 34 define 778 the ācārya as one who performs the upanavana of the student and imparts the whole Veda to him. Nirukta 773 (I. 4) derives ācārya as follows: 'he makes the student understand the proper course of conduct, or he collects wealth (i.e. fee) from the student (or gathers together the meanings of words), or he increases the intelligence (of the student)'. Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 14 says 'The ācārya is so called since the student gathers his duties from him.' Manu II. 69 says that the teacher, after performing upanayana, teaches his pupil the rules about sauca (bodily purity), ācāra (rules of conduct in every day life), the offering (of fuel-stick) in fire and samdhyā adoration, Yāj. I. 15 is to the same effect. Though the words acarya, quru 774 and upādhyāya are very often used as synonyms, ancient writers made a distinction between them. According to Manu II. 141 and 142, an upādhyāya is one who teaches to a student a portion of the Veda or the Vedangas 775 (subsidiary lores of the

^{771.} चिसेष्ठ 13. 48 quotes मनु II. 145 (but the 3rd पाद in चिसेष्ट is पितुर्वश्वरातं माता); शान्तिपर्व (108. 18-19) says 'ग्रुकारीयाच् पिनृतो मानृतश्वेति मे मति: । उभी हि मातापितरा जन्मन्येवोपयुज्यतः । आचार्यशिष्टा या जातिः सा दिःया साजरामरा॥'; तद्यस्मात्स आचार्यः । वेदानुवचनाञ्च । गी. I. 10-11.

^{772ः} स ग्रुक्यः क्रियाः कृत्वा वेदमस्मै प्रयच्छति । उपनीय इद्देदमाचार्यः स उदाहतः ॥ या. I. 34.

^{773.} आचार्यः कस्मादाचारं ग्राहयत्याचिनोत्यर्थानाचिनोति बुद्धिमिति वा । निरुक्त I. 4; यस्माद्धर्मानाचिनोति स आचार्यः । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 14; vide वायुपुराण vol. I. 59. 30.

^{774.} Vide भिता on या III. 259 for a discussion of the meaning of the word guru.

^{775.} The चेत्राङ्गड have been six from very ancient times, viz. शिक्षा (phonetics), कल्प (ritual of solemn Vedic and domestic sacrifices), ध्याकरण (grammar), निरुक्त (etymology), छन्दः or छन्दोविचिति (metrics), ज्योतिष (astronomy). The मुण्डकोपनिषद् I. 1. 5 names these six; आप. ध. सू. II. 3.8.10-11 षडको वेदः। छन्दः कल्पो श्याकरणं ज्योतिषं निरुक्तं शीक्षा छन्दोविचितिरिति।

Veda) as a means of his own livelihood and a quru is one who performs the samskaras and who maintains the child. latter definition shows that guru means the father here. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 22-23), Visnu Dh. S. 29, 2, and Yāj. I. 35 define upādhyāya in the same way as Manu. According to Yāj. I. 34 the guru is one who performs the samskaras and imparts the Veda. This corroborates the statement made above that originally the father himself taught the Veda to his son. The word guru is often used in the sense of any elderly person, male or female, who is entitled to respect. Visnu Dh. 776 S. (32, 1-2) says that the father, the mother and the ācārya are the three highest gurus of a person and Manu II. 227-237 contain the most sublime glorification of these three. Devala 777 says that 'among gurus five deserve special honour, viz. father, mother, ācārya. eldest brother and husband (in the case of women)'. Manu (II. 149) says that whoever confers on another the benefit of knowledge, whether great or small, is the latter's quru.

A great deal is said about the qualifications of the ācārya who is to perform the upanayana of a person and to teach him the Vcda. Āp. Dh. S. 778 I. 1. 1. 11 refers to a Brāhmaņa text to the effect 'he whom a teacher devoid of learning initiates enters from darkness into darkness and he also (i. e. an ācārya) who is himself unlearned (enters into darkness).' Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 12-13) further provides that one should desire a performer of one's upanayana who is endowed with learning and whose family is hereditarily learned and who is serene in mind and that one should study Vedic lore under him up to the end (of brahmacarya) as long as the teacher does not fall off from the path of dharma. Vyāsa (quoted in Sam. P. p. 408) says 779 that the ācārya should be a brāhmana who is solely

^{776.} त्रयः पुरुषस्यातिग्रको भवन्ति। पिता माताचार्यश्च। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 32. 1-2; धनु 11. 225-232 are the same as सत्स्यपुराण 211. 20-27; मनु 230, 231, 234 are the same as शान्तिपर्व 108. 6, 7, 12; मनु 11. 230, 233, 234 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 31. 7, 9, 10.

^{777.} ग्रह्मणामिष सर्वेषां पूज्याः पश्च विशेषतः। यो भावयति या स्ते येन विद्योपिद-इयते ॥ ज्येष्ठो आता च भर्ता च पश्चेते ग्ररवः स्मृताः । तेषामाद्याञ्चयः श्रेष्ठास्तेषां माता सुपूजिता ॥ देवल in स्मृतिचः I. p. 35; वनपर्व (214. 28-29) speaks of five gurus, but they are पिता, माता, अग्नि, आत्मा and ग्रहः. Vide अपरार्क pp. 398-401 for a long quotation from निद्युराण on the greatness of guru.

^{778.} तमसो वा एष तमः पविश्वति यमविद्वान्तपनयते यश्चाविद्वानिति हि आह्मणम् । तस्मिन्नभिजनविद्यातमुदेतं समाहितं संस्कर्तारमीप्सेत् । तस्मिश्चेव विद्याकर्मान्तमविद्रतिपन्ने धर्मेम्यः । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 11-13.

^{779.} वेदैकनिष्ठं धर्मज्ञं कुलीनं श्रोत्रियं घुचिम् । स्वशाखाज्ञमनालस्यं विमं कर्तारमी-भित्तम् ॥ स्यास in सं. म. p. 408.

devoted to the Veda, who knows dharma, is born of a good family, who is pure, is a śrotriya that has studied his Vedic śākhā and who is not lazy. Śrotriya has been defined above (f. n. 290). Ap. Dh. S. II. 3. 6. 4 and Baud, gr. I. 7. 3 define a śrotriya as one who has studied one śākhā of a Veda. Vide Väyupurāna vol. I. 59. 29 also. The ācārya in upanayana must be a brāhmaņa; as to the study of veda one should ordinarily learn the Veda from a brāhmaņa teacher; in times of difficulty (i. e. when a brāhmana is not available) one may learn the Veda from a ksatriya or vaisya teacher; but in such circumstances the only service that a brahmana student rendered to the guru would be following after the non-brāhmana teacher; he had not to render bodily service (such as shampooing or washing the feet &c.). Vide Ap. Dh.S.II. 2. 4. 25-28 (quoted above in note 229), Gaut. 7. 1-3, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2, 40-42, Manu II. 241. Manu II. 238 allows even a brāhmana to learn subhā vidyā (visibly beneficial knowledge) even from a sūdra. Sāntiparva 165, 31 does the same. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 118 remarks that a kṣatriya or vaisya should teach a brāhmaņa only when urged by him and not at his sweet will. Aparārka (p. 160) says that Manu II. 241 allows only teaching to a ksatriya, but does not allow him to make it a means of his livelihood.782

We saw above (p. 321) that the instruction was entirely oral. The first thing that was taught to the boy was the prapava and the vyāhṛtis and the Gāyatrī. Then the boy was to be taught other parts of the Veda. It is desirable to set out briefly the method of teaching the Veda followed in ancient times. The Śāp. gr. (IV. 8) describes the method as follows: the teacher sits facing the east or north, while the other (i. e. the student) sits to his right facing the north or two students may sit in that way; but if there are more than two they should sit as the available space will allow. The student should not sit on a high seat

^{780.} धर्मेण वेदानामेकेकं शाखामधीत्य श्रोतियो भवति । आप. ध. स्. II. 3. 6. 4; एकां शाखामधीत्य श्रोतियः । बी. ए. I. 7. 3; वृद्धा हालोलुपाश्चेव आत्मवन्तो हादम्भकाः । सम्यग्विनीता ऋजवस्तानाचार्यान् प्रचक्षते ॥ वायुपुराण vol. I. 59. 29.

^{781.} श्रद्दधानः शुभां विद्यां हीनाद्षि सत्ताष्त्रयात्। सुत्रर्णमपि चामेध्यादाददीता-विचारयत्॥ ज्ञान्तिपर्व 165. 31.

^{782.} अध्यापनं तु क्षत्रियवैश्ययोर्काह्मणंशितयोर्भवति न स्वेच्छया । मिता॰ on या. I. 118; तद्वध्यापनमात्रकर्तृत्वमनाह्मणस्याभ्यतुज्ञानाति न तु वृत्तित्वमपि । अपरार्क p. 160.

^{783.} Compare आए. ध. सू. I. 2. 6. 24-25 एकाध्यायी दक्षिणं बाहुं प्रत्युपसीदेत्। वधावकाशं बहवः।. Vide also मद्भ II. 193.

before the teacher nor on the same seat with him: he should not stretch out his feet, nor should he sit seizing his knees with his arm, nor should he lean against a support, nor should he place his feet on his lap nor should he hold his feet like an axe. After the student utters 'Recite, Sir,' 784 the teacher should urge him to pronounce 'om'; the other (i.e. the student) should reply 'om'. Thereafter he (the student) should he should clasp the recite continuously. After reciting teacher's feet and say 'we have finished, Sir' and go away to his business. Some teachers say that the teacher should say 'Leave. let us stop'. In the Rk Prātiśākhya, 785 15th patala, there is a description of the method of teaching the Veda, which closely agrees with the above quotation from the San. gr. It adds that the teacher may also sit facing the north-east. When the teacher recites two words or more, the first pupil (to the right of the teacher) repeats the first of the two or more words and the other pupils repeat the rest afterwards. The teacher recites one word if it is a compound, two words if they are un-compounded; the teacher also clearly explains how to recite the words if there is any difficulty; in this way the whole praśna is finished and all the pupils repeat again the whole of it. A praśna generally has three mantras and each adhyāya has about sixty prasnas. Manu (II. 70-74) also prescribes certain rules: the student should sip water (ācamana) when about to begin Vedic study, should face the north, should fold both hands 785 together (and place them on his knee), should wear light (pure) clothes, should at the beginning and end of Vedic study clasp the feet of the teacher with crossed hands

^{784.} According to the com. नारायण on San. gr. II. 5. 10-11 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 67 f. n.) the words 'अधीहि भो:' are uttered by the teacher. But this does not seem to be correct. In ते. उ. III. 1 we read 'भूगुर्वे वारुणि:। वरुणं पितरसुपससार। अधीहि भगवो ब्रह्मेति।' and in छान्दोग्य VII. 1. 1 we have 'अधीहि भगव इति होपससाद सनस्कुनारं नारदः'. The ऋकुपातिशाख्य supports the above translation.

^{785.} अभिक्रान्ते द्वैपदे वाधिके वा पूर्व पदं प्रथमः प्राह शिष्यः।...ग्रदः शिष्यस्य पद्माह ग्रुष्यं समासश्चेदसमासो यदि द्वे। एतेन कल्पेन समाप्य पश्चं प्रत्याम्नायुस्तरपुनरेव सर्वे॥. ऋक्रुप्रातिशाख्य, 15th पटल. Vide Max Muller's History of A. S. L. p. 503 ff. for further details.

^{786.} बहाञ्चलि is explained differently from Manu by आपस्तम्बस्मृति (in verse) quoted in सं. प. p. 524 viz. the left hand should be turned upwards, the right hand should be placed on it with the palm turned downwards, and the fingers of the two hands should firmly hold the backs of the hands. संवर्त quoted in स्मृतिच. (I. p. 51) reads 'इस्तो तु संइतो कार्यो जानुभ्यासुपरि स्थितो ॥'

and should touch the right foot of the teacher with his own right hand and left foot with the left hand, should repeat 'om' at the beginning and at the end of Vedic study. The teacher should say to the pupil 'repeat' and should stop from teaching with the words 'let there be a pause'. Gaut. (I. 49-58) gives similar rules. The Gopatha Br. I. 31 uses the expression 'sarve vedā mukhato gṛhItāḥ', which is current even in modern times (it means all Vedas were committed to memory by word of mouth).

The study of the Veda was the first duty of every twiceborn person (dvijāti). Vedic Literature had grown to vast proportions even in the times of the Tai. Br. (III. 10. 11), as the story of Indra and Bharadvāja cited above (p. 271) shows. The ideal was set up by Manu II. 165, viz. that the whole Veda together with secret doctrines (Upanisads) was to be learnt by every dvijāti. The Sat. Br. XI. 5. 7 contains a culogy of Veda study (svādhyāya) and the injunction 'svādhyāyozdhyetavyah' (one must study the Veda) occurs there very frequently. The Ap. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 1 and 3) quotes 787 the Tai. A. II. 14. 3 that the study of the Veda (svādhyāya) is austerities and also the Sat. Br. XI. 5. 6. 8. The Mahābhāśya (vol. I. p. 1) quotes a Vedic text a brahmana should study and understand without any purpose (or desire of reward) dharma and the Veda with its six angas. 788 The Mahābhārata says that a brāhmana may be deemed to have completely accomplished his duty by the study of the Veda. 789 Yāj. I. 40 says that it is Veda alone that confers the highest bliss upon dvijātis by enabling them to understand and perform sacrifices, austerities and auspicious acts (like samskāras). The Mahābhāsya (vol. I. p. 9) contains the traditional extent of the four Vedas, viz. that there were 101 śākhās of the Yajurveda, 1000 of the Sāmaveda, 21 of the Rgveda and nine of the Atharvaveda. 790 Concessions had to be

^{787.} तपः स्वाध्याय इति बाह्मणम्।... अधापि वाजसनेयिबाह्मणम्। बह्मयज्ञो ह वा एष यत्स्वाध्यायः। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 12. 1 and 3; compare मनु II. 166 वेदाग्यासो हि विपस्य तपः परिमहोच्यते॥; दक्ष II. 33 is to the same effect; अधीयत इत्यध्यायः वेदः। स्वस्याध्यायः स्वाध्यायः स्वपरंपरागता शाखेत्यर्थः। सं. प्र. p. 504.

^{788.} ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोध्येयो ज्ञेय इति। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 1. मेधा॰ on मनु III. 1 explains निष्कारण as कारणं प्रयोजनमनुद्धिश्य नित्यकर्मवत् कर्तव्यम्।.'

^{789.} परिनिष्टितकार्यों हि स्वाध्यायेन द्विजो भवेत्। कुर्यादन्यन्न वा कुर्यान्मैचो बाह्मण उत्थते॥ भान्तिपर्व 239. 13; the latter half is मनु II. 87.

^{790.} एकञतमध्यर्ध्वशाखाः सहस्रवःमा सामवेद एकविंशतिधा बाह्युच्यं नवधाधर्वणो वेदः । महाभाष्य I. p. 9.

made to the shortness of human life and the weakness of the human mind. Therefore Gaut. II. 51, Vas. Dh. S. VII. 3, Manu III. 2. Yāj. I. 52 and others allowed a person to study only one Veda. After a man studied his own Veda. he could if so minded study another sakha of another Veda or other Vedas. The rule laid down by many smrtis is that one should study the śākhā of the Veda which his ancestors studied and should perform religious rites with mantras derived from that śākhā. Vide Medhātithi on Manu III. 2 and Visvarūpa on Yāj. I. 51.791 That person who does not study a Vedic Sakha studied by his ancestors and studies another śākhā altogether was called 'sākhāranda'. Whatever religious rites a man did with the procedure and mantras of another śākhā giving up his own śākhā becomes fruitless. But an exception was made to the effect that if some 792 religious rite was omitted in one's śākhā, but was dealt with in another śākhā and was not opposed to the teaching of one's śākhā, it may be performed as in the case of Agnihotra (which is not dealt with in all śākhās, but is to be performed by all).

Teachers mostly confined themselves to one place. But we find that even in ancient times there were teachers who wandered from one country to another. In the Kaus. Br. Up. IV. 1 we find that the famous Bālāki Gārgya moved about in the countries of Uśinara, Matsya, Kuru-Pañcāla and Kāśivideha. In the Br. Up. III. 3. 1 Bhujyu Lāhyāyani tells Yājñavalkya that he and others wandered about in the country of Madra for study. Students generally stuck to one teacher; but it appears that they sometimes flocked to renowned teachers as waters flow down a slope 793 (Tai. Up. I. 4. 3). There were also students who wandered from teacher to teacher and were

^{791.} पित्राद्यस्त्रयः पूर्वे संस्कृताः शाख्या यया। सा स्वशाखेति विज्ञेया तया धर्माणि कारयेत्॥ quoted in स्मृतिचः I. p. 49. या एव पित्रादिभिः शाखा अधीता सा न त्याज्येति। मेधाः on मन्न III. 2; वेद्मिति चैकवचनं शाखान्तराध्ययनस्यावृत्यर्थम्। विश्वरूप on या. I. 57. हित्वा स्वस्य द्विजो वेदं यस्त्वधीते परस्य तु। शाखारण्डः स विज्ञेयः सर्वकर्मचिल्कृतः॥ लध्वाश्वलायन 24. 19; हरद्त्त on गौतम IX. 53 quotes a verse which extends the rule to giving up ono's सूत्र.

^{792.} Vide गोभिलस्मृति I. 24-35 quoted by Apararka p 8 and स्मृतिच् I. p. 50 and गृह्यसंग्रह (B. I. ed.) II. 91 and 93 आत्मतन्त्रेषु यन्तीकं तत्कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम् । विशेषाः खल्ल सामन्या ये चीका वेदचादिभिः ॥ यः स्वशाखोक्त- खल्ल्यण्य परशाखोक्तमाचरेत् । अप्रमाणसृषिं कृत्वा सोऽन्धे तमसि मज्जति ॥.

^{793.} यथापः प्रवता यन्ति यथा मासा अहर्जरम् । एवं मां ब्रह्मचारिणो धातरायन्तु सर्वतः ॥ है. उ. 1, 4, 3, अहर्जर means संवत्सर.

therefore derisively called 'tīrthakāka (crows at a sacred place),' as the Mahābhāsya states. 794

As the study of the Veda was a duty enjoined upon a brāhmaņa, so teaching Veda to another was a duty. on Manu (II. 113) quotes a Vedic text 795 'He who having studied the Veda would not teach one who requests him to do so would be one who destroys his own good acts (i.e. would lose the benefit thereof). would shut the door leading to happiness: therefore he should teach; it leads to great glory'. When Satyakāma Jābāla did not teach his pupil Upakosala anything for twelve years, though the latter served assiduously by attending to the sacred fires of the teacher, the teacher's wife remonstrated with the husband by saying 'this student has worked hard and attended the fires, may the fires not censure you and order you to teach him the vidva he desires' (Chān. Up. IV. 10. 1-2). The Prasna Up. 796 VI. 1 gives expression to the view that if a teacher keeps back anything he knows he dries up entirely. The Ap. Dh. S. I. 4, 14, 2-3 expressly prescribes 'the teacher whom a student asks for instruction should not refuse him, if he finds no defect in the student.'797 Ap. Dh. S. (I. 2. 8. 25-28) lays down certain excellent rules for the teacher 'the teacher, anxious for the welfare of the student as if he were his son, should attentively impart learning to the student without hiding anything from him in all matters of duty: nor should the teacher restrain the student for his own work in such a way as to cause obstacles in his study except in seasons of distress. A teacher becomes no teacher if he avoids giving instruction' (i.e. he may be abandoned). The Dronaparva (50.21) says that a pupil comes only after the son according to the idea of those

^{794.} यथा तीर्थे काका न चिरं स्थातारी भवन्ति एवं यो गुरुकुलानि गत्वा न चिरं तिष्ठति स उच्यते तीर्थकाक इति । महाभाष्य I, p, 391 (on q_I , II, I, 41).

^{795.} अध्यापनमध्यधीतवेदेनावश्यं कर्तव्यं न केवलं पृत्तवर्धम्।..... तथा च श्रुतिः। यो हि विद्यामधीत्याधिने न नूपात्स कार्यहा (कर्महा?) स्यात् श्रेयसो द्वारमपागृणुयात्। अध्यापयेन्महदेतद्यशस्यम्। मेधाः on मनु II. 113. The portion 'यो हि...कर्महा स्यात्' is quoted as from विसिष्ठ by the स्मृतिचः I. p. 53.

^{796. &#}x27;तमहं कुमारमन्नवं नाहिममं चेद् यद्यहिमममवेदिषं कथं ते नावश्यमिति समूलो वा एव परिज्ञुष्यित योद्यतमिभवद्गित तस्माकार्हाम्यचतं वक्तुम्। प्रश्लोपः VI. 1.

^{797.} अध्ययनार्धेन यं चोदयेक चैनं प्रत्याचक्षीत। न चास्मिन् दोषं पश्येत्। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 2-3; संवत्सरोषिते शिष्ये ग्रुरुक्तंनमनिर्दिशन्। हरते दुष्कृतं तस्य शिष्यस्य वसतो ग्रुरोः ॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 14. 39) quoted in पराः मा. 1. part 1. p. 146 and as यमा in स्मृतिचं। I. p. 53.

who know dharma. If a teacher does not teach a pupil anything even after his pupil has stayed with him for a year, the former receives all the sins of the pupil. A teacher ⁷⁹⁸ who did not teach or was sinful was to be abandoned. Similarly a teacher, who became puffed up, did not care for what should or should not be done and took to a sinful path was to be abandoned. ⁷⁹⁹ Ap. I. 1. 1. 13 lays down that a student must stay with his teacher who performs his upanayana till he completes his study, unless the teacher himself swerved from the path of dharma and became a sinner and (I. 2. 7. 26) that if the teacher cannot teach the subject, the pupil may resort to another teacher.

The smrtis lay down rules about the qualifications of a student who deserves to be taught. In the Vidyasukta quoted in the Nirukta⁸⁰⁰ (II. 4) we see that the teacher was not to impart vidyā (knowledge) to one who was jealous (or who treated vidyā with contempt), was crooked and was not self-restrained and that learning was to be imparted to one who was pure, attentive, intelligent and endowed with brahmacarya (celibacy), who would never prove false (to his teacher) and who would guard what he learnt as a treasure. Manu (II. 109 and 112 also) says that ten persons deserve to be taught viz. the son of the teacher, a student who serves his guru, one who gives some knowledge in exchange, one who knows dharma or who is pure (in body and mind), who is truthful, who is able to study and retain it, who gives money (for teaching), who is well-disposed and who is one's near relative (agnate). Yāj. I. 28 mentions all these and adds that the student must be grateful, not inclined to hate or prove false to the teacher, healthy and not disposed to find fault. The student should always be dependent

^{798.} पडिमान् पुरुषो जह्माद्भिक्षां नाविभिवास्भित्ता अभवक्तारमात्रार्यमनधीयानमु-व्यिजम् ॥ उद्योगपर्व 33. 79; अज्ञानाद्यनध्यापनाद्वत्विगात्तार्यो पतनीयक्षेवायां च हेयौ ॥ गोतम 21. 12; vide also वृत्तिष्ठ 13. 50.

^{799.} गुरोरएवनलिसस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः। उत्पथमतिपकस्य परित्यागो विधीयते ॥ उद्योगपर्व 178. 48; इत.स्तिपर्व 57. 7; 140. 48 &c. In some places the last पाद is read as कार्य भवति झासनम् अपरार्क p. 67 quotes it as यमग्ड. Vide द्वर्म-पुराण (उत्तरार्ध 11. 25) for the same.

^{800.} अस्तायामुजनेऽयताय न मा नूया वीर्यनती तथा स्याम् ॥ यमेव विद्याः श्रुचिम-प्रमत्तं सेधाविनं नद्धान्यर्थोपपसम् । यस्ते न द्वुधोत्कतमञ्चनातः तस्मै मा नूया निधिपाय बद्धान् ॥ विरुक्त II. 4 (= विभिन्न II. 8-9 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 29. 9-10). मनु (II. 114-115) is very similar.

on and under the control of the teacher (as Ap. Dh. S. 801 I. 1. 2. 19 and Nārada say) and should stay with no one but the teacher. We saw above (p. 274) that from ancient times the student had to serve the teacher by tending his cattle (Chandogya IV, 4.5), had to beg for food and announce it to the teacher (ibid. IV. 3.5) and to look after his sacred fires and to learn the Veda only in the time that would be left after doing work for the guru⁸⁰⁸. Besides these, the rules concerning his conduct towards the teacher, the teacher's wife and son, concerning the method of salutation and showing respect, the food, drinks, and actions allowed or prohibited to students are too numerous to be set out in detail. A few important ones from Gautama, Āp. Dh. S., Manu II and Yaj I. 33 are stated below. Gaut. (II. 13, 14, 18. 19, 22, 23, 25) says that the student should speak the truth, bathe everyday, should not look at the sun; should avoid honey, flesh, perfumes, the wearing of flowers, sleeping by day, rubbing oil on the body, putting collyrium in the eyes, going in a cart, 803 wearing shoes and holding an umbrella, love affairs, anger covetousness, infatuation, vain discussions, playing on musical instruments, luxurious baths with hot water, meticulous cleansing of the teeth, ecstatic states of mind, dancing, singing, calumny of others, dangerous places, gazing at women or touching young women, gambling, serving a low person (or doing very low work), injury to animals, obscene or harsh talk, wine. Manu (II. 198 and 180-181) prescribes that he should not sleep on a cot and should observe complete celibacy. but if he suffers from night emissions he should bathe, worship the sun and repeat thrice the mantra 'punar mām' (Tai. Ar. I. 30). The Ap. Dh. S. (I. 1, 2, 21-30, I. 1, 3, 11-24) contains similar rules of conduct. Ap. says (I. 1. 2. 28-30) that the student should not wash his limbs with hot water (generally), but he may do so if they are smeared with dirty and impure matter provided he does it out of the sight of the teacher and that he should not bathe in water in a sportive manner, but

^{801.} न ब्रह्मचारिणो विद्यार्थस्य परोपवासोऽस्ति । आचार्यार्थानः स्याद्वन्यत्र पतनी-येभ्यः । हितकारी गुरेरिश्रतिलोमयन्त्राचा । आप. घ. 1, 1, 2, 17, 19-20; ' अस्पतस्त्रः स्मृतः शिष्य आचार्ये त स्वतन्त्रता । र नास्त्र (ऋणादान verse 33).

^{802.} हा. उप. VIII. 15.1 'आचार्यकुलाइंद्मधीत्य यथानिधानं गुरो: धार्माति-

^{803.} उपानहों छत्रं यानमिति वर्जयेत्। आप. I. 2. 7. 5, but when on a journey the student may sit in a cart, if ordered by the teacher 'यानसुक्तोऽध्वन्यन्वारोहेत्' आप. ध. I. 2, 8. 12.

should bathe in it motionless like a stick. Ap. not only prohibits for him sexual intercourse (I. 1. 2.26) but ordains that he should speak with women only as much as is absolutely necessary. The student was not to⁸⁰⁴ laugh, but if he could not help laughing he should do so covering his face with his hands (says \overline{Ap} .).

Gautama and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 2.34 and 37) say that the student is to serve his teacher by following after him when he goes anywhere, he should help the teacher in his toilet and bath and should shampoo his body and take food left by him (ucchista);805 he should be diligent in doing work that would be pleasing and beneficial to the teacher; he was to study when the teacher called him, he was not to cover his throat with a piece of cloth, or was not to sit in the presence of his teacher with his feet on his lap, was not to stretch his feet, he was not to clear loudly his throat, nor to laugh, yawn or crack the knuckles; he was when called by the teacher to reply at once leaving his seat or bed and was to approach the teacher even when he called from a distance; he should always occupy a seat lower than that of his teacher and should go to sleep after his teacher and rise before him (Gautama II. 20-21, 30-32). Manu II. 194-198 and Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 26 and I. 2. 6. 1-12 contain similar rules. Manu (II. 199) says that a pupil should

^{804.} Vide Yaj. I. 33 which contains many of the above. Yaj. forbids the eating of ucchişța (leavings of food) of anybody (except the teacher). Manu (II. 177-179) practically contains the same rules as those of Gautama set out above. Ausanasa-smṛti III. (ed. by Jiv. pp. 512-513) contains a long list of what the student should eschew. ज समयेत। यदि समयेतापिग्रहा समयेतील बाह्मणम्। आप. घ. स्. I. 2. 7. 7-8.

Medhātithi on Manu VI. 80, in several senses. It literally means 'what is left out.' The most usual senses are three, viz. (1) food left in the plate from which one has eaten, (2) food taken out in a vessel for serving to a person but not exhausted by being served in his plate, and (as applied to a person), (3) one who has not washed his hands and mouth after eating food (or as applied to a plate) the plate (not yet cleaned) from which one has taken his meal. Vide ng IV. 211 for the 2nd meaning. Another meaning is: (4) one who has answered a call of nature and not yet performed the purificatory acts like ācamana is said to be ucchişta. Vide Manu IV. 142 (for this and the 3rd meaning) and V. 143 (for 3). Sometimes the word is used in its literal sense (vide Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 2). Vide Manu V. 141 for another application of the word.

not mimic the gait, the manner of speech and the actions of the teacher. Manu (II. 200-201) calls upon the pupil to close his ears (with his hands or fingers) or to leave the place where somebody indulges in calumnies about the teacher or points out the faults in him, and states that if the pupil himself finds fault with his teacher or calumniates him, the pupil (in the next life) is born as an ass or a dog. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 806 28. 26 says the same.

Some rules are laid down as to how the brahmacārin is to deal with the hair on his head. Even the Rg. speaks of beys with several śikhās (topknot). Vide note 598 above. Gaut. I. 26 and Manu II. 219 say that a brahmacārin may either shave his entire head, or may allow all the hair to grow as matted or should keep only a tuft of hair on the head (and shave the rest). 807 Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 31-32, Vas. VII. 11 allow only two alternatives viz. growing all the hair or keeping a tuft of hair, while Viṣnu Dh. S. 28. 41 says that a student may either shave the entire head or grow matted hair. One was not to untie one's śikhā, while on the public road. 808

One of the rules for the student was that he was not to pronounce the name of his teacher even when the teacher was not present without prefixing or affixing an honorific addition (such as sr!, bhatta, ācārya). Gaut. ordains that the student should not speak of his teacher, the teacher's son or wife or of a man who has been initiated for a srauta sacrifice by their bare, names of and then says that when it is absolutely necessary

^{806.} यत्रास्य निन्दापरीवादौ स्यातां न तत्र तिष्ठेत्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 28.26. निन्दा is declaring faults that really do not exist and परीवाद is pointing out faults that do exist.

⁸⁰⁷. सुण्डजिटलिशिखाजटाश्च । गौतम $I.\ 26$; जिटलः शिखाजटो या वापयेवितरान् आप. ध. सू. $I.\ 1.\ 2.\ 31-32$.

^{808.} न पथि शिखा विस्रजेत् । हारीत quoted by अपरार्क p. 225.

^{809.} आचार्यतत्पुत्रस्त्रिविशितनामानि।..... नामगोत्रे ग्ररोः समानतो निर्विशेत्। गौतम II. 24 and 28. If the diksita is present he may be addressed as 'भा विशित (or भो यजमान) एवं कुर ' and when absent as 'तत्रभवता विशितेनेवं कृतम्' &c. Of Gaut. II. 28 Haradatta gives two explanations (समानतः either means मानेन सह or सम्यग् आनतः) and he takes 28 to refer to the pupil's name. Vide मेथा. on मनु. II. 128 for explanations. सं. प. p. 492 explain समाननाम्नः पुरुषान्तराद्वा. Vide मनु II. 199 and विश्वाधर्मसूच्च 28. 24.

to refer to these by name the student should not pronounce the name and gotra of his teacher as they are, but by means of a synonym (e.g. if the teacher's name is Haradatta or Devesvara the pupil should respectively say Devarāta or Sureśvara). Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 15 says that even after returning home a snātaka should avoid touching his former teacher with his fingers (to call his attention), frequent muttering of something in his ears, laughing into his face, calling him out loudly, taking his name, ordering him about. Manu II. 128 and Gaut. VI. 19 say that a man who has been initiated for a śrauta sacrifice should not be addressed by his name, even though he be younger than the person addressing, but that one should use the words 'bhoh' and 'bhavat' when addressing him or speaking about him and may refer to him by words like diksita &c. There are other rules about addressing or referring by name which may be set out here for the sake of completeness. The Sm. C. (I. p. 45) and Haradatta on Gaut. II. 29 quote a smrti⁸¹⁰ that one should not mention by name only one's teacher. teacher's son and wife, a diksita, any other guru, father, mother, paternal and maternal uncles, one's benefactor, a learned man. one's father-in-law, one's husband, one's mother's sister. Mahābhārata says that one should not mention by name or address as 'tvam' (thou) one's elders, but one may speak of one's contemporaries or those who are younger by their names.811 Another verse says that one should not mention one's own name, the name of one's guru, the name of a mean person, of one's wife and one's eldest child.

Upasaingrahana consists in repeating one's gotra and name, saying 'I salute', touching one's ears, clasping the feet (as stated above) and bending one's head while so doing. In abhiv \bar{u} dana there is no clasping of the feet with the hands; one

^{810.} आचार्य चैव तत्पुत्रं तद्भायीं दीक्षितं गुरुम्। पितरं वा पितृव्यं च मातुलं मातरं तथा॥ हितैषिणं च विद्वांसं श्वशुरं पतिमेव च। न बूपाक्षामतो विद्वानमातुश्च भागेनीं तथा॥ स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 45 and हरदत्त on गौ. II. 29.

^{811.} त्वंकारं नामधेयं च ज्येष्ठानां परिवर्जयेत्। अवराणां समानानासुभयेषां न दुष्यति॥ ज्ञान्तिवर्व 193.25; vide also Vişnu Dh. S. 32. 8; आत्मनाम ग्रुरोर्नाम यसाम स्रुपणस्य च। श्रेयस्कामो न गृद्धीयाज्ययेष्ठापत्यकलत्रयोः ॥ quoted by the मदनपारिजात p. 27 (but in अभिवादन one has to take one's name) and on p. 119 (1st स्तवक) it quotes from नारद् 'ग्रुरोज्येष्ठकलत्रस्य भ्रातुज्येष्ठस्य चात्मनः। श्रायुष्कामो न गृद्धीयास्नामातिकपणस्य च।

may or may not touch the feet of the person to be honoured.

Abhivudana must always be preceded by pratyuthāna. 818

Very detailed rules were laid down about pratyutthana (rising from one's seat to receive a person), abhivadana (saluting a man), upasamgrahana (saluting by clasping the feet of the teacher or another with one's hands), pratyabhiyada (returning a salutation), and namaskāra (bowing with the word 'namah'). According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 19 and I. 3. 10. 17 the student must, when he meets his teacher after sunrise, clasp his teacher's feet and also before beginning the day's lesson of Vedic study and also after finishing it. Manu II. 71 says the same. Gaut. (I. 52-54) prescribes the clasping of the feet every day in the morning and at the beginning and at the end of a lesson in the Veda. According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 2.5. 20 on other occasions whenever the student meets the teacher only abhivadana is sufficient, though according to some teachers (Ap. I. 2. 5. 21) clasping the teacher's feet is necessary on each occasion. Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 22 states that in upasamgrahana the teacher's right foot is to be stroked below and above with the student's right hand and the foot and ankle are both to be taken hold of, while according to some teachers, the student must press each foot of the teacher with both hands and clasp them. Manu II. 72, Visnu Dh. S. 28, 15, and Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 24 say that the student is to clasp the feet of the teacher with crossed hands, touching the right foot with the right hand and the left foot with the left hand. Kullūka on Manu II. 72 quotes Paithinasi that the student should clasp the teacher's feet with his hands turned upwards. Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 28 adds that clasping should not be done when either the teacher or the pupil is seated, or is lying down or impure. According to Gaut. VI. 1-3 one must clasp every day on the first meeting and particularly on his or their return from a journey. the feet of one's parents, of the blood relations of parents (e. g. paternal and maternal uncles), of the elder brother, of the guru (i. e. ācārya, upādhyāya) and of persons venerated by one's gurus. Ap. Dh. S. (I. 4. 14. 7-9) says that even after finishing

^{812.} उपसंग्रहणं नाम अमुक्रमोत्रो देवद्त्तरार्माहं भी अभिवाद्ये इत्युक्त्वा कर्णो स्पृद्धा दक्षिणोत्तरपाणिभ्यां दक्षिणेन पाणिना ग्रुरोदंक्षिणं पादं सध्येन सध्यं ग्रुहीत्वा शिरोवनसनम्। अभिवाद्ने पादसंग्रहणं नास्ति। पादस्पर्शनं कार्यं न वा। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 7; चौ. ध. स्. (I. 2. 26 असावहं भी इति श्रोत्रे संस्पृश्य मनःसमाधानार्थम्) says that the ears are touched for concentrating one's mind; विश्वस्त्य on या. I. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, सर्वत्र तु प्रत्युत्था याभिवादनम्। आप. ध. सू. 1. 4. 14. 16.

one's studies and returning home a man must every day clasp the feet of gurus (father, mother, teacher and other venerable persons) and of elder brothers and sisters according to their seniority.

Abhivadana is of three kinds, viz. nitya (obligatory every day), naimittika (to be done only on certain occasions) and kāmya (to be done only if a person has certain rewards in view). As examples of nitya abhivadana one may instance the rules of \overline{Ap} . Dh. S.⁸¹³ (I. 2. 5. 12-13) "every day a student should get up from bed in the last watch of the night and standing near his teacher salute him with the words 'I so and so, ho' (salute thee); and the student should also salute other very aged (and learned brāhmaṇas) who may reside in the same village before his morning meal." Yāj. I. 26 also speaks of the latter. The occasional abhivadana is done on certain occasions such as return from a journey (Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 14). A person may salute elderly persons whenever he chooses, if he is desirous of long life or (bliss in) heaven (Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 15 and Baud, Dh. S. I. 2, 26). Manu 814 (II, 120 and 121) says 'the pranas (vital breaths) of a young man mount upwards when an old man approaches: but by rising to meet him and salutation (to him), he (the young man) recovers them. He who habitually salutes and constantly pays reverence to the aged obtains an increase of four things viz. length of life. knowledge, fame and strength.' Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 11,815 Baud. Dh. S. I. 2, 44. Manu II. 130 and Vas. Dh. S. 13, 41 prescribe that a person must honour by rising and mentioning one's name an officiating priest, one's father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles, even though these may be younger than oneself in

^{813.} सदा महान्तमपररात्रमुत्थाय ग्रुरोस्तिष्ठन्यातरभिवादमभिवाद्दयीतासावहं भो इति । समानग्रामे च वसतामन्येषामपि वृद्धतरागां प्राक्यातराज्ञात् । आप ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 12-13; compare मनु II. 122, 124.

^{814.} ऊर्ध्व पाणा ह्युत्कामनित यूनः स्थविर आयति। प्रत्युत्थानाभिवादाम्यां पुनरतान्यतिपद्यते ॥ मन्तु II. 120. This verse occurs in उद्योगपर्व 38. 1 and अनुज्ञासनपर्व
104. 64-65 and also in the महाभाष्य vol. III. p. 58, where we have तथापूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेय इति पूर्ववयसोऽप्रत्युत्थाने दोष उक्तः प्रत्युत्थाने च गुणः। कथम्। ऊर्ध्व
... पद्यते इति।. Vide धम्मपद् 109 (ed. by Fausböll, 1900) for a verse closely
parallel to Manu II. 121.

^{815.} ऋत्विकश्वज्ञरिपितृध्यमातुलानवरवयसः प्रत्युत्थायाभिवदेत् । तूर्वणी वोषसंगृही-यात् । आप धः स् I. 4. 14. 10–11; बौ. ध. स् I. 2. 44 ऋत्विक् ...मातुलानां तु यवीयसां प्रत्युत्थायाभिभाषणम् । (but some mss. read 'भिवादनम्), मनु II. 130 says 'असावहामिति नूयात्, while गौतम VI. 9 is ऋत्विक् श्वज्ञुरिपतृध्यमातुलानां तु यवीयसां प्रत्युत्थानमनभिवाद्याः।

years. Gaut. (VI. 9) however says that in the case of these one need only rise from his seat to receive them; but it is not necessary to salute them (abhivadana is not necessary). Visnu Dh. S. 32. 4 expressly says that in the case of officiating priests and others specified by Ap. and Gaut. and who are younger. rising from one's seat is tantamount to abhivadana. 117 says that one must perform abhivadana to a person from whom one learns secular, Vedic or spiritual knowledge of any kind. There is some difference in the words used at the time of abhivadana. Usually the words are 'abhivadaye devadattaśarmā-ham⁸¹⁶ bhoh' (vide Ap. I. 2.5.12, Gaut. VI.5, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 27, Vas. XIII. 44, Manu II. 122 and 124). But this mode is appropriate only if the person addressed knows how to return the salutation. Manu II, 123 and 126 and Vas. Dh. S. 13. 45 declare that in the case of those who do not know how to return a salutation (pratyabhiyādana, and according to Manu in the case of women also) one should omit the word 'bhoh' and simply say 'abhivadaye aham' (omitting one's name). Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 14, 20 similarly says that in saluting women. a ksatriya or a vaisya one should use a pronoun and omit one's name.817

The manner of abhivādana was as follows: **18 'A brāhmaṇa shall salute stretching forward his right arm on a level with his ear, a kṣatriya holding it on a level with the chest, a vaiśya holding it on a level with the waist and a śūdra holding it low (up to his feet) and that the salutation shall be by joining one's hands' (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 16-17). The Madanapārijāta adds that abhivādana is with both hands when the person to be saluted is learned, but with one hand only if he is not learned (p. 27) and the Sm. C. (I. p. 36) quotes Viṣṇu and Atri to the

^{816.} That is one has to take one's name in abhivādana; but one does not take the name of the person who is saluted (Gautama VI. 12). The स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 7 says that in उपसंग्रहण (and in अभिवाद्य also) the person saluting says अनुक्रगोत्रों देवद्त्तशर्माहं भो अभिवाद्ये; मेधा on मनु II.122 says the words are अभिवाद्ये देवद्त्तनामाहं भो:; हरद्त्र on गौ. VI. 5 states that अभिवाद्य should be 'अभिवाद्ये हरद्त्तशर्मा नामाहमस्मि भो:'; while कुङ्क on मनु II. 124 says it should be अभिवाद्ये ग्रुभशर्मोहमस्मि भो: (i. e. he omits the word नाम, which मनु II. 122 appears to require and which गौ. VI. 5 does not require).

^{817.} सर्वनाम्ना श्चियो राजन्यवैद्यो च । न नाम्ना । मात्रमाचार्यद्वारं चैके । आप. ध च. I. 4, 14, 20-22,

^{818.} दक्षिणं बाहुं श्रोत्रसमं प्रसार्य बाह्मणोऽभिवादयीतोरःसमं राजन्यो मध्यसमं वैश्यो नीचैः शुद्धः। प्राक्षित्त आप. ध. I. 2. 5. 16-17; vide सं. प्र. p. 454.

same effect. The stretching of the hands up to the ear &c. indicates how far the head is to be bent in each case.

There were also other rules about honouring one's elders in the presence of one's teacher or honouring the teacher's teacher or about one's behaviour when a gentleman comes to see one's ācārya and leaves him, which are here passed over for want of space. Vide Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 6. 29-32, Manu II. 205.

A brahmana who does not know the form of returning a salutation must not be saluted by a learned man; he is like a śūdra (Manu II. 126). Similarly a brāhmana was not to perform abhivādana to a ksatriva or a vaišva however learned the latter may be, but one should simply say 'svasti'; those who are of the same caste should do abhivadana. 819 The Mit. on Yaj. III. 292 and Aparārka p. 1188 quote sūtras of Hārīta prescribing as prāvaścitta a fast of one, two or three days respectively for a brāhmana saluting a ksatriya, vaišya or sūdra and also for saluting when the persons saluted or the man saluting are in such a condition as to make them unfit for abhivadana. One should not salute with the shoes on or when one's head is wrapped up or one's hands are full (Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 19); or if one carries a load of fuel-sticks or holds a pot of flowers or food in one's hands one shall not salute, nor shall one salute on occasions similar to the preceding (such as one being engaged in worship of manes, of fire or other gods or when one's teacher is so engaged), nor should one salute a teacher standing very close to him (Baud. Dh. S. I. 2, 31-32). When one is impure or the person he meets is impure (owing to asauca or other causes) no salutation is to be made or returned (Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 17). Gaut. IX. 45 says that one should not occupy a seat or perform abhivadana and namaskara with shoes on. One need not salute a person who is not a guru or who stands in a lower or higher place than oneself (Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 14). Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 23. Manu II. 135 and Visnu Dh. S. 32. 17 say that a brahmana ten years old is like a father to a ksatriva even 100 years old and so deserves salutation from the ksatriya.

^{819.} नाभिवाद्यास्तु विभेण क्षत्रियाद्याः कथंचन। ज्ञानकर्मग्रणोपेता यद्यप्येते बहु श्रुताः॥ श्राह्मणः सर्ववर्णानां स्वस्ति कुर्यादिति श्रुतिः। सवर्णस्तु सवर्णानां कार्यमेवाभिवाद्वनम्॥ शातातप quoted by अपरार्क p. 52; vide स्मृतिचः I. p. 37 quoting भविदयपुराण and चम for the meaning of स्वस्ति; समित्युष्पकुशाज्याम्बुमृद्भाक्षतपाणिकम्। जपं होमं च कुर्वाणं नाभिवादेव वे द्विजम्॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by मिता. on या. III. 292; नोव्कुम्भहस्तोभिवाद्येक भेक्षं चरक पुष्पाज्यादिहस्तो नाद्युचिर्न जपक देवपितृकार्यं कुर्वक श्रापाः। शक्क quoted by मिता. on या. III. 292.

Ap. Dh. S. (I. 4. 14. 12) gives a special rule that a friendship kept for ten years as fellow citizens, a friendship contracted at school for five years, the fact of a śrotriya being three years older entitles the friend or śrotriya to a salutation. Gaut. (VI. 14-17) and Manu II. 134 give somewhat different rules viz. contemporaries who are born in the same year are to be addressed with the word 'bhoh' or 'bhavat' and a fellow citizen who is ten years older than oneself and an artist who is five years older than oneself and a srotriya studying the same Vedic school as oneself who is three years older are to be addressed similarly. Manu adds blood relations to the list when the difference in age is very small. The Smrtyarthasara p. 7 gives a long list of persons whom one should never salute viz. an heretic, a person guilty of grave sins, an atheist, gamblers, thieves, ungrateful persons, drunkards. Vide also Manu IV. 30 and Yāj. I. 130 (as to showing no respect even by words to heretics &c).

In the case of certain persons one was to show honour only by rising from his seat and not by abhivadana. Gaut. (VI. 9) mentions some such persons who are already referred to in note 815. Headdsthat (VI. 10-11) even a śūdra of eighty years or more must be honoured by rising by one (even though the latter be of a higher varna) young enough to be his son (but there will be no abhivadana) and that an arya (i. e. one belonging to the three higher castes) must be honoured by rising by a śūdra even if the latter be older (and so a vaisya must honour a ksatriya though the latter be younger). Haradatta explains that the word śūdra in Gaut. VI, 10 is only illustrative and that an old vaisya must be honoured by a young ksatriya or brahmana by simply rising from his seat and an old ksatriya by a young brāhmana in the same way. Ap. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 16-18) lays down that if a brahmana who has not studied the Veda comes as a guest one may give him a seat, water and food but one should not rise to receive him, but should rise to receive him if he is entitled to abhivadana on account of age (as stated in Ap. I. 4. 14. 12, and Manu II. 134); similarly a brahmana need not rise to receive a ksatriya or vaisya (except on the same ground of age).

The rules about returning a salutation (about pratyabhivāda) are made somewhat intricate and obscure by the varying interpretations of commentators. Pratyabhivāda consists in pronouncing a benediction in the proper form given by a guru

or other person who has been saluted. Among the oldest sterile in Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 18 'when returning the salute of one belonging to the first three castes, the (last syllable of the) name (of the person whose salutation is to be returned) shall be lengthened to three moras'. Vasistha's rule (XIII. 46) is 'when the salute is returned, the last vowel (of the noun standing) in the vocative is protracted to the length of three moras and if it is a diphthong (i. e. e or o but not of the dual number) it becomes 'āy' or 'āv' e. g. 'bho becomes bhāv'. Manu II. 125 prescribes "a brāhmana should be thus saluted in return, 'mayst thou be long-lived, O gentle one!' and the vowel 'a' or any other vowel at the end of the name (of the person addressed) should be made pluta (i.e. lengthened to three moras) and if the name ends in a consonant, the preceding vowel is made pluta."

That these rules are very ancient follows from Pāṇini's sūtra (VIII. 2.83) 'when the salutation of a person who is not a śūdra is returned by the person saluted, the final vowel in the name (that occurs at the end of the sentence of pratyabhivāda) becomes 'pluta.' The Mahābhāṣya comments on this and two vārtikas thereon say that this rule does not apply when it is a woman to whom the salutation is returned and it applies optionally when the person whose salutation is returned is a kṣatriya or vaiṣya. All these rules are exemplified in the foot-note below. Ap. Dh. S. agrees with this rule of the ancient grammarians. The verse of Manu (II. 125) also really means the same thing; but there the word 'akāra' is only

^{820.} प्रत्यभिवादनं चाभिवादितेन गुर्वादिना विहितशब्देनाशिर्वचनम्। सं. प्र. p. 453; हावनं च नाम्नोऽभिवादनप्रत्यभिवादने च पूर्वेषां वर्णानाम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 18; प्रत्यभिवादमामन्त्रिते स्वरेऽन्त्यः हवते संध्यक्षरमप्रह्ममायावभावं चापद्यते यथा भा भाविति। प्रसिष्ठ XIII. 46; आयुष्मानभव सौर्वेति वाच्यो विपोऽभिवादने। अकारश्चास्य नाम्नोऽन्ते वाच्यः पूर्वाक्षरः हुतः॥ मन्तु II. 125. Some MSS. read पूर्वाक्षरहृतः as one word.

^{821.} मत्यभिवादेऽह्नदे । पाणिनि VIII. 2. 83; if it is a बाह्मण who performs अभिवादन (as in अभिवादये देवद्त्तोहं भी:) gratyabhivāda is आयुडमानेधि देवद्त्ता १ (3 indicates that the vowel preceding it is pluta i. e. drawn out to the length of three moras). If the name ends in a consonant the प्रत्यभिवाद will be आयुडमान्भव सोमहार्माउत्. If a woman salutes (as in अभिवादये गार्ग्यहं भी:) the return is आयुडमती भव गार्गि (i. c. there is no हुत). If a kṣatriya इद्वर्मन् salutes the return is either आयुडमानेधीन्द्रवर्मा ३ त or आयुडमानेधीन्द्रवर्मत्. If a वैदय इन्द्रपालित salutes, the परयभिवाद is आयुडमानेधीन्द्रपालिता 3 or-धीन्द्रपालित. If it is a द्वाद तुषजक who salutes, the परयभिवाद is आयुडमानेधी त्रवजक (i. e. there is no pluta).

illustrative and stands for all vowels. The ancient commentator Medhātithi interprets Manu so as to agree with Pānini and says 'in the realm of the use of words and their senses Pāṇini has higher authority than Manu, that the pratyabhivāda words containing the benediction about long life are not stereotyped, that when a ksatriya returns the salutation of a ksatriya or a vaisya of a vaisya, the same rules hold good'. As a person of a higher varna was not to do abhivadana to one of lower varna (vide note 819 above) there would be no occasion for pratyabhivada from the side of the latter. The verse of Manu is interpreted by Haradatta and a few others in a different manner. According to them the last vowel in the name of the person whose salutation is to be returned is pluta and then 'a' is added to it. and that if the vocative ends in e or o. it becomes ava or ava (with 'a' added).823 This view is opposed to Pānini, the Mahābhāsya, the Kāsikā, Apastamba and several writers of digests. Apararka and the Sm. C. condemn the interpretation put upon Manu's verse by commentators like Haradatta.824

What great importance was attached to the correct utterance of the return salutation can be seen from the fact that one of the miscellaneous reasons assigned for the necessity of grammatical studies in the Mahābhāṣya is that (as stated in a verse) a person who returns from a journey will perform salutation to ignorant persons (who do not know how to utter pratyabhivāda) as if to women with the words 'abhivādaye

^{828.} अभिवाद्यिसा एवं वाच्य आयुष्मान्भव सोम्येति । इतिशब्दः प्रकारे । आयुष्मान्नेषि दीर्घायुर्भ्याश्चिरं जीवेरयेवमादिशब्द्यपरिग्रहः शिष्टाचारप्रसिद्धो भवति । शब्दार्थप्रयोगे च मन्वादिग्योऽधिकतरः प्रामाण्ये भगवान्याणिनिः । विप्रग्रहणप्राविवक्षितम् । क्षत्रियादीनामण्येष एव विधिः स्मृत्यन्तरसमाचारो होवमेव स्थितो न चौषां विध्यन्तरमस्ति। मेधा॰ ०० मनु II. 125.

^{823.} The प्रत्यभिवाद according to हरदूत्त will be आयुष्मान भव सीम्य देवद्त्ता 3 अ 1. If the name is चक्कपाणि or विष्णु it will be आयुष्मान भव सीम्य चक्कपाणा 3 य or विष्णु 3 व. If the name ends in a consonant, the प्रत्यभिवाद will be like आयुष्माम्भव सीम्य अग्निची 3 द (the name is आग्निचित् and so चि is made सुत्र and so is added to the consonant त्). Vide संस्कारम. pp. 451-454.

^{824.} अतश्च पूर्वाक्षर इति विशेषणोप।दानाम् स्यक्षनसहित एव स्वरः हावनीयः। न पुनरपूर्वोऽकारो नामान्ते विधीयत इति निश्चीयते। अपरार्क p. 53; स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 37 repeats the words न पुनर धीयते. अपरार्क reads वसिष्ठः सूत्र क्ष 'आमन्त्रिते स्वरो प्रमुद्धानायाजभावं च ' and gives as examples (आयुक्तान्भव) यज्ञभूता उद्व (यज्ञभूते is vocative) or चित्रगाउँउ (चित्रगो is vocative).

ayamaham' 825 (i. e. grammar is to be learnt by men for fear that they may be treated as women when a person salutes them).

Ap. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 27) prescribes that the student shall behave towards his teacher's wife as towards the teacher himself, but he shall not clasp her feet or eat the residue of her food. 826 Gaut. (II. 31-32) also says the same thing and adds that the student shall not assist the wives of the teacher at their toilet or bath nor wash their feet nor shampoo them. Manu II. 211. Baud. Dh. S. I. 2, 37, Visnu Dh. S. 32, 6 have the same rule. But Gaut. II. 33 states an exception that on return from a journey the student shall clasp the feet of the wives of his teacher (also Manu II. 217 and Visnu Dh. S. 32.15). Manu (II. 210) gives special directions 'the wives of the teacher who belong to the same caste must be treated as respectfully as the teacher but in the case of those who belong to a different caste he need only rise from his seat and salute' (Visnu Dh. S. 32, 5 also is similar), and 'a student who is full twenty years old shall not honour the young wife of a teacher by clasping her feet (Manu II. 212 and Visnu Dh. S. 32. 13); but even a young student may prostrate himself on the ground for honouring the young wife of his teacher without clasping her feet (with the words 'abhivādave amukasarmā-ham bhoh').

As regards women who are not wives of the teacher, the following rules deserve attention. The first rule is that married women, whatever their age may be, deserve honour (and so he must salute &c.) according to the ages of their husbands⁸²⁷ (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 18 and Vas. Dh. S. 13. 42). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 2 gives the same rule, but restricts it to wives of the same caste. Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 6 prescribes that the same honour must be shown to the mother and father as to a teacher i. e. their feet must be clapsed on those occasions on which a teacher's feet are to be clasped and Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 9 extends the rule to elder sisters. Gaut. (VI. 7-8) states that the feet of the wives of (elder) brothers or of one's mother-in-law

^{825.} अविद्वांसः । अविद्वांसः प्रत्यभिवादे माम्नो ये म पुति विद्वः । कामं तेषु त विघोष्य स्त्रीविवायमहं वदेत् ॥ महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 3. This passage is quoted by मेधा॰ on मन्न 11, 123.

^{826.} अन्यत्रोपसंग्रहणादुच्छिष्टाशनाञ्चाचार्यवदाचार्यदारे वृत्तिः।आप.ध.सू.I.2.7.27.

^{827.} पतिवयसः स्नियः । आप. ध. स्. I. 4. 14. 18; ये चैव पाद्याह्यास्तेषां भार्या एराश्च । मातापितरी च । वसिष्ठ 13. 42-43.

need not be clasped on any occasion; and the feet of a paternal uncle's wife or of elder sisters need not be clasped except when one returns from a journey. But Manu (II. 131-132) gives different rules. A maternal or poternal aunt, a maternal uncle's wife, a mother-in-law are equal to one's teacher's wife and must be honoured like her; one's elder brother's wife's feet must be clasped every day if she is of the same caste, but the feet of the wives of one's other paternal and maternal relatives need only be clasped on one's return from a journey. Visnu Dh. S. 32. 3 places a maternal or paternal aunt and the eldest sister on an equality with the teacher's wife. As already stated above in the case of all women the salutation is simply 'I salute' (abhivādaye aham)' without mentioning one's name. Devala says 'the mother, mother's mother, teacher's wife and the full brothers and sisters of one's parents, paternal grand-mother, mother-in-law, elder sister and the foster mother are women who are (to be honoured like) gurus'.828

Ap. Dh. S. I. 2.7. 30, Vas. Dh. S. XIII. 54, Viṣnu Dh. S. 28. 31, Manu II. 207 require that the student will behave towards the teacher's son as towards his teacher. That this rule is very ancient follows from a passage³²⁹ in the Mahābhāṣya; where it is stated and a proviso is added that the student will not however clasp the son's feet nor eat the leavings of his food. Ap. Dh. S. I. 2.7. 30 only mentions as prohibited the eating of the leavings of food, but Viṣnu Dh. S. (28. 32-33) prohibits also the washing of the son's feet. Manu (II. 208) gives a restrictive rule that the son of the teacher deserves the same honour as a teacher, if he imparts instruction in place of the teacher (because the latter is otherwise engaged), whether the son be younger or of the same age as the student, but that the student in any case must not shampoo the limbs of the son nor assist him in his bath nor wash his feet nor eat the leavings of his food.

From Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 28 and I. 4. 13. 12830 it appears that the system of pupil teachers (who were called 'samādiṣṭa')

^{828.} माता मातामही ग्रुवी पितुर्मातुश्च सोद्राः। श्वश्चः पितामही ज्येष्ठा धात्री च ग्रुवः स्त्रियः॥ देवल in संप्र. p. 471; almost the same verse occurs in औज्ञानस (Jiv. ed.) I. p. 503.

^{829.} गुरुवद्स्मिनगुरुप्ते वर्तितःयमन्यत्रोन्छिष्टभोजनात्पादोपसंग्रहणाञ्चेति । यदि ख गुरुपुत्रोपि गुरुर्भवति तद्पि कर्तन्यं भवति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 135 (on पाणिनि I. 1. 56, वर्तिक 8)

^{830.} तथा समादिष्टे अध्यापयति । आप. ध. स्. 1. 2. 7. 28; समादिष्टमध्यापयन्तं यावदृष्टययनसुपसंगृङ्गीयात् । नित्यमहन्तमित्येके । आप. ध. स्. 1. 4. 13. 12-13.

obtained in ancient times and Ap. prescribes that the student shall behave towards a pupil teacher who teaches him at the teacher's command as towards the teacher and shall honour him also by clasping his feet, as long as he is giving instruction.

Further rules are laid down about showing courtesy to a person who is not a relative or who is not a teacher &c. Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 26-29 and Manu II. 127 lay down that one should, on meeting a brahmana, ask after his health with the word 'kuśala,' a ksatriya about his health using the word 'anamaya', a vaisya by using the word ksema (or anasta according to Ap.) and a śūdra by employing the word ārogya. Thus one who is older (according to the rule in Manu II. 134 cited above on p. 339) should be saluted, while one who is of the same age or younger should simply be asked 'kuśala' &c. Gāut. V. 37-38 gives similar directions.831 Manu (II. 129) enjoins that one should address a woman who is the wife of another man and who is not a blood relation as 'lady' (bhavati) or 'beloved sister' and (Ap. Dh. S. I. 4.14.30) that one should not pass a learned brahmana without addressing him nor a woman whom he meets in a forest or other lonely place and Visnu Dh. S. 32. 7 says that in such circumstances he must address her (in order to assure her) as 'sister' (if she is of the same age as himself) or 'daughter' (if she is vounger) and 'mother' (if she is older than himself).

It is stated in the Udvähatattva ⁸³² (p. 144) that the word 'śrī' is to be prefixed when referring by name to a deity or a teacher, to the place of one's teacher, to a holy place or to the presiding deity of a holy place, to one who has secured Yogic siddhis or to those who have secured by sacrifices the worlds of bliss; and Raghunandana adds that according to the usage of respectable people 'śrī' is prefixed to names of such persons while they are alive. The same work also tells us that women of the dvijātis were to have the honorific suffix 'devi' added to

^{831.} According to हरवृत्त the questions would be in the case of members of the four varias respectively, अपि कुशलं भवतः, अप्यनामयं भवतः, अप्यनष्टपशुधनोसि, अप्यरोगो भवानः. 'कुशलानामयारोग्याणामन्त्रपक्षः। अन्त्यं शूद्धस्य । गा. V. 37–38; हरवृत्त on these says 'अपि कुशलमायुष्मश्चिति ब्राह्मणः प्रष्टच्यः, अप्यनामयं अत्रभवत इति क्षत्रियः, अप्यरोगो भवानिति वैदयः, अप्यरोगोसीति शूद्धः ।

^{832.} देवं गुरुं गुरुस्थानं क्षेत्रं क्षेत्राधिदेवताः । सिद्धं सिद्धाधिकाराश्च श्रीपूर्वं समुद्धी-रयेत् ॥ इति राघवभद्वधृतपयोगसारदर्शनेन स्वर्गकाम्यत्विद्धाः । सिद्धोधिकारो येवां तानि-स्यनेन जीवतां श्रीशब्दादित्वं नाम्नि सुतानां तु न तथेति शिष्टाः । उद्घादतस्य p. 144.

their names and of the sudra caste the word 'dast'. This is still the practice particularly in Bengal and Northern India.

The works on Dharmasastra give very interesting rules about the grounds on which respect was to be shown to a Honour 838 consists in saluting a person, or rising to meet him or allowing him to walk in front of one or giving him a garland, sandal-wood paste on festive occasions and the like. Manu (II. 136) and Visnu Dh. S. (32. 16) say that wealth kindred, age, (performance of) religious rites and sacred knowledge confer title to respect, but each succeeding one out of these five is superior to each preceding one. Gaut. (VI. 18-20) is slightly different; he says 'wealth, relations, occupation, birth, learning and age must be honoured; each later named is more important than each preceding one; but Vedic learning is more important than all (the rest)'. Vas. Dh. S. 13. 56-57 also says that learning, wealth, age, relationship and religious actions are titles to respect, but each preceding one is more important than each succeeding one. Yai, I. 116 puts the order as vidyā, karma, age, relationship and wealth (i. e. wealth is the least ground for giving honour). Visvarūpa on Yāj, I. 35 says that if respect is not paid to guru (parents), ācārya, upādhyāya and rtvik (they are arranged in descending order) one incurs sin, but if honour is not shown on the ground of [learning, wealth &c. there is no sin but one loses happiand success. Manu II. 137 says that a śūdra who is beyond 90 years is still a child to a learned brahmana. In order to show that Vedic learning is superior to seniority of age Manu (II. 151-153) narrates the story of a young scion of the Angiras gotra who taught his pitrs and addressed them as 'little sons' and whose action was supported by the gods with the remark that a man destitute of knowledge was a child and he who taught him the Veda was his father. This story is referred to expressly by Baud. Dh. S. I. 4. 47 and tacitly by Gaut. VI. 20. It is borrowed from the Tandya Mahabrahmana 834

^{833.} पूजा वर्णज्यायसां कार्या । दृद्धतराणां च । आप. ध. I. 4. 13. 2-3; हरदृत्त says 'अध्वन्यतुगमनादिका उत्सवादिषु च गन्धलेपादिका । ; वित्तचन्धुकर्मजातिविद्यावयांसि मान्यानि परचलीयांसि । श्रुतं तु सर्वेश्यो गरीयः । तन्मुलत्वाद्धर्भस्य श्रुतेश्च । गौ. VI. 18-20.

^{834.} शिशुर्वा आङ्किरसो मन्त्रक्ततां मन्त्रक्ततां सन्त्रक्ततां सित्री सृत्य पुत्रका इत्यामन्त्रयत । तं पित्री सृत्यक्षधंमें करोषि यो नः पितृत्सतः पुत्रका इत्यामन्त्रयस इति सोनवीद्धं वाव पितासिम यो मन्त्रकृद्स्मीति । ते देवेष्वपृष्टक्षन्त ते देवा अनुवकेष वाव पिता यो मन्त्रकृद्दिति । तहै स उन्त्रवृद्धक्तात श्रीशवेन तुधुवानः । ताण्ड्यमहामास्नाण 13. 3. 24. शिशु was the name of the sage.

(13. 3. 24). Manu II. 155 clinches the argument by saying 'the seniority of brāhmaṇas springs from (sacred) knowledge, of kṣatriyas from valour, of vaiśyas from (the possession) of corn and other wealth and only among śūdras is age a ground of seniority'.

Kaut. says that men deserve honour according to their learning, intelligence, valour, high birth and eminent deeds. 835

One has to distinguish between abhivādana and namaskāra. In the former one not only bows but utters words like 'abhivādaye &c.', while in the latter one only bows and folds one's hands. The latter is done only to images of gods, brāhmaṇas, saṃnyāsins and the like. The Smṛtyarthasāra p. 8 prescribes a fast for one day as a penance for not bowing to images of gods, saṃnyāsins &c. Viṣṇu⁸⁵⁶ (quoted in the Sm. C.) says that one should not salute (abhivādana) a brāhmaṇa, but should only perform namaskāra in all public assemblies, in sacrifices or in palaces or royal courts. The posture of the hands in namaskāra is stated as follows: 'One should join the hands in the shape of a shegoat's ear in namaskāra to a learned man, one should fold the hands together in bowing to an ascetic, one should salute an ignorant man with one hand and should not perform abhivādana to one who is younger.⁸³⁷

One had to show respect by circumambulating \$38 from left to right temples or images of gods, bulls, cowpens, cows, ghee, honey, sacred trees that had brick or stone platforms built round them (like asyattha) and squares (where four roads meet), a teacher who is very learned, a learned and religious brāhmaṇa, clay from sacred places.

One was not to approach empty-handed one's parents, acarya, sacred fires, houses and the king, if the latter has not heard of him before. 839

^{835.} पूज्या विद्याबुद्धिपौरुषाभिजन-कर्मातिशयतश्च पुरुषाः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 20.

^{836.} विष्णुः । सभासु चैव सर्वासु यज्ञे राजगृहेषु च । नमस्कारं प्रकुर्वीत बाह्मणं नाभि-वादयेत् । स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 38.

^{837.} विद्याकरवाजपेयिधृतं वस्तनम् । अजाकर्णेन विद्वांसं यतिं संपुटपाणिना । मूर्खे चैवेकहस्तेन कनिष्टं नाभिवादयेत् । सं. म. p. 468.

⁸³⁸. देवालयं चैत्यतरुं तथैव च चतुष्पथम्। विद्याधिकं ग्रुरुं देवं बुधः कुर्यात्प्रदाक्षिणम्॥ मार्काव्देयपुराण 34.41-42; कुचिं देशमनद्वादं देवं गोष्ठं चतुष्पथम्। ब्राह्मणं धार्मिकं चैत्यं कियं कुर्यात्प्रदक्षिणम्॥ ज्ञान्तिपर्व 193.8; vide also 163.37 for a similar verse and ब्रह्मपुराण 113.40, वामनपुराण 14.52, गौतम 1X.66, मञ्ज 1V.39, या. 1.133.

^{839.} मातरं वितरमाचार्यमधीश्व गृहाणि च रिक्तपाणिनीपगच्छेद्राजानं चेन्न श्वतमिति। क्षापः धः I. 2. 8. 23,

A matter closely connected with the showing of respect is that of the rules about the preference to be given on the road. This has already been dealt with in speaking of the privileges of brähmanas above pp. 146-147.

One striking point about the imparting of knowledge (particularly Vedic) in the ancient educational system of India was the great prejudice against learning from books. The greatest importance was attached to handing down the Veda intact and various devices were discovered and employed for securing this end, such as the various modes of repeating the Veda only in padas, in the krama, jatā and other formations. Great care was taken to preserve the proper accentuation of the Vedic texts. There is a well known story how Tvastr repeating the words 'Indrasatrur-vardhasva' in wrong accents caused the fire to be extinguished instead of inflaming it against Indra as he intended. This story is alluded to in the Pāṇinīyaśiksā. The same work (in verse 32) condemns one who learns from a manuscript as among the worst of learners. The Veda was to be recited not only with proper modulation of the voice to convey the accents, but the accents were indicated also by the movements of the fingers (vide verses 43-45 of the Paniniyaśiksā). All these intricate matters could be learnt only by oral instruction.

Great controversies have raged round the question whether the art of writing was known in India in very ancient times, whether it was used for literary purposes in the times of Pāṇini and whether the Brāhmī alphabet was an indigenous product or whether it was imported into India from some foreign land. Max Muller in his 'History of ancient Sanskrit Literature' started the astounding and absurd theory that writing for literary purposes was unknown to Pāṇini (p. 507). Later on that position

840. मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा निध्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह। स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशञ्चः स्वरतोपराधात्॥ verse 52 of the पाणिनीयशिक्षा; मीती शीधी शिरः कम्पी तथा लिखितपाठकः। अनर्थज्ञोऽल्पकण्डश्च ष्टेते पाठकाधमाः। पाणिनीयशिक्षा verse 32. The legond is narrated in the ते. सं. II. 4. 12. 1 and the शत्वप्य I.6. 3.8. त्वष्ट wanted to pronounce the word इन्द्रशज्ञुः (meaning 'destroyer of Indra') as a Tatpuruşa compound (in which the last syllable of the compound has the udatta accent), while he actually pronounced the word as a Bahuvrīhi (meaning 'whose killer would be Indra'), in which case the first word of the compound has the udatta accent (as in इन्द्रशज्ञुः). Vide पाणिनि VI. 1. 223 and VI. 2. 1.

was given up. Then Bühler wrote his famous work 'on the origin of the Brāhmi alphabet' mainly relying on the resemblances of a few letters of the Asokan script with an ancient Semitic alphabet and came to the conclusion that the Brahmi alphabet was derived from a Semitic script sometimes about 800 B.C. It never occurred to that learned scholar to advance and carefully examine the other possible hypotheses which any unbiassed and cautious scholar should have ordinarily advanced viz. that the Semitic script might have been derived from the Brāhmī alphabet and was later on developed or both might have been derived from some unknown ancient script. All these theories are now in the melting pot on account of the seals bearing writing in some undeciphered script found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, some of which are at least 5000 years old. So if the Brāhmī alphabet was at all borrowed, it is clear now that it was not necessary for Indians to travel so far as Westernmost Asia for that purpose.

Oral instruction was the cheapest and most accurate In ancient times writing method of imparting learning. materials were not easily available and written texts could not be handled easily and would have been extremely costly. Therefore the method of oral instruction was resorted to and having been hallowed by the lapse of thousands of years it has been persisted in to the present day. Even in the 20th century after writing has been known for not less than 3000 years according to scholars like Bühler there are hundreds of brahmanas who learn not only the whole of the Rgveda (about 10580 verses) by heart, but also commit to memory the pada⁸⁴¹ text of the Rgveda, the Aitareya Brāhmana and Āranyaka and the six Vedāngas (which include the 4000 aphorisms of Pānini and the extensive Nirukta of Yāska) without caring to understand a word of this enormous material.

Par. M. (I. 1. p. 154) quotes a verse of Nārada to the effect ⁸⁴⁸ what is learnt from reliance on books and is not learnt from

^{841.} The pada text of the Rgveda is the work of Śākalya and the padapāṭha is supposed to be pauruṣeya (composed by a human author). The Nirukta (VI. 28) criticizes Śākalya's division of the pada text. Visvarūpa on Yāj. III. 242 says that pada and krama are of human authorship.

^{842.} पुस्तकपरययाधीतं गाधीतं गुरुसंनिधी । भ्राजते न सभामध्ये जारगर्भ इव ब्रियाः ॥ नारद् in परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 154; स्युतिकः I. p. 51 also quotes this verse.

a teacher does not shine in an assembly '. Vrddha-Gautama 843 condemns to hell those who sell the Veda, who condemn the Veda and those who write it down. Apararka (p. 1114 on Vāi. III. 267-268) quotes verses from the Caturvinisatimata which prescribe various prayascittas for selling the Vedas, the angas (of the Veda), the smrtis, itihasa and purana, the secret pañcarātra (system), gāthās, nītišāstras &c. The prejudice against using books for learning was carried so far that among the six obstacles in the path of the acquirer of knowledge. reliance on books is mentioned as one. 844 Aparārka (p. 390) quotes a long passage from the Bhavisyottarapurana about the rewards of gifts of books of the epics and puranas to a brāhmaņa or to a matha for the use of the public. A grant of the Valabhi king Guhasena I dated 559 A. D. refers to a collection of books on the true dharma. 845 In the Kādambarl (para 88) the queen Vilāsavatī is described as surrounded by ascetic women who held books in their hands and read Vide under dana and matha-pratistha. itihāsa. 846

The teacher was expected to make the student understand by explanations in Sanskrit or in the prākrits or even by employing the current languages of the various countries. 847

The Duration of studenthood (brahmacarya):—It appears from certain passages of the Upanisads that the usual duration of brahmacarya was 12 years 848. Svetaketu Āruņeya is said to have become a brahmacārī when he was twelve and to have mastered all the Vedas at the age of 24 (vide Chān. Up. VI. 1. 2

- 843. वेद्विक्रियणश्चेव वेदानां चैव दूषकाः । वेदानां लेखिनश्चेव ते वे निरयगामिनः ॥ वृद्धगौतम p. 582; the same verse occurs in अनुज्ञासमपर्व 23. 72 (वेदानां लेखकाश्चेव)
- 844. द्यूतं पुस्तकञ्जुश्रूषा नाटकासिक्तरेव च । श्चियस्तन्द्री च निद्रा च विद्याविष्नकराणि षद् । नारद quoted in the स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 52.
 - 845. I. A. vol. VII. p. 67.
- 846. 'इतिहासान्वाचयन्तीभिः पुस्तकानि दधतीभिः…जरत्पव्रजिताभिर्विनोद्यमान …मातरं ननाम । काद्दश्यरी para 88.
- 847. संस्कृतै: प्राकृतैर्वाक्येर्य: शिष्यमद्यस्यत: । देशभाषाद्यपायेश्व बोधयेत्स ग्रुक: स्मृत: ॥ quoted from the विष्णुधर्म by वीरमित्रोद्य (व्यवहार, ed. by Jivananda, p 72).
- 848. उपकांसली ह वे कामलायनो सत्यकामे जावाले नहाचर्यस्वास सस्य ह हाद्दश वर्षाण्यग्रीन् परिचचार स ह स्मान्यानन्तेवासिनः समावर्तयंस्तं ह स्मेव न समावर्तयति। छा. उप. IV. 10. 1.

quoted in f. n. 634). Similarly Chān. IV. 10.1 appears to suggest that students left their teacher after twelve years of study. But a long period of brahmacarya was not unknown to the sages of the Upanisads. Chāndogya (VIII. 11. 3) declares that Indra remained as a student with Prajāpati for 101 years (three periods of 32 years plus five). The story of Bharadvāja narrated in the Tai. Br. quoted above (at p. 271) states that Bharadvāja studied the Vedas three parts of his life (at least till 75 years). The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa 849 (II. 5) states that the period of studenthood for learning all the Vedas is 48 years; that distributing that period in four portions among the vedas student-hood is for 12 years (for mastering one Veda), that period (12 years) is the shortest (for brahmacarya) and that one should learn of the Veda as much as one can before he is about to return from his teacher.

Some of the grhya and dharma sutras contain these very words of the Gopatha Brāhmana e. g. Pār. gr. II. 5 says 'one should observe brahmacarya forty-eight years for the (four) Vedas, or twelve years for each Veda or until one has learnt one or more Veda'. The Baud. gr. (I. 2. 1-5) has a very suggestive passage "the ancient period of studenthood was forty-eight years for (the four Vedas) or 24 years, or 12 years for each Veda or at least one year for each kanda (section of the Vedic samhitas like the Tai. S.) or until the student learnt (one Veda), as life is fleeting and as there is a Vedic text 'one consecrate (the three) sacred fires, while his hair is still dark". On Jaimini I. 3.3 Sabara states the objection (among other similar matters) that the smrtis speaking of brahmacarya for fortyeight years are opposed to the Vedic injunction that 'a man who has a son and whose hair is still dark should consecrate the (three srauta) fires ! (i. e. he must do so in middle life, not when his hair is turning grey). Sabara gives his opinion that such smrtis being opposed to sruti are to

^{849.} तस्मा एतत्प्रोषाचाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षे वेद्वब्रह्मचर्ये तञ्चतुर्धा वेदेषु ध्युद्धा द्वादशवर्षे ब्रह्मचर्ये द्वादशवर्षाण्यवराध्यमिप स्नास्यंश्वरेद्यथाशक्तचेवम् । गोपथवा, II. 5 quoted in f. n. 628 above; आप. ध. सु. I. 1. 2, 16 has the सूत्र 'द्वादशाषराधर्यम्'.

^{850.} अष्टाचरवारिंशहर्षाणि वेद्बह्मचर्यं चरेष्ट्रं द्वाद्श द्वाद्श वा प्रतिवेदं याषद्श्वतणं वा। पारस्कर II. 5; अष्टाचरवारिंशहर्षाणि पुराणं वेद्बद्धाचर्यं संप्रदिशन्त्या वेदाध्ययन्तित्तिक आहुरा गोदानकर्मण इरवेके। भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 9; vide also हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 8. 14; गौतम II. 51-53; शाङ्कायनगृह्य II. 10; मानवगृह्य I. 2. 6, आप. ध. स्. 1. 1. 2. 12-15 अष्टाचरवारिंशहर्षाणि। पादूनम् । अर्धेन। जिभिर्या।

be disregarded ⁸⁵¹ and makes fun of them by saying that some persons desirous of concealing their lack of manhood observed brahmacarya for forty-eight years and the prescriptions in these smrtis to that effect are due to this fact. ⁸⁵² The very orthodox Kumārilabhaṭṭa could not tolerate this light-hearted statement of Śabara and rebukes the latter by saying that there is really no contradiction between the *śruti* text and the smṛti passage, since the smṛtis themselves prescribe other lesser and alternative periods, since it is possible to hold that smṛtis speak of brahmacarya for 48 years only with reference to him who wants to become a samnyāsin immediately after brahmacarya or who desires to become a perpetual student. ^{852a}

As the Vedic literature had grown to vast proportions and as it was thought necessary to preserve this ancient heritage, the ancient sages hit upon the plan of enlisting the whole population of the three varias in the task of preservation by making it as their duty to devote as much time as they could to the study and conservation of the Vedic literature. Therefore various alternatives were proposed viz. studying all the four Vedas for 48 years, three of them for 36 or if a man was very clever he may finish the study of three Vedas in 18 years or in 9 years or he should devote as much time as he would require for learning one Veda-or more. Vide Manu III. 1-2 and Yāj. I. 36 and 52 for the various alternatives. Spending 12 years for Vedic

- 851. As upanayana was usually performed in the 8th year from conception or birth, the period of studenthood (if it was to be 48 years) would not end till a man became 56. Only a householder could conserate the frauta fires. So if the man was to marry after fifty-six his hair would be turning grey and by following the smrti rule he would run counter to the Vedic injunction. Thus smrtis would be opposed to fruit and Jaimini's conclusion in I. 3. 3 is that when that is the case smrti is to be disregarded.
- 852. अष्ट।चत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेद्बद्धाचर्यचरणं जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोग्नीमाद्धीत इत्यनेन विरुद्धम् । शबर on जै. I. 3. 3. p 169; अपुंस्त्वं प्रच्छाद्यन्तश्वाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेद्-बद्धाचर्य चरितवन्तः । तत एषा स्मृतिरित्यवगम्यते । शबर on जे. I. 3. 4. p. 186.
- 852a. अष्टाच्त्वा रिश्चर्ष वेद्ब्ब्राच्यांचरणस्यापि स्वृतायेव पक्षान्तरविकल्पोपनिवन्धनादाश्रमान्तरविषयत्वसंभवाद्वा विरोधःभावः । तथाहि—वेद्वावधित्य वेद्वे वा वेदं वापि
 यधाक्रमम् (मतु 3. 2)। सामर्थ्याश्रमयोग्यत्वमङ्गीकुत्येतदुव्यते । ...तत्रेवं शक्यते वक्तं थेऽन्धपङ्ग्वाद्यो नराः । ग्रहस्थत्वं न शक्ष्यन्ति कर्त्वे तेषामयं विधिः ॥ नेष्ठिकब्रह्मचर्यं वा परिवाजकतापि वा । तेरवश्यं ग्रहीतन्या तेनादायेतदुच्यते ॥ ...यो वा कश्चिन्मेधाधितया शीष्यमेव
 वेद्वतुष्ट्यमप्यधीत्य यथोपपत्तिकालं तद्र्यज्ञानाभियोगमपरित्यजन् ग्रहणान्तं वेत्येतत्पक्षाअयेण गृहस्थो भवेत्तं प्रति द्वाद्शाष्टाचत्वारिक pp. 192-193.

study must have been found even in ancient times impossible for many among the brāhmaṇas and therefore the Bhāradvāja grhya (quoted above in note 850) allowed the alternative that one should study the Veda till the Godāna ceremony (which as we shall see later on) took place in the 16th year. Āśv. gr. sūtra I. 22. 3-4 also prescribes only two alternatives for brahmacarya viz. for 12 years or as long as one could learn the Veda (so Āśv. contemplated brahmacarya for less than 12 years). Haradatta remarks on Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 16853 that reading Āp. I. 1. 2. 12-16, I. 11. 3. 1 and Manu III. 1 together it follows that every one must observe brahmacarya for three years at least for each Veda and when it is said that one may observe brahmacarya till one learns the Veda, that means beyond three years for each Veda. This appears somewhat opposed to the words of Āśv. and Bhāradvāja.

Not only was the study of the Veda made an absolute duty for all persons belonging to the three higher varnas, but the study of Veda was essential for the performance of the solemn Vedic sacrifices. Jaimini⁸⁵⁴ lays down that it is only he who knows the Vedic portion necessary for a Vedic sacrifice, that is entitled to perform that sacrifice.

Subjects of Study:—The study of the Veda means the study of the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇa portion of the particular śākhā or śākhās. The Veda was deemed to be eternal and not composed by any human author (i.e. it is apauruṣeya). Jaimini in I. 1. 6-23 establishes that the relation of word and sense is eternal and that (in I. 1. 27-32) the Vedas are apauruṣeya. This is not the place to set out or examine the arguments. All! dharmaśāstra writers proceed on this axiom of the eternity of the Veda. The Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 28-29) says that the Vedas are eternal and the whole universe (including the gods) emanates from the Veda

^{853.} विद्यया स्नातित्येतस्मिन् पक्षे नातित्यितिन स्नातन्यमित्येवमर्थमिदमारम्यते । एतेन एकस्य चेदस्य त्रीणि वर्षाणि ब्रह्मचर्यमवश्यं भावीत्यर्थात् सिद्धम् । ग्रहणान्तिकमेव वा (मन्तु 3.1) इति एकैकस्य त्रिभ्य अर्ध्वमित्यमो न प्राणित्यर्थो द्रष्टच्यः । हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. I. 1, 2, 16.

^{854.} ज्ञाते च वाचनं न ह्यविद्वान् विहितोऽस्ति। जै. III. 8. 18 on which ज्ञाबर says 'अनारभ्य कर्माणि वेदाध्ययनं श्र्यते तस्मात् स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतस्य इति। क्रियता पुनर्विदितेन विद्वानिधिकियते। यावता विदितेन ज्ञाको भवति यथोक्तं क्रतुमिभिनिर्वर्तियतुं तावद्यो वेद् स तेन क्रतुनाधिकियते। ?.

^{855.} Vide आप. श्री. सू. 24, 1, 31 and बो. गृ. सू. II. 6, 3 'मन्त्रबाह्मणयो-र्वेदनामधेयम् ।; ज्ञबर on जी. II. 1, 33 'मन्त्राश्च ब्राह्मणं च वेदः ।.

and reliance is placed on certain Upanisad passages and on Manu I. 21, Santi-parva 233. 24 and other smrtis. The Br. Up. IV. 5. 11 says that the Vedas are the breath of the great Being (i. e. the Supreme Spirit, God); in Br. Up. I. 2.5 the Creator (Prajāpati) is said to have evolved all this viz. Rgveda. Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, yajñas and so forth. The Śvetāśvatara Up. VI. 18 says that the Supreme Being evolved Brahmā and imparted the Vedas to him. 856 The Santiparya 857 says that speech in the form of Veda is without beginning and without end, from which all activities and creation proceed, and that the Vedas become latent at the periodical dissolution of the world and become manifest to the great sages again when the world is recreated. But the eternity of the Veda and apauruseyatva of the Veda were interpreted in various ways e.g. the Mahābhāsva says that, though the purport of the Veda is eternal. vet the arrangement of words is non-eternal and therefore there are various sakhas (branches or recensions) of the Veda. named Kāthaka, Kālāpaka &c.858

From very ancient times the literature to be studied appears to have been vast. Vide Tai. Br. quoted above (at p. 271) where the Vedas have been declared to be endless. In the Rgveda itself (X. 71. 11) reference is made to the verses learnt by the four principal priests (hotā, adhvaryu, udgātā and brahmā), it is also said that persons who studied together showed great disparity in their mental advancement (Rg. X. 71. 7) and that co-students feel elation when their friend wins in a debate in an assembly. The Śat. Br. (XI. 5. 7. 4-8, S. B. E. vol. 44, pp. 97-98) enumerates under 'svādhyāya' rks, yajus formulae, sāmans, Atharvāngirasaḥ (Atharvaveda), itihāsa-purāṇa, gāthās in praise of heroes (called Nārāśamsīs)'. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa II. 10 also says 'in this way all these Vedas were created together with kalpa, rahasya (secret doctrines).

^{856.} पो ब्रह्माणं विद्याति पूर्व यो वे वेदांश्च प्रहिणोति तस्मे । तं ह देवमात्मग्रुद्धि-मकाशं मुमुक्षुर्वे शरणमहं प्रपद्ये ॥ श्वेताश्व. उप. VI. 18 quoted by शंकरान्वार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 30.

^{857.} अनाविनिधना नित्या षागुत्सुद्धा स्वयंभुवा। आदी चेदमयी दिन्या यतः सर्वाः प्रवृत्तयः॥ शान्तिपर्व 233.24; युगान्तेन्तिहितान् वेदान्सेतिहासान् महर्षयः। लेभिरे तपसा पूर्व मनुज्ञाताः स्वयंभुवा॥ शान्तिपर्व 210. 19. Both these verses are quoted by शंकराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 28 and 29 respectively.

^{858.} नतु चोक्तं न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते नित्यानि छन्दांसीति। यद्यप्यथां नित्यो या त्वसौ वर्णातुपूर्वी साऽनित्या। तद्भेदाञ्चैतद्भवति काठकं कालापकं मौद्कं पैप्पलादकामिति। महाभाष्य on पाणिनि IV. 3, 101, vol. II. p. 315.

Brāhmanas, Upanisads, itihāsa, anvākhyāna, purāna, anuśāsanas, vākovākya &c'. In the Upanisads frequent mention is made of the literature studied by persons before they became seekers for the knowledge of brahma. For example, in Chān. Up. VII. 1. 2 Nārada tells Sanatkumāra that he had studied the four Vedas, Itihāsa-purāna as the fifth Veda, the Veda of Vedas (grammar), pitrya (treatise on śrāddhas), rāśi (arithmetic), daiva (porteuts), nidhi (finding out hidden treasures), vākovākya (dialogue or dialectic), ekāyana (politics), devavidyā (Nirukta), brahmavidyā (metres and phonetics), bhūtavidyā (exorcising ghosts), ksatravidyā (dhanurveda), nakṣatravidyā (astronomy), sarpavidyā (snake charms), devajanavidyā (arts like dancing, singing, preparing unguents &c.). The same list is repeated in Chan. Up. VII. 1. 4 and VII. 7. 1. In the Br. Up. 859 II. 4. 10 and IV. 5. 11 there is a similar smaller list. In the Mundaka Up. I. 1. 5 it is said that the ācārya Angiras told Saunaka who was a great householder that the four Vedas and the six angas (mentioned in note 775 above) are inferior knowledge and that the highest knowledge is that by which the Imperishable One is apprehended. Gaut. XI. 19 exhorts the king to rely upon the Veda, dharmasastras, the angas, Upavedas and Purana for regulating the conduct of his subjects. Ap. Dh. S. (quoted above in note 775), Visnu Dh. S. 30, 34-38, Vas.III, 19 and 23, VI. 3-4 mention the angas of Veda. Pānini shows acquaintance not only with the Veda and Brahmanas but he knew ancient Kalpasūtras, Bhiksusūtras and Natasūtras, secular works on various subjects (IV. 3. 87-88, 105, 110, 111, 116). Patanjali 860 (2nd century B. C.) mentions how vast the field of Sanskrit literature had become. Yāi I. 44-45 calls upon the student to study every day according to his ability also Vākovākya. Purāna, Nārāśamsi, 861 gāthās, itihāsa, vidyās if he desired to

^{859.} एवं वा अरेऽस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमतद्यहुग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथवाङ्गिरस इतिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्रोकाः स्त्राण्यगुष्याख्यानानि ध्याख्यानान्यस्येवैतानि सर्वाणि निःश्वसितानि। बृह. उ. II. 4. 10. This is the basis of चेदान्तस्त्र I. 1. 3 (शास्त्रयोगित्वात्). Sanikara explains these in such a way as to show that they are parts of मन्त्र and ब्राह्मण, बृह. उप. IV. 1. 2 also contains a similar enumeration of literary works.

^{860.} चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गः सरहस्या बहुधा विभिन्ना एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः..... धर्यणो वेदो वाकोवाक्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकमित्येतावाञ्च शब्दस्य प्रयोगनिषयः। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 9. सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः means 'Samaveda that is sung in a thousand (numerous) ways and modifications'.

^{861.} Mit. on Yaj. I. 45 takes गाथिका: as distinct from नाराशंसीः 'नाराशंसीश्व रुद्रदेवत्यानमन्त्रान् गाथा यज्ञगाथेन्द्रगाथाद्याः '-

please the gods and manes. Fourteen vidyas are generally enumerated as in Yāj. I. 3 (= Matsya 53. 5-6), Vāyupurāpa vol. I. 61, 78, Vrddha-Gautama (p. 632) and other works, viz. four vedas, 6 angas, purānas, nyāya (logic), mīmāmsā and dharmaśastra. Some added four more to these, viz. the Upavedas of Ayurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharvaveda and Arthasastra (which were affiliated respectively to the four Vedas) and thus the $vidy\bar{a}s$ are also spoken of as 18.862 Kālidāsa in the Raghuvainša (V. 21) expressly says that Varatantu taught his pupil 14 vidyās. In E.I. vol. VIII, p. 287 (in an inscription of 199 Guptasanvat i.e. 517-18 A. D.) it is said about Susarman, an ancestor of Mahārāja Samksobha, that 'he knew the highest truth because of his proficiency in the 14 vidyā-sthānas'. Kumārila 863 in his Tantravārtika (p. 201) says that vidyā-sthānas that are looked upon as authoritative in knowing dharms are 14 or 18. The Vārāhagrhva (6) refers to different preparations for different people, viz. a yājnika had to study mantra and Brāhmaņa, kalpa (vedic ritual) and mīmāmsā and one could study at his option grammar, the smrtis and vaktra (?) and the śrotriya only committed to memory the Veda; the first two were called Numerous grants and inscriptions testify to the provision made by kings and well-to-do donors for all branches of study. In E.C. vol. III. T N. 27 there is a grant made by the minister Perumal under the Hoysala king Viranarasimhadeva in 1290 A. D. which provided that each teacher of the Rgveda and the other Vedas was to receive a salary of six gadyānakas of gold a year and the teacher who taught the boys to read Nāgara, Kannada, Tigula (Tamil) and Ārya (Marathi) was to receive the same salary. The Gadag inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI. (1098 A. D.) refers to the founding of a school for teaching Prabhākara's system of Mīmāinsā at Lakkigundi (E. I. vol. 15 p. 348). Vide E. I. vol. I. p. 338 (for endowment for teaching an astronomical work of Bhāskara).

Even in early times a very extensive literature on Dharma-śāstra had come into existence. The literature of the epics, of kāvyas, drama, fables and romances, astrology, medicine and several branches of speculation had grown to an

^{862.} वायुप्राण vol. I. 61. 79, गर्डपुराण 223. 21, विष्णुपुराण (quoted by अपरार्क p. 6) name the 18 विद्यात.

^{863.} परिमितान्येव हि चतुर्दशाष्टादश वा विद्यास्थानानि धर्मप्रमाणत्वेन शिष्टैः परि-प्रहीतानि वेदोपवेदाङ्गाष्टादशधर्मसंहितापुराणशास्त्रशिक्षादण्डनीतिसंज्ञकानि । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 201 on जे. I. 3. 6; vide also p. 195.

enormous extent. On account of this vast literature many portions of which appealed more to the emotions and intellect than the Vedas could, the study of the Veda receded in the background and the study of subsidiary works became more popular. Therefore the smrtis again and again raise their voice and try to impress it upon all that the first duty of a dvijāti is to study the Veda. The Maitri Up. VII. 10, though comparatively a late work, inveighs against brahmanas studying non-vedic texts. 864 Manu (II. 168) says that the dvija who, without studying the Veda, bestows labour upon another lore, is quickly reduced to the status of a śūdra in this very life together with his descendants. Kullūka on this verse cites the aphorism of Sankha Likhita 865 one should not, without studying the Veda first, study another lore, except the Vedangas and smrtis'. Vas. Dh.S. III. 2 expressly quotes the verse of Manu II. 168 as Mānava The Tai. Up. I. 9 speaks of svādhyāya (study of the Veda) and pravacana (teaching it or daily repeating it) as tupas and joins these two with rta, satya, tapas, 866 dama, sama, fires, agnihotra and progeny in order to emphasize that these two are the most important and it also exhorts the student on the eve of his return home not to neglect his study of the Veda.

The study of the Veda did not merely consist in learning the mantras by heart. Sankara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 30 quotes a Brāhmaṇa text to the effect that he who teaches a mantra or officiates at a sacrifice with mantras of which he does not know the seer, the deity or the Brāhmaṇa (i.e. viniyoga, employment or use) falls on a stump or in a pit. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 300 quotes a verse of Vyāsa to the same effect. Not only was the Veda to be committed to memory (i. e. not only was there to be pāṭha) but one had also to understand

^{864,} यदंष्वभिद्धितं तत्सरयं यद्देदेषूक्तं तद्धिद्वांस उपजीवन्ति । तस्माद्बाह्मणो ना-वैदिकमधीयीतायमर्थः स्यादिति । मैत्री उप. VII. 10.

^{865.} अत एव शङ्खिलिखितों न वेदमनधीत्यान्यां विद्यामधीयीतान्यत्र वेदाङ्कस्मृतिन्यः । quoted by कुटूक on मन्तु 11. 168; योन्यत्र कुरुते यत्नमनधीत्य श्रुतिं द्विजः। स वे मूढो न संभाष्यो वेदनाद्यो द्विजातिभिः॥ औशनस (Jiv. ed. part 1 p. 517).

^{866.} ऋतं च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च। स्वाध्यायप्रवचने एवेति नाको मौद्रमह्यः। तिद्ध तपः। तै. उपः I. 9.

^{867.} श्रुतिरिप ऋषिज्ञानपूर्वकमेव मन्त्रेणानुष्ठानं दर्शयति। यो ह वा आविदिताषंय-च्छन्दोदैवतबाह्मणेन मन्त्रेण याजयति वाध्यापयति वा स्थाणुं वर्ष्ण्डति गर्ते वा प्रतिपद्यते इन्दु-पक्षण्य 'तस्मादेतानि मन्त्रे मन्त्रे विद्यात् १ इति । शंकर on वेदान्तसूत्र I, 3, 30,

the meaning. The Nirukta (I. 18) quotes two verses 868 which condemn in very strong language one who only commits to memory the Veda and does not know the meaning 'that man, who having studied the Veda, does not know its meaning, is indeed a tree, a stump, a mere carrier of a load; he alone who knows the meaning secures all happiness; his sins being shaken off by knowledge, he reaches heaven. Daksa 869 II. 34 says that the study of Veda involves five things viz. first committing to memory the Veda, then reflection over its meaning, keeping it fresh by repeating it again and again, japa (inaudibly muttering by way of prayer) and imparting it to Manu XII. 103 says 'those who have committed to memory the Veda are superior to those who are ignorant of it, those who retain their Veda (i. e. who do not allow it to be forgotten) are superior to those who only studied it (and then forgot it), those who know its meaning are superior to those who simply retain it in memory, those who perform what the meaning of the Veda dictates are superior to those who know its meaning'. Sabara 870 says that the real purpose of the study of the Veda is the knowledge about religious actions that it conveys and that from the mere memorizing of the Veda, no rewards are promised by those who know the lore of the sacrifices. Viśvarūpa 871 on Yāj. I. 51 says that he alone is really vedapāraga who has made the Veda his own as to the spirit (the meaning). Aparārka (p. 74) quotes a long passage from Vyāsa condemning the mere memorizing of the Veda.872 Vide also Medhātithi on Manu III. 19.

^{868.} स्थाणुर्यं भारहार किलाभूद्धीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योर्थम् । यो अर्थज्ञ इत् सकलं भद्रमश्चते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा ॥ यद्गगृहीतमविज्ञातं निगदेनैय शब्यते । अन-ग्रावित्र ग्रुष्कैधो न तज्ज्वलाति कहिचित् ॥ निरुक्त 1. 18.

^{869.} वेदस्वीकरणं पूर्व विचारोऽम्यसनं जपः। तहानं चेव शिष्येम्यो वेदाभ्यासो हि पञ्चधा ॥ दक्ष II. 34 quoted by the मिता॰ on या III. 310 and अपरार्क p. 126.

⁸⁷⁰ हुष्टो हि तस्यार्थः कर्मावयोधनम् । न च तस्याध्ययनमाश्रातत्रभवन्तो याज्ञिकाः फलं समामनन्ति । शबर p. 6. This passage is quoted by मेधा॰ on मनु III. 1.

^{871.} वेदस्य पारनयनमर्थतो ग्रन्थतश्च स्वीकरणं न ग्रन्थत एव। तथा च वक्तारो भवन्ति वेदाध्याय्ययं न वेद्यारम इति । विश्वरूप on या. I. 51.

^{872. &#}x27;Two or three verses may be quoted: न वेदपाठमात्रेण संतोषं कार्यद् द्विजः। पाठमात्रावसानो हि पङ्के गोरिव सीदित ॥ ... योधीत्य विधिवद्वेदं वेदार्थं न विचारयेत्। स सान्वयः श्रद्धसमः पात्रतां न प्रव्यते ॥ पाठमात्रादिनाजित्यं द्विजातींश्चार्थवर्जितान् । पश्चिन् च च तान्याज्ञो वाद्धात्रेणापि नार्चयेत् । अपरार्क pp. 74-75 quoting व्यासः; printed क्र्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 14. 86-87) has the पाद 'यो... चारयेत्'. औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. I. p 517) has the first two verses quoted here.

In spite of these excellent precepts it appears that from very ancient times the Veda was only committed to memory and most men learned in the Veda never cared to know its meaning. The Mahābhārata 873 speaks disparagingly of the śrotriya as having an intellect dulled by the constant repetition of the anuvākas of the Veda. Further there was always an undercurrent of the belief that the mere memorizing of the Vedic texts conferred great sanctity on the memorizer and removed all As time went on these ideas became supreme and the neglect of the meaning of the Veda has gone so far that among many modern orthodox brahmanas there is a belief that the meaning of the Veda cannot be known and it is futile to try to The Tai. Br. says that a man's sins are find its meaning. destroyed by the Veda and by svādhyāya. In Vas. Dh. S. 27. 1, Manu XI. 245, Yāj. III. 310 and in numerous other places it is said that sins do not affect a man who studies the Veda and that the study of Veda destroys sin. Vas. Dh. S. 28, 10-15 speaks of about 35 groups of Vedic hymns (like the Aghamarsana, Rg. X. 190) by silently muttering which a man is purified of his sins: but Vas. Dh. S. 27. 4 is careful to add that Veda study only removes such sins as are committed through ignorance or carelessness. 874 Similar provision for removal of sins by the muttering of the Vedic mantras is made in Visnu Dh. S. 56. 1-27, Yāj. III. 307-309, Manu XI, 248-260 &c.

Not only was the Veda to be committed to memory, but when learnt it was not allowed to slip from one's mind. Ap. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8 makes 'brahmojjha' (i. e. abandoning what is learnt) a grave sin along with drinking wine and others. Similarly Manu XI. 56 and Yāj. III. 228 also treat it as equal to drinking wine or the murder of a brāhmana.

Similarly Manu IV. 163 forbids nāstikya⁸⁷³ (holding that there is no soul or no Hereafter) and the reviling of the Veda and in

^{873.} श्रोत्रियस्येव ते राजन्मन्द्कस्याविपश्चितः । अनुवाकहता बुद्धिर्धर्ममेवैकमीक्षते। उद्योगपर्व 132, 6 and ज्ञान्तिपर्व 10. 1.

^{874.} न नेत्वलमाभ्रित्य पापकर्मरितिर्भवेत्। अज्ञानाच्च प्रमादाच्च द्वाते कर्म नेतरत्॥ वसिष्ठ 27. 4; this verse is also अङ्किरस् (Anan. ed.) v. 102.

^{875.} Even in the Rgveda reference is made to people who did not look upon Indra as a god 'नेन्द्रं देवमसंसत' आ. X. 86. 1. We saw above (p. 26) that the dasyus are often spoken of as 'avrata, ayajña and aśraddha' (vide Rg. I. 51. 8, I. 75. 3, VII. 6. 3). In the Kathopanişad (I. 20 Naciketas says that people existed who thought that there was no

XI. 56 regards the latter as a grave sin equal to drinking wine, while Yāj. III. 288 treats it as grave as brahmahatyā. Gaut. 21. 1 mentions the nāstika among patitas along with brāhmaṇa murderer and drinker of wine. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 4 includes the reviling of Veda among upapātakas (lesser sins). Manu II. 11 says that he who disrespects veda and smṛti by relying on syllogistic reasoning is a reviler of Veda and a nāstika (atheist) and should be excluded from social intercourse by good men. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 41 says 'to hold the vedas as unauthoritative, to carp at the words of the sages, and to be wavering on all points lead to one's destruction'. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 83 and Anuśāsanaparva 37. 11 for the same (in the latter the 2nd pāda is śāstrāṇām cābhilanghanam).

Another striking feature of the ancient educational system was the total absence of any prior agreement about fees for teaching students. So early as Br. Up. IV. 1.2 we find Yājñavalkya

(Continued from last page)

survival of the soul after death and Yama declares that he who does not believe in the world hereafter again and again comes within his grasp (2.6). The word नास्तिक is derived by पाणिनि in 'अस्तिनास्तिविष्टं मतिः । IV.4. 60 (the meaning being नारित परलोक झाते मतिर्यस्य). The बहती (of प्रभाकर) on the पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र p. 284 (Madras ed.) regards ब्रह्मपति as the founder of materialism and the com. ऋजुविमला on the same quotes a verse (p. 285) 'अग्निहोत्रं त्रयो वेदास्त्रिदण्डं भस्मग्रुण्ठनम् । बुद्धिपौरुषहीनानां जीविकेति बुहस्पति॥. १ This verse is quoted in the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह (चार्वाकदर्शन) also. मेधा on मनु IV. 163 says ' वेद्यमाणकानामधीनां मिथ्यात्वाध्यवसायो नास्तिक्यम् । शब्देन प्रतिपादनं निन्दा प्रनशको वेदोन्योन्यव्याहतो नात्र सत्यमस्तीति : while स्मृतिच॰ (II. p. 395) explaining Manu III. 150 says ' नास्ति कालान्तरे फलदं कर्म नास्ति देवतेत्यादि-मन्तो नास्तिका: '. Manu IX. 225 prescribes banishment from the capital for heretics (pasandastha). चिष्णुपुराण III. 18. 27-28 speaks of the teaching of मायामोह as यज्ञैरनेकैदेंवत्वमवाध्येन्द्रेण भुज्यते । क्रम्यादि यदि चेत्काष्ठ तद्वरं पत्रभुक्पञ्चः ॥ निहतस्य पशोर्यज्ञे स्वर्गप्राप्तिर्यदीष्यते । स्विपता यज्ञमानेन कि न तस्मान इन्यते . नारद (ऋणाद्वान verse 180) regards a नास्तिक as an unfit witness in general. The Sarvadarsanasamgraha gives a synopsis of the views of Carvaka and the पहुद्र्शनसमुद्यय of हरिभद्र composed about 528 (A. D.) also summarises the views of Bianty (ed. in B. I. series by L. Suali). The Mahabhasya (vol. III. pp. 325-326) refers to Lokayata. The well-known verse 'यावजीवं सुखं जीवेद्रुणं कृत्वा वृतं विवेत् । भस्मीभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कृत: " occurs in the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह in its summary at the end of] the section on चार्वाकदर्शन. The षहृदर्शनसमुच्चय verse 80 succintly expresses the लोकायत view 'लोकायता चदन्त्येवं नास्ति जीवो न निर्वृति: । धर्मा-धर्मों न विद्येते न फलं पुण्यपापयोः ॥ १. निर्दृतिः means मोक्ष. A comprehensive history of Indian Materialism would be a very interesting work but it has yet to be written.

saying to king Janaka who offered to give him a thousand cows. an elephant and a bull (or as Samkara explains an elephantlike bull), 'my father was of opinion that without fully teaching a pupil one should not receive any reward from him '876 Gaut.877 (II. 54-55) says that at the end of his studies the student should request the teacher to accept the wealth that he could offer or ask the teacher what should be given and after paying or doing what the teacher wants or if the teacher allowed him to go without demanding anything, the student should take the ceremonial bath (i. e. return home). The Asv. gr. (III. 9.4) has almost the same words. The Ap. Dh. S. 878 (1, 2, 7, 19-23) requires the student to offer at the end of his studies, whatever their extent may be, a daksina obtained from proper sources to his teacher according to his abilities and that if the teacher is in straightened circumstances, to offer him a fee even by begging from a person who is of the ugra caste or from a śūdra and that after offering a fee or doing even a very strikingly good turn to his teacher he should not boast of it to others nor should be ever dwell in his mind over it. ideal was that the daksina (fee) offered to the teacher at the end of study was simply for pleasing or propitiating the teacher and was not a complete equivalent of or compensation for the knowledge imparted. Manu (II. 245-246) says that the student need not give anything to the teacher till his snana; when he is about to return home, he may offer to his guru some wealth; that the gift of a field, gold, a cow, or a horse, of even shoes or an umbrella, of a seat, corn, vegetables and clothes (either singly or together) may engender pleasure in the teacher. The Chan. Up. 879 III. 11.6 eulogises brahmavidyā by declaring it to be more valuable than the gift of the whole earth together with all its wealth. The smrtis declare that even if the guru teaches a single

^{876.} सहोवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः पिता मेऽमन्यत नानन्तिशब्य हरेतेति । बृह. उप. IV.1.2.

^{877.} विद्यान्ते गुरुर्थेन निमन्त्रयः। कुत्वानुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम्। गौ. II.54-55; विद्यान्ते गुरुमर्थेन निमन्त्रं कृत्वाऽनुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम्। आश्वः मृ. III. 9. 4.

^{878.} कृत्वा विद्यां यावतीं वेददक्षिणामाहरेद्धर्मती यथाशक्ति । विषमगते त्वाचार्य उग्रतः भूद्रतो वा हरेत् । सर्वदा भूद्रत उग्रतो वाचार्यार्थस्य।हरणं धर्म्यमित्येके । दृस्वा च नानुकथ-येत् । कृत्वा च नानुसमरेत् । आप. ध. 1. 2. 7. 19-23.

^{879.} यद्यप्यस्मा इमामद्भिः परिगृहीतां धनस्य पूर्णी द्यादेतदेव ततो भूयः । छान्दोग्य III, 11, 6.

^{890.} एकमण्यक्षरं यस्तु ग्रुक: शिष्ये निवेद्येत्। पृथिन्यां नास्ति तद् द्वष्यं यद्द्रश त्वद्रणीभवेत् ॥ लघुहारीत according to स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 66 and हारीत according to परा. मा. I. 2. p. 53.

letter to the pupil, there is nothing in this world by giving which the pupil can get rid of the debt he owes. The Mahābhārata says (Aśvamedhika 56. 21) that the teacher's satisfaction with the student's work and conduct is indeed the proper dakşinā. 881 Yāj. I. 51 says that one should give to his teacher what he chooses to ask as dakṣiṇā and Kātyāyana882 quoted by Aparārka (p. 76) prescribes that a brāhmana pupil may give a cow, a princely one a village, a vaisya a horse (if able to do so). It has been shown above (p. 355) how kings and others made gifts of lands or provided for salaries to teachers. One of the earliest record about university scholarships is contained in the Bahur (near Pondichery) plates of Nrpatungavarman in which we find a grant to a Vidyasthana (a seat of learning) for promotion of learning (E. I. vol. 18 p. 5). In E. I. vol. 15 p. 83 there is provision of 30 mattars of land for professors lecturing to ascetics and of eight mattars to teachers giving lessons to the youths in a monastery (in the times of Calukya Someśvara I at Sūdi in Dharwar District in sake 981). The Peshwa distributed to learned brāhmaņas every year daksiņā which rose to 4 lakhs of rupees a short time before 1818 A. D. It may be stated that even in the 20th century there are numerous brahmana teachers of the veda and the sastras who teach pupils for years without stipulating for any fee or even receiving anything from them.

According to Manu II. 141, Sankhasmrti III. 2 and Visnu Dh. S. 29. 2 a teacher who teaches the Veda or the Vedāngas for money or for his livelihood is called an Upādhyāya. Yāj. III. 235 and Viṣnu Dh. S. 37. 20 and others include teaching for money (and also learning from a paid teacher) among upapātakas (lesser sins). Manu III. 156, Anuśāsana 23. 17 and Yāj. I. 223 say that he who is a hired teacher (bhṛtakādhyāpaka) and he who learns from such a teacher are not fit to be invited at a śrāddha. But Medhātithi (on Manu II. 112 and III. 146), the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 235), the Sm. C. and others say that a person does not become a hired teacher by accepting something from a pupil, but that what is condemned is making a stipulation beforehand that one would teach only if a certain sum or if so much

^{881.} वृक्षिणा परितोषो चै गुरूणां सद्धिष=यते। आश्वमेधिकपर्व 56. 21.

^{882.} गौर्जाह्मणस्य वरो ग्रामो राजन्यस्याश्वो वैश्यस्य । कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 76. The same is quoted as पारस्कर's by विश्वरूप on या. 1. 51.

were paid or delivered.⁸⁸³ In distress, Manu X. 116 and Yāj. III. 42 allow even such stipulations for the purpose of securing one's livelihood.

The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 133. 2-3) shows that when Bhīṣma appointed Droṇa as the teacher of the Pāṇḍava and Kaurava princes he bestowed on him wealth and a well-furnished house full of corn; but there was no stipulation.

It has been shown above (p. 113) that it was the king's duty to support learned men and students and to see that no brāhmaṇa died of hunger in his kingdom (vide Gaut. X. 9-12, Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 79-80, Manu VII. 82-85, Yāj. I. 315, 333). So a student, when the teacher demanded a heavy fee at the end of studies, could theoretically at least approach a king for the fee. Kālidāsa draws in Raghuvamsa V a graphic picture how Varatantu demanded a dakṣiṇā of 14 crores from his pupil Kautsa who approached Raghu for the same and would not take more than his requirements. Sometimes the teacher or his wife, according to legends, demanded fanciful dakṣiṇās. For example, Uttanka was asked by his teacher's wife, when he urged her to take something, to bring the ear-rings of the queen of the reigning king (vide Ādiparva chap. 3 and Āśvamedhika-parve 56).

It would be interesting to see how far corporal punishment of pupils was allowed in ancient India. Gaut. 884 (II. 48-50) lays down that pupils are to be regulated (ordinarily) without beating; but if it is not possible to control the pupil (by words &c.) then he may be struck with a slender rope or with a split bamboo; that if the teacher struck (the pupil) in any other way (e.g. with the hand &c.) the teacher should be punished by the king. The Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 29-30 calls upon the teacher to censure (by words) a pupil when he commits a fault and to employ according to the gravity of the offence any one or more of the following punishments till the pupil desists, viz. threatening (the pupil), refusing to give him food, drenching him in cold water and not allowing him to come in his presence. 885 The

^{883.} न चैतन्मन्तन्यम् । अर्थमादाय यद्ध्यापनं सा भृतिः । न हि पणपरिमाणसंभाषण-पूर्विका तत्र मन्नुत्तिर्यदेयद्ददासि तदैतदृष्ट्यापयामीति।एतद् भृते रूपं न पुनरर्थोपकारगन्धमात्रेण। मेधा॰ मन्नु II. 112.

^{884.} शिष्यशिष्टिरषधेन । अशक्ती रञ्जुवेणुविद्लाभ्यां तनुभ्याम् । अन्येन झन् राज्ञा शास्यः । गौतम II. 48-50.

^{885.} अपराधेषु चैनं सततसुपालभेत । अभित्रास उपवास उद्कोपस्पर्शनमदुर्शनमिति वण्डा यथामात्रमा निवृत्ते: । आप, ध. स्. I. 2. 8. 29-30.

Mahābhāṣya⁸⁸⁶ (vol. I. p. 41) refers to the fact that when a pupil pronounced a wrong accent (e. g. anudātta in place of udātta) the upādhyāya slapped him (on the back probably). Manu VIII. 299-300, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 81-82, Nārada (abhyupetyā-suśrūṣā, verses 13-14) follow Gautama as to corporal punishment, but add that beating should be on the back only and never on the head nor on the chest, while Nārada further rules that the beating should not be excessive. Manu (VIII. 300) says that the punishment in case of violation of these rules by the teacher is that for a thief and (VIII. 299) extends the same rules to the son and the wife. Manu II. 159 recommends that in imparting instruction about the right path of conduct, one should use sweet persuasive (not high-toned) words.

A few words must now be said about the education of ksatrivas, vaišyas and śūdras. According to Gaut. XI. 3 a king should be well-grounded in the three Vedas and in Anviksiki (i.e. metaphysics) and in XI, 19 Gaut, says that the king has to rely for carrying out his duties on the veda, the dharmasastras. the subsidiary lores of the veda, the upavedas and puranas. Manu VII, 43 and Yaj. I. 311 say that a king should be proficient in the three Vedas, in metaphysics, in dandaniti (the art of government and statecraft) and in $v\bar{a}rt\bar{a}$ (economic life and production of wealth). These directions were probably meant to be an ideal and very few kings ever went through all this. If any conclusions are to be drawn from the stories in the Mahābhārata, we may say that princes at least hardly ever went to a guru's home, but teachers were engaged to teach them (as Drona was engaged by Bhisma) and they became proficient in military skill. Alberuni (tr. by Sachau 1888, vol. Ip. 125) says that brāhmanas taught the veda to ksatriyas, but he is probably drawing only on the rules given in the smrtis. Kings left ecclesiastical matters to their purchita and were always to rely on him for advice. Gaut. 887 XI, 12-13 and Ap. Dh. S. II, 5, 10. 16 require that the purchita was to be a learned man of good birth, endowed with polished speech, a fine form, middle age and high character and that he was to be well-versed in dharma and artha. Asv. gr. III. 12 describes how the purchita is to prepare the king for battle. Kaut, in his Arthasastra after

^{886.} य उदात्ते कर्तस्येऽनुदात्तं करोति खण्डिकोपाध्यायस्तरमे चपेटां द्दात्यम्यन्ध करोषीति । महाभाषय vol. I. p. 41.

^{887.} ब्राह्मणं च पुरोद्धीत विद्याभिजनवामुपवयःशीलसंपसं स्यायवृत्तं तपस्त्रिनम्। तत्प्रसूतः कर्माण कुर्वीत । गौ. X1. 12-13.

stating several views gives his own opinion that the vidyas for a prince are four (the same as those of Manu and Yaj. above), that after the caula is performed the prince should learn the alphabet and arithmetic and when upanayana is performed he should learn the four vidyas till he is 16 years old and may then marry (I. 5), that in the first part of the day he should have instruction in elephant riding and horse riding, riding in chariots and in arms and the latter part of the day he should devote to hearing purāņas, stories, dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra (politics). In the Hathigumpha Inscription (2nd century B. C.) there is a reference to $r\bar{u}pa$ (currency), $gapan\bar{u}$ (finance and treasury accounts), lekha (official correspondence) and vyavahāra (law and judicial administration) as the subjects which Khāravela mastered as heir-apparent from his 15th year to his 24th (vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 71 at p. 81, J. R. A. S. 1918 p. 545, I. H. Q. vol. 14 for 1938 p. 459 ff.). In the Kādambarī also Bāna shows that prince Candrapida did not go to a teacher's house but that a school was built for him outside the capital where he learnt from his 7th to the 16th year.

As to the education of kṣatriyas in general we have hardly any directions in the dharmaśāstra works. But that there were several learned kṣatriyas and vaiśyas who sometimes became teachers cannot be denied. Kumārilabhaṭṭa says (on Jaimini I. 2. 2) that adhyāpana⁸⁸⁸ is not a special characteristic for recognising that a man is a brāhmaṇa, since certain kṣatriyas and vaiśyas who have given up the observation of the caste rules also do so.

About the education of vaisyas there is still less material. Manu X. 1 lays down generally that the three varnas (including vaisyas) are to learn the Veda, (X. 79) that trade, cattle-rearing and agriculture are the means of the vaisya's livelihood and that (IX.328-332) the vaisya should never think of giving up cattle rearing, that he should know the prices of jewels, coral and pearls, of metals and clothes, of perfumes and salt, the sowing of seed, the qualities and defects of soils, measures and weights, the different grades of qualities of goods, the profit and loss in trade, the rates of pay for servants, various alphabets and the places where saleable articles are produced or manufactured.

^{888.} अध्यापनाद्यपि भिन्नाचारक्षत्रियवैद्यप्रतियोगित्वारसंदिग्धम् । सर्वे च दुष्ट- शूदेषु संभाष्यमानत्वादनिश्चितम् । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 108,

Yāj. II. 184, Nārada (abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā 16-20) indicate that boys were apprenticed with master artisans to learn several silpas (crafts) like preparing ornaments 889 of gold or for learning dancing, singing &c. An apprentice was to stipulate how long he would stay with the master craftsman, that even if he learnt the craft earlier than the stipulated time he was still to stay with the teacher and work for him till the period was over, that the teacher was to give food and lodging to the apprentice and to appropriate the proceeds from his work, that if the apprentice left the teacher before the time fixed even though the teacher was ready to teach him, he was to be compelled to stay with the teacher and to be imprisoned or sentenced to whipping by the king if he would not stay.

As for the education of the śūdra, there are hardly any rules in the dharmaśāstras. He gradually, as stated above (at pp. 120-121), rose in status and was allowed to engage in crafts and agriculture and so the same rules might have been applied to him as to vaiśya apprentices. The śūdra could listen to the recitation of the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas as shown above (at pp. 155-156).

It appears that in very ancient times the status of Indian women as to education was much higher than in medieval and modern times in India. Several women are stated to have been the composers of Vedic hymns; e. g. Rg. V. 28 is ascribed to Viśvavārā of the Atri family; Rg. VIII. 91 to Apālā of the same family and Rg. X. 39 to Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī. The Br. Up. II. 4. 1. shows that MaitreyI, one of the two wives of Yajñavalkya, the great philosopher of ancient India, was herself a very earnest seeker after true knowledge and she prayed to Yājñayalkya that he should impart to her such knowledge as would make her immortal. 890 In the same Upanisad (III. 6 and 8) we find that among the several interlocutors in the court of Janaka, king of Videha, who propounded several questions for solution before Yājñavalkya, Gārgī Vācaknavī occupies a very prominent position. She pursued Yājñavalkya with subtle and searching questions till ultimately he was forced to warn her

^{889.} विज्ञानमुस्यते शिल्पं हेमकुप्यादिसंस्कृतिः। द्वचादिकं च यत्प्राप्तं कर्म कुर्या-द्वर्गागृहे॥ बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच II. p. 195. It is interesting that the मिता on या. II.184 regards आयुर्वेद as a शिल्प to be learnt under the apprentice system.

^{890.} सा होवाच मैत्रेयी येनाहं नामृता स्यां किमहं तेन कुर्यी यदेव भगवान्वेद तदेव मे बहीति। बृह, उप. II. 4. 3 and IV. 5. 4.

not to probe too much into the nature of the First Principle which was beyond mere human reason and logical questioning or otherwise she might die by the fall of her head. Then she desisted, but her unquenchable thirst for philosophical knowledge again swelled up and she put two questions to Yājñavalkya hoping to confound him. In the same Up. (Br. Up. VI. 4, 17) there is a rite prescribed 891 for one who desires to have a learned daughter. As in the very preceding sentence a prescription is given for one desirous of having a son who would master the three Vedas, it naturally follows that the learning of the daughter must refer to the same topic. Samkara, in whose day women were debarred from learning the Vedas, could not but explain the word 'pandita' as referring to proficiency in domestic work. It has been shown above (p. 294) that upanayana and veda study were allowed to women by In the daily rsitarpana (Asv. gr. III. 4) among a host of sages water is offered to three women as teachers viz. Gargi Vācaknavi, Vadavā Prātitheyi and Sulabhā Maitreyi. The very fact that the Kāśikā on Pānini IV. 1. 59 and III. 3. 21 teaches the formation of ācārvā and upādhyāyā as meaning a woman who is herself a teacher (and not merely the wife of a teacher) establishes that the ancient grammarians were familiar with women teachers. Patañjali teaches 898 how and whv brāhmana woman is called Apisalā (one who studies the grammar of Āpiśali) and Kāśakṛtsnā (one who studies the mīmāmsā work of Kāśakrtsna). He also states the formation of the appellation 'Audameghāh' (meaning the pupils of a woman toacher called Audameghyā). Gobhila 893 gr. II. 1. 19-20 prescribes that when the bride pushes forward with her foot a mat the bridegroom should make her repeat the mantra 'may the way which my husband goes by be also assigned to me' and that if she does not repeat this mantra (through bashfulness &c.) he

^{891.} अथ य इच्छेद्धृहिता मे पण्डिता जायेत &c.। बृह. उ. VI. 4. 17; हुहितुः पाण्डित्यं ग्रहतन्त्रविषयमेव वेदेऽनिधिकारात । शांकरभाष्य.

^{892.} आपिशलमधीते बाह्मगी आपिशला बाह्मणी। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 205 (on वार्तिक 3 on पाणिनि IV. 1. 14); काशकुत्स्निना प्रोक्ता मीमांसा काशकुरस्ती काशकुत्स्नी मधीते काशकुत्स्ना बाह्मणी। अत्र पामोति। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 206 on वार्तिक 5 on पा. IV. 1. 14; vide also महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 249; औदमेध्यायाश्कात्रा औदमेधाः। vol. II. p. 229 (on पा. IV. I.78).

^{893.} पश्चाद्शेः संविधितं कटमेवंजातीयं वान्यत्यद् प्रवर्तयन्तीं वाच्येत् प्र मे पतियानः पन्धाः कल्पतामिति । स्वयं जपेद्जपन्त्यां प्रास्या इति । गोभिलगृद्धा II. 1. 19-20. The मन्त्र (मन्त्रज्ञाद्धाण I. 1. 8) is 'प्र मे पतियानः पन्धाः कल्पताम् । शिवा अरिष्टा पतिलोकं गमेयम् । ।

should repeat it substituting the words 'to her' for 'to me'. In the Kāthaka 894 gr. 25. 23 it is said that the Anuvāka beginning with 'sarasvati predam-ava' (of 21 verses) was to be recited both by the bride and the bridegroom according to some All this shows that women could recite Vedic mantras in the sūtra period. The Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana. 895 a remarkable though in some places a filthy work, prescribes that women should study the Kāmasūtra and its subsidiary angas (viz. the 64 kalās such as singing, dancing, painting &c.) before they attain youth (i. e. in their father's house) and after marriage with the husband's consent. In the 64 kalas enumerated in that work (I. 3. 16) are included prahelikas (riddles of words), pustakavācana (chanting from books), kāvyasamasyā-pūraņa (composing a suitable portion of a verse to fit in with a portion given), knowledge of lexicons and metres &c. We read in the epics and the dramas like the Śākuntala of women writing messages to their lovers. In the Mālatīmādhava Bhavabhūti tells his readers that the fathers of the hero and the heroine studied in their youth together with Kāmandaki at the feet From anthologies like Rājaśekhara's of the same master. Sūktimuktāvali we learn that there were poetesses like Vijjā, Sītā &c. All these facts tend to indicate that literary attainments among women were not totally unheard of in ancient India.

But gradually the position of women became worse and In the Dharmasütras and Manu woman is assigned a position of dependence and even women of higher classes came to be looked upon as equal to śūdras so far as Vedic study and several other matters were concerned. Gaut. 18. 1. Vas. Dh. S. VI. 1, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 45 and Manu IX. 3 say that women have no independence and in all stages depend upon men. We have seen (at p. 265) also that all the samskāras (except marriage) were performed in the case of girls without Vedic mantras. Though according to the Pürvamimāmsā the husband and wife were to perform Vedic sacrifices together (Jaimini VI. 1.17-21) still women⁸⁹⁶ were only associated with their husbands and all the

^{894. &#}x27;सतो गाथा वाच्यपति सरस्वति प्रेदमवेत्यद्यवाकम्'। उभावित्येके। काठकगृह्य 25.23.

धर्मार्थाङ्गविद्याकालाननुपरोधयन कामसूत्रं तदङ्गविद्याश्च पुरुषोधीयीत । पाग्यौ-षनात्स्री । प्रता च पत्युरभिपायात । कामसूत्र 1. 2. 1-3.

^{896.} तस्या याववक्तमाशीर्बह्मचर्यमतुल्यत्वात् । जै. VI. 1. 24; अतुल्या हि स्त्री पुंसा। यजमानः पुमान विद्वांश्व पत्नी स्त्री चाविद्या च। ... यास्त्वाशिषो यच बद्धाचर्य तत्पुरुषं पति एणभूतम्...अत आशीर्बद्धाचर्य चोभयोरपि स्यात् । यचाहत्योच्यते यथा पत्न्याज्यमेवक्षते इति। शबर.

actions to be done by the sacrificer (yajamana) were to be done only by the husband except where the texts expressly requested the wife to do certain things such as examining the ajya or repeating certain mantras (VI.1.24). Jaimini says that the husband and wife were not equal and Sabara explains that the yajamana is a male and is learned, while the patni is a woman and has no vidvā. Medhātithi⁸⁹⁷ on Manu II. 49 raises the interesting question why brahmacarins when begging for alms used a Sanskrit formula (bhavati bhiksām dehi) which language ladies do not know. He replies that women can understand that vernacular words which they use being similar to Sanskrit words must be derived from them and that these few wellknown Sanskrit words they can easily grasp. Besides even in Vedic times there was a tendency as in many other countries to make sarcastic references to women. The Rgveda⁸⁹⁸ VIII. 33. 17 says "Even Indra said 'the mind of woman cannot be controlled; and also her intellect (or power) is slight'"; in Rg. X. 95. 15 899 'there is no truth in the friendship of women; they have the hearts of hyaenas'. The Sat. Br. XIV. 1. 1. 3 exhorts a person studying the Madhu-vidyā not to look at 'woman, śūdra, the dog and the black bird that are all untruth'. Manu II. 213-214, Anuśasanaparva chap. 19. 91-94, chap. 38 and 39 there is severe condemnation of woman. Such ideas, and ideas about pollution and the early marriage of girls are probably responsible for the great lack of literacy among women in medieval and modern times.

As literary education among women was in a languishing state or almost nil, the question of co-education hardly arises. There are no doubt faint indications that when women could at all devote themselves to learning, they must have been taught with male pupils. Poets like Bhavabhūti (in the Mālatīmādhava) envisage a state of society in which a woman (like Kāmandakī) learnt at the feet of the same master along with male students (like Bhūrivasu and Devarāta, who later on became ministers of states).

^{897.} कुतः एनः संस्कृतशब्दार्थलाभो यावता स्त्रियः संगोध्यन्ते ताश्च संस्कृतं नाव-बुध्यन्ते । ...एवं स्त्रियः सादृश्यात्साधुम्योऽसाधूनुत्यन्नसंगन्धान् स्मृत्वा तेम्योऽर्धे पत्येष्यन्ति स्वल्पाक्षरं चैतत्यद्वत्रयं सर्वप्रसिद्धं स्त्रीभिरापि सुज्ञानम् । भेधाः on मनु. II. 49.

^{898.} इन्द्रश्चिद्धा तद्ववित् स्त्रिया अज्ञास्यं मनः। उतो अह ऋतुं रघुम् ॥ ऋ. VIII. 33.17.

^{899.} न वे स्रेणानि सख्यानि सन्ति सालावृकाणां हृत्यान्येता । ऋ. X. 95. 15.

The house of the ācārya where the student learnt was called ācāryakula (vide Chān. Up. II. 23. 2, IV. 5. 1., IV. 9. 1, VIII. 15. 1). The teacher who presided over a large establishment of pupils was called kulapati (e. g. Kanva is so referred to in the Śākuntala, vide note 134 above).

It is outside the scope of this work to show from the numerous inscriptions and copper-plate grants that have been published so far, how ancient kings and rich private persons made substantial grants to famous schools, colleges and universities. There were famous universities at Taksasilā (modern Taxila), Valabhi, Benares, Nālandā, Vikramasilā &c. For an account of the university of Nalanda in the 7th century reference may be made to the accounts given by the two Chinese travellers Yuan Chwang (vide Watters vol. II. pp. 109, 246) and Itsing ('Records of the Buddhist Religion' by Dr. Takakusu pp. 154, 177 &c.). Most of those seats of learning were endowed. One of the earliest of such grants is that of the Pallava Nrpatunga-varman (Bahur Plates, E. I. 18 p. 5) whereby three villages were bestowed as a source of revenue (vidyābhoga) for the promotion of learning to the residents of a seat of learning (vidyāsthāna, a college) at Vāgūr. The Kāvyamīmāmsā of Rājasekhara (in chap. 10) calls upon the king to hold assemblies of poets and learned men, to arrange for their examination and to distribute rewards to them in the manner of such ancient kings as Vāsudeva, Sātavāhana, Śūdraka, Sābasānka. It also says that in Ujjayinī such poets as Kālidāsa, Mentha, Bhāravi, Haricandra were examined and in Pāţaliputra (modern Patna) such famous śāstrakāras as Pānini, Vyādi, Vararuci, Patañjali, Varsa, Upavarsa, and Pingala examined.

The salient features of the educational system outlined in the Dharmaśāstra works are the high and honourable position assigned to the teacher, the close personal contact of the pupil with the teacher and individual attention, the pupil's stay with the teacher as a member of his family, oral instruction and the absence of books, stern discipline and control of emotions and the will, cheapness (as no fees were stipulated for). The Indian system compares most favourably with any system of education of the West, whether in Greece or Rome or any other country. It gave to the students a more or less literary education, particularly of the Vedic literature and of philosophy, grammar and other subjects ancillary thereto. The principal

effort was directed towards the conservation of the ancient literature rather than to the creation of fresh literature. these respects it was similar to the Grammar England and to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge as they were till about the middle of the 19th century. The defects of the Indian system were that it was too literary, there was too much memorizing, boys under it had hardly any instruction in useful manual arts and crafts, the studies were not brought in contact with practical life. The discipline was rigorous and joyless. Many of these defects were due to the exigencies of the caste system which assigned particular avocations to particular castes. We cannot and should not compare the system with the systems of education prevalent in the 20th century, when several subjects such as literature, music and the fine arts. handicrafts, mathematics, science, history and geography are taught in the schools to all boys and when it has been recognised that education is a prime concern of the State.

The four Veda-vratas:—Among the samskaras enumerated by Gautama there are four Veda-vratas (Gaut. VIII. 15). These four are also included in the 16 samskaras by several smrtis. Their names and procedure differ considerably in the several grhvasūtras. Some grhvasūtras like Pār. do not describe them. A brief reference will be made to them here. Asy, gr. I. 22, 20 900 says in general words that in the vratas all the ceremonies beginning from shaving the head up to paridana (i. e. Aśv. gr. I. 19. 8 to I. 20. 7) that are performed at the upanayana are repeated each time with each vrata. And the four vratas according to the Asvalayana smrti (in verse) were Mahānāmnī vrata, Mahāvrata (Ait. Ār. I. and V), Upanisad vrata and Godana. Each vrata is to be performed for a year. Vide Laghu Aśvalayana 11th section (Anan. Ed). The Śan. gr. (II. 11-12) describes, after the student is instructed in the sacred Gāyatri, four vratas (observances) called Śukriya (which precedes the study of the main part of the Rgveda). the Śākvara, Vrātika and Aupanisada vratas (which three precede the study of the different sections of the Aitareya Aranyaka). The observance of the first of these (viz. Sukriya) lasted for three days or twelve days or one year or as long as the teacher liked and the observances of the other three were to be kept for one year each (San. gr. II, 11, 10-12, S. B. E. vol. 29

^{900.} एतेन वापनादि परिदानान्तं व्रतादेशनं व्याख्यातम् । आन्व. मृ. 1. 22. 20.

p. 77). At the beginning of each of these three vratas there is a separate upanayana, followed by a ceremony called Uddiksanikā (giving up the preparatory observances) and then the vrata is to be perfermed for one year. The Aranyaka is to be studied in the forest out of the village. Manu II. 174 prescribes that at the time of the beginning of each of these vratas the student had to put on a new deer skin, a new yajñopavita and a new girdle. The Gobhila grhya III. 1. 26-31 (which is the Samaveda) mentions the vratas as connected with Godānika, Vrātika, Āditya, Aupanisada, Jyestha-sāmika, each lasting for one year. It adds that some do not observe the Aditya-vrata. The godana vrata is connected by the Gobbiliya with the samskara of godana (to be described below) and it prescribes certain observances for it such as removing all hair on the head, chin and lips; avoiding false-hood, anger, sexual intercourse, perfumes, dancing and singing, collyrium, honey and meat; not wearing shoes in the village. It also prescribes that wearing the girdle, begging for food, carrying a staff, daily bath, offering a fuel-stick, and clasping the teacher's feet in the morning are common to all vratas. The Godanika enabled the student to study the Pūrvārcika of the Sāmaveda (i. e. the collection of verses sacred to Agni, Indra and Soma Pavamāna). The Vrātika was introductory to the study of the Āranyaka (excluding Śukriva sections); the Āditya vrata to the study of the Sukriya sections; the Aupanisada-vrata to the study of the Upanisad-brāhmaņa; the Jyestha-sāmika to the study of the Ajya-dohas. The Kh. gr. II. 5. 17 ff. speaks of the same vratas as Gobbila. Those who observe the Adityavrata wore one garment, did not allow anything to come between them and the sun (except trees and the roofs of houses) and did not descend into water more than knee-deep. The Sakvara vrata was kept for one year, or for three or six or nine. who observe this vrata study the Sakvari or Mahānāmni verses. Vārtika⁹⁰¹ on Pānini V. 1. 94. (tadasya brahmacaryam) mentions the Mahanamnis and teaches the derivation of Mahanamnikam (as the period of brahmacarya devoted to the vrata of the Mahānāmnīs). There were certain peculiar observances for

^{901.} The वार्तिकः 1 and 2 on पा. V. 1. 94 are तदस्य बहाचर्यमिति महानाम्मयादिश्य उपसंख्यानम् । तवस्तीति च । पतः पतः प्रताति explains महानाम्नीनां बहाचर्ये महानाम्निकम् । आदित्यव्रतिकम् । महानाम्नीश्वरति माहानाम्निकः । आदित्यव्रतिकः । महानाम्नी तत्साहचर्यात्ताच्छव्यं भविष्यति । महानाम्नी तत्साहचर्यात्ताच्छव्यं भविष्यति । महानाम्नी सह्यरितं व्रतं महानाम्नयो व्रतमिति । महानाम्नी सह्यरितं व्रतं महानाम्नयो व्रतमिति । महानाम्नी स्रत्येते तत्साहचर्यात्राच्छव्यं भविष्यति ।

this such as bathing thrice a day (Gobhila III. 2. 7-46, Kh. gr. II. 5. 23 ff.), wearing dark clothes, partaking of dark food, standing by day, sitting by night, not seeking shelter when is raining, not crossing a river without bathing in it (the virtue of the Mahanamnis is centred in water). After the student has kept his vow for one-third of the time prescribed. the teacher is to sing to the student the first stotriya of the Mahānāmnīs 903 (viz. the three mantras, vidā maghavan, ābhistvam, evāhi śakro) and in the same way the two other stotrivas (each consisting of three mantras). They are to be sung to the student who has fasted, has closed his eyes, has dipped his hand in a brass vessel full of water in which all sorts of herbs are thrown and whose eyes are veiled with a new piece of cloth, the student is to keep silent and abstain from food for one day and night (or three), to stand in the forest till sunset (and return to the village in the night). should sacrifice with mahāvyāhrtis; look at fire, clarified butter, the sun, a brāhmana, a bull, food, water and curds; then salute the teacher, break his silence and give a fee to the teacher and offer a mess of cooked food to Indra and give a dinner to the teacher and all co-students. The same rules apply to the Jyesthasāmika vrata (introductory to the study of the three Äivadohas 903 viz. 'mūrdhānam divah, tvām visve, nābhim The student who undergoes this has to observe vaiñānām). certain rules throughout his life viz. he cannot marry or have sexual intercourse with a śūdra woman, cannot eat bird's flesh, he should not restrict himself to one kind of corn or one country and should always wear two garments, should bathe in water drawn with a vessel and should not eat in an earthen pot or drink water from it.

The Baud. gr. III. 2. 4 ff says that there are vratus of one year each which precede the study of certain brāhmana texts (of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda); they are hotāraḥ 904, śukriyas, upanisadaḥ,

^{902.} महानाम्नीs are verses beginning with विदा मचनन् विदा which occur in ऐतरेय आरण्यक IV, in the जैमिनीयसंहिता of the सामवेद at II. 7 (ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira) and also in several other संहिताs.

^{903.} The mantra मुर्थानं दिवः is at सामवेद I. 67 (and Rg. VI. 7. 1), -खां विश्वे is at सामवेद II. 491 (and Rg. VI. 7. 4), नाभिं यज्ञानाम् is सामवेद 2. 492 (Rg. VI. 7. 2).

^{904.} The होतार: or चतुर्होतार: are the mantras in Tai. Ar. III. 1-5 beginning with चित्ति: सुक चित्तमाज्यम्.

godānam and sammitam and it describes them in detail. want of space all these are passed over. The Samskara-kaustubha (pp. 571-580) gives in some detail the procedure of the Maha. nāmnī vrata, Mahāvrata, Upanisadvrata and Godānavrata. states that the Mahanamnivrata is performed in the 13th year from birth and Godanavrata in the 16th. It appears, however, that these vratas gradually fell into desuetude and medieval writers often pass them over altogether or barely mention them and emphasize only the general observances of brahmacarins viz. celibacy, begging for food, avoiding honey, wine and singing &c. For example, the Smrtyarthasāra 905 (p. 6) refers to Savitrivrata, then the vrata for Vedic study and then the Āranvaka vratas. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 52 (vedam vratāni vā pāram nītvā) explains 'vratam' as simply the duties of the student already enumerated by Yai. (among which the specific vratas of Mahānāmnī &c. do not figure).

If the student failed in observing the specific vratas, he had to perform prayascitta by undergoing the prajapatva penance thrice or six times or twelve times. If the brahmacarl is guilty of failing in his daily duties of observing sauca and ācamana, of the performance of saindhyā prayer, of using darbhs, of begging for food, of offering fuel stick to fire, of avoiding the touch of śūdras and the like, of wearing the cloth (for covering his private parts), the loin thread, the vaiñopavita, the girdle and the staff and deerskin, of not sleeping by day, of not holding an umbrella over his head or of not wearing shoes, or not putting on garlands, of avoiding luxurious bath, sandal paste, collyrium, of not sporting in water, of avoiding gambling, and addiction to dancing, singing and music, of not engaging in conversation with heretics, he had to undergo the penance of three krcchras (according to Baudhāyana) and to perform a homa with the vyährtis separately and together (i. e. four oblations of clarified butter were to be offered).906 If he was guilty of other more serious lapses he

^{905.} उपनयनादुपाकर्मान्तं सावित्रीव्रतं तत्संपूर्यर्थे विषसंबन्धिवान्धवभोजनं शक्त्या कार्यम् । ततो वेदाबद्वतं ततश्चारण्यकव्रतानि प्रतिव्रतं वंपनं च । व्रतान्ते भोजने भैक्ष्य-माहार्यम् । एतेषु व्रतेषु छोपे तारतम्येन त्रीन् षद् वा द्वाद्ग्य वा प्राजापत्यांश्वरित्वा पुनश्च व्रतं पारभेत । ततीनन्तरं वोद्गयने वा छुक्कपक्षे ह्यभेऽहानि स्वाध्यायं प्रारभेत । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 6.

^{906.} बौधायनः । अत्र शीचाचमन-संध्यावन्दन-दर्भभिक्षाधिकार्यराहित्य-श्रूदादि-स्पर्शनकौषीनकिटिस्च-यज्ञोषवीतमेखलादण्डाजिनादित्याग-दिवास्वापच्छचधारण-पाडुकाध्या-रोहणवनमालाधारणोद्वर्तनाञ्जलेपनाञ्जन-जलकीहाधूतच्च-गीतवाद्याद्यभिरतिपाषण्डादिसंभा-षणमस्प्रचारिवतलोपादिसकलदोषपरिहारार्थं ब्रह्मचारी कुच्छूत्रयं चरेत् । महास्याष्ट्राति-होमं च छुर्यात् । सं. प्र. p. 563.

had to undergo heavier penance. The most reprehensible act in a brahmacarin was to have sexual intercourse with a woman. The Tai. Ar. II. 18 speaks of the prayascitta for such a brahmacārin who is called avakīrņin. Gaut. 25. 1-2 quotes the Tai. Ar. "they (the sages) 907 say 'in how many (deities) the avakirnin enters; (the answer is) he enters the Maruts with his breath, Indra with his strength, Brhaspati with his spiritual eminence and fire with the rest (of his senses)" and Gautama further provides that he should kindle fire at midnight on a new moon day and then offer two aiya oblations by way of penance with the two mantras 'kāmāva-'and' Kāmāvadrugdhosmi' &c., place a fuel stick on fire, sprinkle water round the fire, offer the yajňavāstu oblation (for which see Gobhila gr. I. 8. 26-29) and standing near the fire should worship fire thrice with the verse 'sam mā sincantu'. Baud. Dh. S. (IV. 2, 10-13) contains the same rules. Jaimini (VI. 8, 22) prescribes that ordinary (laukika) fire is to be used for the paśu to be sacrificed (viz. ass to Nirrti, which is symbolic of the stupid lapse the student is guilty of) and Sabara quotes a Vedic passage that 'a brahmacārin who has become avakīrnin should sacrifice an ass to Nirrti'. Ap. Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 8, Vas. 23. 1-3, Manu XI. 118-121, Yāj. III. 280 contain similar provisions (Vasistha allowing in the absence of an ass oblations of boiled rice with the mantras mentioned by Gautama). Manu XI, 122-123 and Visnu Dh. S. 28, 49-50 prescribe that the brahmacari so guilty should for one year wear the skin of the ass, should beg for food at seven houses announcing to them his lapse, should take food only once, should bathe thrice and then only he becomes pure. Manu II. 187 (=Visnu Dh. S. 28. 52) prescribes similar penance for a brahmacari who without being ill gives up begging for food and offering fuel to fire continuously for seven days. Prāyaścitta is prescribed for loss of yajñopavita or its being torn, or its being polluted by impure things

^{907.} ते. आ. II. 18 is 'कितधावकीणीं प्रविशति चतुर्धेत्याहुर्बद्धावादिनो मकतः प्राणेरिन्दं घलेन बृहस्पितं ब्रह्मवर्चसेनाग्निमेवेतरेण सर्वेण यो ब्रह्मचार्यवाकिरेद्भावान्यायां राज्यामाग्ने प्रणीयोपसमाधाय द्विराज्यस्योपधातं छहोति कामावकीणोस्म्यवकीणोस्मिकाम कामाय स्वाहा । कामाभिद्धुर्योस्म्यवद्युर्थोस्मि काम कामाय स्वाहित । हुत्वा प्रयताकालिः कवातिर्यङ्गिमभिमन्त्रयते सं मा सिश्चन्तु मकतः सिमन्द्रः सं बृहस्पितः । सं माय-मग्निः सिश्चतु प्रजया च धनेन चेति । त्रिरभिमन्त्रयेत । वरो दक्षिणा ।

^{908.} अवकीर्णिपशुश्च तद्वद्याधानस्याप्राप्तकालत्वात् । जै. VI. 8. 22; अस्त्यवकीर्णि-पशुः । ब्रह्मचार्यवकीर्णी नैर्कतं गर्दभमालभेतेति । तत्र संवेदः । किं तद्र्थमाधानं कर्तथ्यमुत लोकिकेण्वशिषु तद्वतिति । ...तस्माविद्यमणि कर्म लोकिकेण्विति । शवरः

like blood &c. It consists in offering home and wearing a new one. Vide Samskāra-ratnamālā pp. 365-367 for details.

Naisthika brahmacārin (perpetual student).—

Brahmacārins were of two kinds, upakurvāna (the student who offered some return to the teacher, vide Manu II, 245, for the word upakurvīta) and the naisthika 909 (the student who remains so till his death). These two names occur in Hārīta Dh. S., Daksa I, 7 and in several surtis. The word 'naisthika' occurs in Visnu Dh. S. 28, 46, Yāj. I. 49, Veda-Vyāsa I. 41. The idea of perpetual studenthood is very ancient. In the Chāndogya 910 Up. II. 23. 1 we read that the third branch of dharma is the (status of a) student who stays with his teacher's family and who wears out his body to the end in the family of the teacher. Gaut. III. 4-8, Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 29, Hārīta Dh. 911 S., Vas. VII. 4-6, Manu II. 243, 244, 247-249, and Yāj. I. 49-50 say that if the student likes he may stay with his teacher till life lasts and should serve his guru and in the rest of the time repeat the Veda: that if the teacher be dead he may stay with and serve the teacher's son if he is worthy or the teacher's wife or he may worship the fire kindled by his deceased guru; he should thus wear out his body; he obtains the highest worlds of bliss and is not born again. He has to perform throughout his life the duties of offering fuel sticks, Veda study, begging for food, sleeping on the ground (not on a cot), and of self-restraint (Brhaspati quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 62).

According to Viṣṇu quoted in Aparārka (p. 72) and the Sm. C. 918 (I. p. 63) quoting the Samgraha persons who are

^{909.} निष्ठा means 'end or death' and निष्ठिक is derived by the Mit. on Yaj. I. 49 as 'आत्मानं निष्ठां उत्कान्तिकालं नयतीति निष्ठिक:'.

^{910.} त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धा यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमस्तप एव द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचार्याचार्य-कुलबासी तृतीयोऽत्यन्तमात्माचार्यकुलेऽवसाद्यन् सर्व एते प्रण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति । छान्दोग्य उप. II. 23. 1. This is quoted by विश्वस्त्प on या. I. 49-50. This Up. passage is the basis of Vedanta-sutra III. 4. 18-20; vide also ibid III. 4. 49.

^{911.} द्विविधो ब्रह्मचारी उपकुर्वाणो नेष्ठिकश्च । तयोरुपकुर्वणको व्याख्यात: । निष्ठां चेद्रच्छेदाशरीरनिपाताद्वरावासीत । हारीत quoted by अपरार्क p. 71. ब्रह्मचार्याचार्य परिचरेदाशरीरविमोक्षणात् । आचार्ये च पेते अग्निं परिचरेद् । विज्ञायते ह्याग्नराचार्यस्तवेति । बसिष्ठ VII. 4-6. The words 'आग्नराचार्यस्तव voccur in the उपनयन ritual; vide पारस्कर II. 2.

^{912.} कुब्जवामनजात्यन्धक्रीवपङ्कार्तरोगिणाम् । व्रतचर्या भवेतेषां यावजीवमनंशतः॥ विष्णु quoted in अपरार्क p. 72 and स्मृतिचः I. p. 63; पङ्कावीनामनंशत्वादसाम-ध्यांच शास्त्रतः। नियतं नैष्ठिकत्वं स्यात्कर्मस्वनिधकारतः॥ संग्रह quoted by स्मृतिचः I. p. 63.

dwarfs, ill-formed, congenitally blind, impotent, cripples and those suffering from incurable diseases should become perpetual students, as they are not entitled to perform the Vedic rites and are not entitled to inherit. We saw above that Kumārilabhaṭṭa accepted this view (vide note 852a). But this does not mean that the blind and other partially defective people could not marry at all. They could marry if they had sufficient wealth. For example, Dhṛṭarāṣṭra, though congenitally blind, married and had sons. Aparārka (p. 72), the Sm. C., the Madanapārijāta (p. 111), the Par. M. (I. 2. p. 51 ff) and others say that perpetual student-hood is not restricted only to the blind and the cripple, but it may be resorted to by even able-bodied men at their choice (vide Manu II. 243-44).

Atri (VIII. 16) says ⁹¹³ that if a person undertakes to be a perpetual student, but falls from that ideal, there is no prāyaścitta for that lapse. Some interpret this as applying to one who becomes a samnyāsin and then gives up that mode of life; while others like the Samskāra-prakāśa (p. 564) interpret it as meaning that the prāyaścitta is double of what the upakurvāṇa would have to undergo.

Patitasāvitrīka (these for whom there has been no upanayana and therefore no instruction in Gāyatrī and who are therefore sinful and outside the pale of Aryan society). The grhya and dharma sūtras are agreed that the time for upanayana has not passed till the 16th, 22nd and the 24th year in the case of brāhmanas, kṣatriyas and vaiṣyas respectively, but that after these years are past without upanayana taking place they become incompetent thereafter for learning the Sāvitrī (the sacred Gāyatrī verse) Vide Āṣv. gṛ. I. 19, 5-7, Baud. gṛ, III. 13, 5-6, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1, 1, 22, Vas. XI, 71-75, Manu II, 38-39, Yāj, I. 37-38. Such persons are then called patitasāvitrīka or sāvitrīpatīta and also vrātya (Manu II, 39 and Yāj, I. 38 call them so). These works ⁹¹⁴ also declare that the consequences of this are that no upanayana is to be thereafter performed for them, they are not to be taught the Veda, nor is any one to officiate at

^{913.} आरुटो नैष्ठिकं धर्म यस्तु प्रस्यवते द्विज:। प्रायश्विसं न पश्यामि येन शुध्यति कर्मणा ॥ अञ्चि VIII. 16; the संस्कारप्रकाश p. 564 ascribes a very similar verse to शातातप.

^{914.} आ षोष्ठभाइ ब्राह्मणस्यानतीतः कालः। आ द्वाविंशात्क्षात्रयस्य आ चतुर्विशाद्धे-भ्यस्य। अत उत्थ्वं पतितसावित्रीका भवन्ति। नैनानुपनयेकाध्यापयेक याजयेक्षीभेव्यंबहरेषुः। आश्व. मृ. 1. 19. 5-7; बौ. मृ. (reads विवहेषुः for व्यवहरेषुः), विसष्ठ reads विवाह-येषुः for व्यवहरेषुः; पार. मृ. 11. 5 has almost the same words.

their sacrifices and there is to be no social intercourse with them (i. e. no marriage takes place with them). Āρ. (I. 1. 1. 24-27) prescribes that after the 16th or 24th year, the person should undergo the rules of student-hood two months just as those who meant to study the three Vedas and whose upanayana has been performed observe (viz. begging for food &c.), then his upanayana should be performed, then for one year he should bathe (thrice if possible) every day and then he should be taught the Veda. This is a somewhat easy penance. But others prescribe heavier penalties. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 76-79 and the Vaik, smarta II. 3 prescribe that one who is patitas \(\bar{a}vitrika\) should either perform the Uddālaka vrata or should take a bath along with the performer of an Asvamedha sacrifice or should perform the Vrātyastoma sacrifice. Both Vasistha915 and the Vaik. smārta explain that the Uddalaka vrata consists in subsisting on barley gruel for two months, for one month on milk, for half a month on āmiksā (the whey that arises by pouring curds in hot milk), for eight days on ghee, for six days on alms obtained without begging, for three days on water and in observing a total fast for one whole day. The Sm. C. (I. p. 28) says that this vrata is so called because it was promulgated by Uddālaka. Manu XI, 191 and Visnu Dh. S. 54, 26 prescribe a mild pravsacitta for palitasāvitrīkas, viz. three prājāpatya 916 penances; while Yaj. I. 38, Baud. gr. III. 13.7, Veda-Vyasa I. 21 and several others prescribe only the Vrātyastoma for those who are patitasūvitrīkas. Visvarūpa 917 (on Yāj. III. 262) tries to reconcile these contradictions by saying that the easy penance prescribed by Manu applies to a brāhmana whose upanayana is not performed before the 16th year, but whose upanayana is sought to be performed before the 22nd year, while the Vrātyastoma is to be performed for him whose upanayana is not

^{915.} पातितसावित्रीक उद्दालकव्रतं चरेत्। द्वौ मासौ यावकेन वर्तयेन्मासं पयसार्धमास-मामिक्षयाष्टरात्रं घृतेन षड्रात्रमयाचितेन विरावमब्भक्षोहोरात्रसुपवसेत्। अश्वमेधावभूधं गच्छेत । वात्यस्तोमेन वा यजेत । वसिष्ठ XI. 76-79.

^{916.} For the missive vide ma XI. 211 and wr. III. 320. It lasts for 12 days and consists in taking only one merning meal for 3 days, only one meal in the evening for three days, subsisting on alms obtained without begging for three days and total fast for three days.

^{917.} परतस्तु षोडशाह्वर्षाद्यानवं येषां द्विजानां येदिति । एतदा द्वाविंशतेर्वर्षा-वृद्यपनीतस्य बाह्मणस्य यदि त्वाद्याद्वपनयनकालादारम्याष्टाचत्वारिंशद् वर्षाणि नोपनी-तस्ततोयं वात्यस्तोमः । विश्वस्तप on या. III. 262.

performed for forty-eight years from the first prescribed period (viz. 8th year, 11th year or 12th). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 also tries to introduce vyavasthā (order) in the contradictory dicta of the smṛtis. According to Gaut. 21. 11, Yāj. III. 234 and others $vr\bar{a}tyat\bar{a}$ (being $patitas\bar{a}vitr\bar{\imath}ka$) is only an $upap\bar{a}taka$ and Manu XI. 117 prescribes an easy penance for all $upap\bar{a}takas$.

Ap. Dh. S. 918 says 'if a person's father and grandfather also had not the upanayana performed for them, then they (i.e. the three generations) are called slayers of brahma (holy prayers or lore); people should have no intercourse with them. should not take their food nor should enter into marriage alliances with them; but if they desire then penance should be administered to them'. It then prescribes that they have to perform the penance (observing rules of student-hood) one vear for each generation (that had not the upanavana performed), then there is upanayana and then they have to bathe (thrice or once) every day for a year with certain mantras viz. the seven Pāvamānī verses beginning with 'vad anti vacca durake' (Rg. IX. 67. 21-27), with the Yajus pavitra (Tai, S. I. 2. 1. I = Rg. X. 17. 10), with the sāmapavitra and with the mantra called Angirasa (Rg. IV. 40, 5) or one may pour water only with the vyāhṛtis 919. After all this is done, one may be taught the Veda. Ap. Dh. S. goes further (I. 1. 2. 5-10) and says 'if the generations 920 beginning with the great-grandfather had not the upanayana performed on them, they are called the cemetery and that if there is desire they may observe the rules of student-hood for twelve years, then

^{918.} अथ यस्य पिता पितामह इत्यन्ति स्यातां ते ब्रह्महंस्तुताः। तेषामन्यागमनं भोजनं विवाहमिति वर्जयत्। तेषामिन्छतां प्रायश्चित्तम्। यथा प्रथमेऽतिक्रमे ऋतुरेवं संवत्सरः। अधोपनयनम्। तत उद्कोपस्पर्शनम्। प्रतिपूरुषं संख्याय संवत्सरान्यावन्तोऽन्त्रपेताः स्यः। सप्तिभः पाचमानीभियंदन्ति यच दूरक इत्येताभियंज्ञष्पवित्रेण सामपवित्रेणाङ्गिरसेनिति। अपि वा स्याहृतिभिरेव। अथाध्याप्यः। आप. ध. І. 1. 28-І. 1. 2. 1-4. पाचमानी verses are those that are addressed to Soma and according to some they are all the verses of the 9th mandala of the Regueda beginning with 'svadiethaya madiethaya' (vide Haradatta on Gaut. 19. 12 and Medhatithi on Manu V. 85). The यज्ञष्यवित्र is the मन्त्र 'आपोऽस्मान्मातरः शुन्यन्त'; सामपवित्र is the Saman beginning with 'kaya nascitra abhuvat' which is Rg. IV. 31. 1 and occurs in all other Samhitas and the Angirasa mantra is 'Hamsah sucisad' (Rg. IV. 40. 5).

^{919.} Haradatta explains that one is to pour water over one's head with the folded hands after repeating these mantras.

^{920.} The generations will be four प्रणितामह, पिता and the man himself.

upanayana may be performed and then the person so desirous of upanayana will have to bathe with the Pāyamāni and other verses (as stated above), then instruction in the duties of the householder may be imparted to him (i. e. to the 4th); he cannot, however, be taught the Veda; but his son may have the samskara performed as in the case of one who is himself patitasāvitrīka and then his son will be one like other āryas'. Haradatta 921 remarks that Ap. does not declare the prāyaścitta for him whose great-grandfather's father also was without upanayana, but that those who know the dharmasastra should find out a proper prayascitta even in such cases. clear that Ap. contemplates cases where for three generations there had been no upanavana and the fourth generation also had not the upanayana performed at the right time and desired to have it performed for him. Par. gives a brief rule 'when three generations are patitasāvitrīka, their offspring (i. e. the fourth "generation) is excluded from the sacrament upanayana and he cannot be taught the Veda.' 922 So Pār. is more restrictive than Apastamba.

There is a famous historical example of the application of these rules. Gāgābhaṭṭa, a profound scholar of Benares, officiated at the coronation of Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire, in 1674 and performed the upanayana of Shivaji before the coronation, when Shivaji was about 45 years old and had even two sons. Some eminent scholars like the late Mr. Justice Telang 923 have found fault with Gāgābhaṭṭa

^{921.} यस्य प्रितामहस्य पितुरारभ्य नातुस्मर्यत उपनयनं तत्र प्रायश्चित्तं नोक्तम्। धर्मज्ञेक्तिहतस्यम्। एवं ततः पूर्वेष्विपे। हरदत्त on आप. ध. I. 1. 2. 10.

^{922.} त्रिपुरुषं पतितसावित्रीकाणामपत्येऽसंस्काशे नाध्यापनं च । पार. मृ. II. 5.

^{923.} In 'Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles' appended to the late Mr. Justice Ranade's 'Rise of the Maratha Power', Mr. Justice Telang observes (p. 286) 'they had also to strain a point, when as a preliminary to the installation, the thread ceremony essential for a kṣatriya was performed on Shivaji at a time when he was forty-six or fifty years old and had already had two sons, an irregularity which also was, we are told, expressly assented to by all the brahmanas and pandits. How the brahmanas and pandits worked their way to this decision, none of our authorities state'; and further on (p. 288) he casts undeserved aspersions 'taking the whole evidence together it looks like a case of a more or less deliberate manipulation of facts and religious rites in aid of a foregone conclusion adopted for a purely political purpose'. Mr. Justice Telang writes rather like a judge than like a scholar or a

and the other brāhmaņas of that time; but these scholars are wrong and Gāgābhaṭṭa had behind him weighty and ancient authorities like Āp., Pāraskara, Viśvarūpa and Haradatta as shown above.

The Vaik. sūtra (II. 37) adds that in the case of the man who is himself patitasāvitrīka the samskāras (from Garbhādhāna) have to be again performed (with Vedic mantras) and then the upanayana is performed.

One very important question that exercised the minds of some writers in medieval times was whether kṣatriyas and vaiśyas existed in the kali age. In some of the purāṇas it is said in a prophetic vein that Mahāpadma Nanda will destroy the kṣatriyas and thereafter rulers will be of the śūdra caste. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 23. 4-5 says 'Mahāpadma Nanda, the son of Mahānandi, born of a śūdra woman would be extremely greedy (of power) and will destroy the whole kṣatriya race as if he were another Paraśurāma; thereafter śūdras will be kings'. The Matsya 272. 18-19 and the Bhāgavata-purāṇa XII. 1. 6-9 declare the same prophecies. The Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 24. 44 remarks that Devāṇi, descendant of Pūru, and Manu, descendant of Ikṣvāku, stay in

(Continued from last page)

historian. The judge has to give a decision on the evidence adduced by the parties before him; it is no part of his business to collect evidence But the role of a historian is entirely different. He must not only try to read all evidence available till the time he writes but he must himself ferret out all possible evidence and make searches in places where evidence is likely to be found. Above all he must be cautious in his condemnations of persons long dead on the strength of the meagre evidence read by him. Mr. Telang wrote the paper above referred to in 1892, but long before that Paraskara (in 1886) and Apastamba (in 1885) had been translated and published in 'the Sacred Books of the East series.' But he, though a great judge and also a great Sanskrit scholar, nowhere shows that he cared to see whether śāstric rules allowed the upanayana of a man himself at any age whatever (after some penance). If he had seen those rules he would not have unjustly taken to task pandits that flourished two hundred years before him and attributed irregular motives to them. It does not appear that he made any search in the archives of the Udaipur Durbar to see how Shivaji traced his descent from the Sisodia clan, nor does it appear that he even went to Mudhol and other places in Maharastra where ancient Maratha families have been holding sway for centuries. The papers recently published from the records of the Mudhol State amply establish Shivaji's claim to a Rajput lineage.

Kalāpagrāma, are endowed with great vogic powers, will revive the ksatriya race when the krta age will start again after the present kali age comes to an end and that some ksatriyas exist on the earth like seed even in the kali age. Vāyu (vol. I. 32. 39-40), Matsva (273, 56-58) have similar verses. Relying on such passages some medieval writers stated that there were no ksatriyas in their times. The Suddhitattva 923a of Raghunandana (p. 268) after quoting the Visnupurana IV, 23. 4 and Manu X, 43 declares that ksatriyas existed till Mahānandi, that the so-called ksatriyas of his day were śūdras and that similarly there were no vaiśyas also. In the Śūdra-Kamalākara occurs this verse 'The varnas are brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaišyas and śūdras, the first three being twice-born; all these exist in the several yugas; but in the kali age only the first and the last remain'. Nagesabhatta (first half of 18th century 923b) in Vrātyatāprāyaścittanirņaya (Chaukhamba Series) examines all the relevant Purana passages and states as his conclusion that real ksatriyas do not exist and so those, in whose families no upanayana had been performed for ten or twenty generations, are not ksatriyas even though they rule over kingdoms and no upanayana can be performed for such kings. It must be stated that such views, though held by some rigidly orthodox writers of extreme views, were not shared by most writers. All the smrtis speak of the duties of the four varnas even in the kali age. Parāśara-smrti which is said to be the smrti pur excellence for the kali age (as stated in I. 24) does so. Almost all nibandhakāras (authors of digests and commentaries) discuss the privileges and duties of all varnas. The author of the Mitaksarā, who is rightly described as the best of all nibandhakāras, nowhere says that ksatriyas do not exist in the kali age. Numerous kings claimed to be descended from the Sun and the Hemādri in his Caturvargacintāmani states that his Moon. patron was a scion of Somavamsa (vide H. Dh. vol. I p. 356 for quotations). The princes of Rajoutana and Central India claimed to have sprung from the Agnikunda on Mount Abu, viz. of the

⁹²³ a. इदानीन्तनक्षत्रियाणामपि शूद्रत्वमाह मतः। शनकैस्तु ... बाह्मणादर्शनेन च। अत एव विष्णुपुराणम्। महानान्दिसुतः शूद्रागर्भोद्भवोऽतिलुब्धो महापद्मो नन्दः परश्चराम इवापरोखिलक्षत्रियान्तकारी भविता ततः प्रभृति शूद्रा भ्रुपाला भविष्यन्ति । इति । तेन महानन्दिपर्यन्ते क्षत्रिय आसीत्। एवं च क्रियालोपाद्वैश्यानामपि तथा। शुद्धितस्व p. 268.

⁹²³ b. अथ कलावबाह्मणत्वे सति शस्त्रग्रहणप्रजापालनमात्रेण क्षत्रियसाहरूयेन क्षत्रियपद्व्यवहार्याणां द्शविंशतिपुरुषपर्यन्तमस्मर्यमाणोपनयनानां तद्शेपि ताहशाना- सुपनयनसंस्कारो भवति न वेति सदेहे निर्णयः क्रियते । तत्र नैव भवतीति निर्णयः । क्षत्रियसाहरूयेन तथा व्यवहारेपि सुख्यक्षत्रियत्वाभावात् । व्रात्यताप्रायश्चित्तानिर्णय p. 1.

four clans of Chohan, Parmar (or Paramāra), Solanki (or Cālukya), Padihar (or Prathāra). Vide Tod's Rajasthan (Madras ed. of 1873) vol. I chap. VII pp. 82 ff.. This theory of the Agnikulas is at least as old as 1000 A. D., since it is referred to in several inscriptions of the 11th century A. D. Vide the Vasantagadh Inscription of Paramāra Pūrņapāla dated san. 1099 (1042-43 A. D.) in E. I. vol. IX p. 10 and the inscription of Cāmuṇḍarāja dated san. 1136 (1079-1080 A. D.) in E. I. vol. XIV. p. 295.

This question is now largely of academic interest. Whether a person is a śūdra or a member of the regenerate classes assumes great importance in adoption, inheritance and succession. Therefore the question, whether ksatriyas exist in modern times, came before the British Indian courts over a hundred years ago. In Chouturya Run Murdun Syn v. Sahub Purhulad Syn 7 Moore's Indian Appeals 18 this question was argued and the Privy Council citing the authorities on both sides set the question at rest by remarking (p. 46) 'Their Lordships have nevertheless no doubt that the existence of the Khatri caste as one of the regenerate tribes is fully recognised throughout India and also that Rajputs in central India.....are considered to be of that class The courts in all cases assume that the four great classes remain'. The only question that is now permissible is whether a particular caste belongs to the regenerate classes or to the śūdra class. On this the courts often differ. Vide p. 75 under Kāyastha. In Maharaja of Kolhapur v. Sundaram Ayyar 48 Mad. 1 it was held (in an exhaustive judgment extending over 229 pages) that the Tanjore Maratha princes descended from Venkaji, the step-brother of the founder of the Maratha Empire, were śūdras and not ksatriyas. The learned judges (at p. 51) quote Telang's dictum criticized by me above (note 923), but refrain from expressing any decided opinion about the claim of Shivaji to be of ksatriya descent. In Subrao v Radha 52 Bom, 497 it was held after a careful examination of authorities that the Marathas of Mahārāstra are sub-divided into three groups, viz. (1) the five families, (2) the ninety-six families and (3) the rest and that the first two groups are kṣatriyas. It was further held that the tests to be applied in determining the class (varna) of a particular caste are three viz. the consciousness of the caste itself, the acceptance of that consciousness by other castes, and lastly its customs and usages.

We have already seen (in note 118) how even in the Vedic age there were non-Aryan tribes like the Kirātas, Andhras, Pulin-

das, Mūtibas, that were described as dasyus by the Ait. Br.. One word that is of striking importance is mleccha. The Sat. Br. (III. 2. 1. 23-24, S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 32) states that the asuras were defeated because they spoke an incorrect and corrupt dialect and that a brahmana should not, therefore, utter such a corrupt 9230 speech and so should not become a mleccha and an asura. Gaut. IX. 17 enjoins that one should not speak with mlecchas, impure or irreligious persons and Haradatta explains that mlecchas are the inhabitants of Ceylon and similar countries where there is no system of varnas and asramas. Visnu Dh. S. 64. 15 is to the same effect. Visnu Dh. S. 84. 1-2 and Sankha 14. 30 prescribe that one should not perform śrāddha in a mleccha country nor should one visit such a country (except on a pilgrimage). Visnu Dh. S. 84. 4 states that that country where the system of the four varnas is not in vogue is mleccha territory and Aryavarta is beyond it, while Manu II. 23 states that the mleccha country is beyond Aryavarta which land is fit for sacrifices and in which the black deer wanders naturally. Visvarūpa on Yāi, I. 15 quotes Bharadvāja to the effect 'one should not study the language of the mlecchas, for it is declared (in the Brāhmanas) that a corrupt word is indeed mleccha'. Vas. Dh. S. VI. 41 also enjoins that one should not learn the mleccha dialect. Manu X. 43-44 knew that many of the tribes called Pundrakas, Yavanas, Sakas spoke mleccha languages and also the language of the Aryas (mlecchavācaś-cāryavācah sarve te dasyavah In Parāśara IX. 36 mlecchas are referred to as eaters of cow's flesh. That the mlecchas had affected the Sanskrit language by lending to it certain words follows from the discussion in Jaimini I. 3. 10 whether words like pika (a cuckoo), nema (half), sata (a wooden vessel), tāmarasa (a red lotus) are to be understood in the sense in which mlecchas use them or certain meanings are to be assigned to them by deriving them from some root according to the rules of grammar, Nirukta and Nighantu and Jaimini's conclusion is that they are to be understood in the same sense in which mlecchas employ them 923d. Pānini derives the word yavanānī

⁹²³ c. तेऽसुरा आत्तवस्तो हेऽलबो हेऽलव इति षद्न्तः परावभूतुः । तत्रैतामिप बाचमूदुः । उपजिज्ञास्यां स म्लेच्छस्तस्मान बाह्मणो म्लेच्छेदसुर्या हैषा वाक्क् । शतपथ III. 2. 1. 23-24.

⁹²³ d. अथ याञ्छब्दानार्या न कस्मिश्चित्थे आचरन्ति म्लेच्छास्तु क्सिश्चित्पयुक्षत् यथा पिकनेमसततामरसाविशब्दास्तेषु संदेहः । कि निगमन्ति कथ्याकरणवशन धातुतार्थः करुपयितस्य उत यत्र म्लेच्छा आचरन्ति स शब्दार्थ इति । शबर on जे. I. 3. 10.

and Patañiali speaks of the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yayana by whom scholars generally understand Menander. Asoka in his Rock Edict No. 13 refers to Yona kings and it appears from his reference that brahmanas and śramanas were not found in the Yona country. A Yavanarāja Tusaspha is mentioned as the governor of Kathiawar under Aśoka in the inscription of Rudradaman at Junagadh (E. I. vol. VIII. at p. 43). In the Prakrit Inscriptions the Yavanas are referred to as Yavana (vide E. I. vol. VII. pp. 53-55 at Karle No. 7 and 10) or Yona or Yonaka (E. I. VIII. 90 Nasik cave No. 18). In Kharavela's inscription also the form is Yavana (E. I. 20 p. 79). In the Mahābhārata the words Yayana and Saka occur very frequently. Vide notes above on these words. In the Dronaparva 119, 45-46 Yavana, Kamboja, Śaka, Śabara, Kirāta and Barbara are mentioned as one group fighting against Sātyaki. In Drona 119, 47-48 they are referred to as dasyus and as having long and flowing beards. In the Striparva 22. 11 Jayadratha is said to have had Kamboja and Yavana women in his harem. The word Yavana is generally taken as referring to the Greeks. But there are dissenting voices also. Dr. Otto Stein in 'Indian Culture' denies that the word ever means Greeks and Dr. Tarn in his recent work on 'Greeks in Bactria and India' p. 254 argues that the Yavanas in the Nasik inscriptions were not Greeks but only Indian citizens of a Greek polis. The Santiparva 65. 17-22 prescribes for Yavanas, Sakas and similar tribes only the duties of obedience to parents and attendance on teachers and tending cattle and looking after agriculture, dedication of wells and making gifts to dvijas, ahimsā, satya, absence of fury, śauca, adroha, maintenance of wife and child. Atri VII. 2 puts the receiving of gifts from or eating the food of or having sexual intercourse with the women of Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Bāhlikas, Khaśas, Dravidas on the same level with doing the same things with reference to nata, nartaka, śvapāka &c. Aparārka p. 923 quotes Vrddha-Yājñavalkya to the effect that the touch of Mlecchas is on the same level with that of cāndāla, Bhilla and Pārasīka.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in a very learned and scholarly paper in Indian Antiquary vol. 40 pp. 7-37 endeavours to establish that many non-Aryan persons belonging to tribes like the Yavanas, the Sakas became absorbed in the general mass of Hindu society, that even several of the princely families such as those of the Guhilots were not of pure Aryan descent and that the pride of

the purity of caste shown by many castes is not justified by history. He, therefore, appeals to modern Indians to forget all caste-exclusiveness and pride. But this appeal will be in vain. Merely showing that non-Aryan elements were absorbed in the body of the Aryan community several thousands or hundreds of years ago will not probably lessen that pride. Such people may retort that, whatever may have happened centuries ago, for about a thousand years there has been no such fusion. Therefore the appeal should rather be based on the futility of caste exclusiveness in the 20th century when owing to the exigencies of the times any one can pursue any occupation, when a sense of one nation and one people is absolutely necessary for securing to Indians their proper place in the society of nations.

The question of the re-conversion or re-entry of people converted to other faiths willingly or against their wishes will be briefly dealt with immediately below.

A few words may first be said about the Vrātyastoma. Tāndya-Mahābrāhmana (or the Pañca-vithsa, as it is called from the number of Adhyayas) describes four vratyastomas in chap. 17. 1-4 (khandas). The meaning of many words and passages in that chapter of the brahmana is uncertain and somewhat cryptic. The four vrātyastomas were ekāhas (i. e. sacrifices taking one day only). Tāndya 17. 1. 1 begins with the story that when the gods went to the heavenly world some dependents of theirs who lived the watya life were left behind on the earth. Then through the favour of the gods the dependents got at the hands of Maruts the Sodasastoma (containing 16 stotras) and the metre (viz. anustubh) and then the dependents secured The Sodasastoma is employed in each of the four vrātyastomas, the first of which (17. 1) is meant for all vrātyas, the 2nd is meant for those who are abhisasta (who are wicked or guilty of heavy sins and so censured) and lead a vrātya life, the third for those who are youngest and lead a vrātya life, and the fourth who are very old and yet lead a vrātya life. Some of the passages convey a tolerably clear idea of what the vrātyas were like. Those who 924 lead the vrātya life are base and are reduced to a baser state, since they do not observe student-hood (brahmacarya) nor do they till the soil nor engage in trade. It is by the Sodasastoma that they

924. शीना था एते हीयन्ते ये बात्यां प्रवसन्ति न हि ब्रह्मचर्ये चरन्ति न कुर्वि न चिग्नयां बोढशो वा एतत्स्तोमः समाप्तुमर्हति ॥ ताण्ड्य 17. 1. 2.

can attain this (superior status). This shows that the yrātyas did not perform upanayana and did not study the Veda, nor did they do even what vaisyas do. Another passage says 'those swallow poison who eat food of the common people as food fit for brahmanas, who call good words bad, who strike with a stick him who does not deserve to be beaten (or punished). who, though not initiated, speak the speech of the initiated. The Sodasastoma has the power to remove the guilt of these. That (in this rite) there are four Sodasastomas, thereby they are freed from guilt.'925 This passage indicates that the vrātyas spoke the same language as the orthodox people, but were rough in their ways and lax as regards the food they partook of. They were thus outside the pale of orthodox Aryan society and they were brought within it by the Vrātyastoma described in the Tandya. The origin of the word vratya is lost in the mists of antiquity. The 15th Kanda of the Atharvaveda glorifies the vrātya and identifies him with the Creator and Supreme Being. The word is probably derived from vrāta (group) and means he who belongs to or moves in a group.' It is possible to derive the word from vrata. Originally vratyas appear to have been groups of people who spoke the same language as orthodox aryas, but did not follow their discipline and habits. The word vrāta occurs in Rg. I. 163. 8, III. 26. 6, V. 53. 11. Sāyana also perceived the difficulty raised by the glorification of the vratya in the Atharvaveda 15, 1, 1 and his note is interesting, since he says that the description does not apply to all vrātyas, but only to some very powerful, universally respected and holy vrātya who was, however, not in the good books of the brāhmanas that were solely devoted to their own rites and sacrifices. Kātyāyanaśrauta XXII. 4. 1-28 and Ap. Śrauta XXII. 5. 4-14 also deal with Vrātyastoma. Kātyāyana describes the four vrātyastomas and adds 926 'by performing the vrātyastoma sacrifice, they should cease to be vrātyas and become eligible for social intercourse with the orthodox aryas.' The Par. gr. II. 5 quotes the last sutra of Katyayana with the

^{925.} गर्गिरो वा एते ये ब्रह्माद्यं जन्यमक्षमदृन्त्यदुक्तत्वाक्यं दुक्तमाहुरदृण्ड्यं दृण्डेन प्रम्तश्चरन्त्यद्वीक्षिता द्वीक्षितवाचं वद्नित बोहशो वा एतेषां स्तोमः पाप्मानं निर्हन्तुमर्हात यदेते चत्वारः बोहशा भवन्ति तेन पाप्मनोऽधिनिर्मुन्यन्ते । ताण्ड्य॰ 17. 1. 9. सायण explains बाह्मणोर्भोउयं जन्यं जनपद्दसंबन्धि अक्षमद्नित बाह्मणार्थपारिकाल्पितमस्तं बलात्कारेण भुक्षत इत्यर्थः ॥.

^{926.} बात्यस्तोमेनेष्ट्रा बात्यभावाद्विरमेशुः । स्यवहार्या भवन्ति । कात्या॰ श्रौतसूत्र XXII. 4. 27-28.

remark "for such persons he who desires to have the sacrament (samskāra of upanayana) performed on them should perform the sacrifice of vrātyastoma and then may indeed study the Veda for a text says 'they become eligible for (social) intercourse'." 927

In the Vrātyatā-suddhisamgraha provision is made ⁹²⁸ for the purification of vrātyas even after twelve generations (vide pp. 7 and 22-24) and that work adds (p. 42) that the Vrātyastoma like the penance for an avakīrņin is to be performed in the ordinary fire (laukika agni). It also suggests easy substitutes for the lengthy and trying penance of twelve years prescribed by Āp.

Hinduism has not been an avowedly proselytizing religion. In theory it could not be so. For about two thousand years the caste system has reigned supreme and no one can in theory be admitted to the Hindu fold who is not born in it. A Hindu may lose caste, be excommunicated and driven out of the fold of Hinduism, if he be guilty of very serious lapses and refuses to undergo the prayascittas prescribed by the smrtis. Gaut. 20. 15 states that he who was guilty of a misdeed for which death was prescribed as a penance became purified only by dying. But Gaut, himself prescribed death (21.7) as penance only for the sins of brahmana-murder, drinking spirituous liquor and incest. Even as regards these three, lesser penances were prescribed by some smrtis as alternatives (e. g. vide Manu XI. 72, 74-8, 92, 108). When the sinner performed the pravascitta prescribed by the sastras, he was to be welcomed by his relatives, who took a bath along with him in a holy river or the like and threw therein an unused jar filled with water; they were not to find fault with him and were to completely associate with him in all ways (Manu XI. 186-187, Yaj. III. 295, Vas. 15, 20, Gaut. 20. 10-14). Vas. 15. 17 says that those who were patita were to be re-admitted to all social

^{927.} तेषां संस्कारेटसुर्जात्यस्तोमेनेष्ट्रा काममधीयीरन व्यवहार्या भवन्तीति वचनात्। पारस्कर गृ. II. 5.

^{928.} एवं लोकिकाग्रिण्वेचावकीर्णिनिषावृस्थपतिषद् व्रात्यस्तोमस्य स्मार्तस्य सावित्रीपतने प्रवर्तनसुचितम् । व्रात्यताशुद्धिसंग्रह p. 42 (Chaukhamba series); द्वावृश्यर्षबह्यस्य्येव्वतादिनातिक्रेशादालस्यादिना वा सक्रदेवैकस्मिन्दिने पावमान्यादिभिः स्नानं
करोति चर्त्तीहं तद्दिनमारभ्येव स्मार्तधर्मपरिग्रहाधिकारः । ...कालातिक्रमे बहुकालरूपे यावकपत्याञ्चायचतुर्दशमाजापत्यानि ग्राह्माणि । पितृपितामहवात्यतायां चतुर्वश पाजापत्याभ्येव
भवेषुः कालदैध्यनैयत्यादित्यन्तसंधेयम् । व्रात्यताशुद्धिसंग्रह p. 23,

intercourse when they performed the prescribed penances (patitānām tu caritavratānām pratyuddhārah). But if the sinner refused to undergo the prescribed pravascitta, then a peculiar procedure called ghatasphota (breaking a jar) was prescribed. In such a case the sinner's relatives (sapindas) made a slave girl whose face was turned to the south thrust aside with her foot an earthen jar full of water so that all water flowed out of it, then the relatives were to observe mourning for one day and night (as he was deemed to be dead to them) and from that day they were to stop speaking or sitting with him, and all other social intercourse and he was to be given no inheritance (vide Manu XI. 183-185, Yāj. III. 294, Gaut. 20. In this way the obstinate sinner went out of the Hindu The ancient smrtis do not expressly prescribe any rites fold. for bringing into the brahmanic or Hindu fold a person who or whose ancestors did not belong to it. But as Hinduism has been extremely tolerant 928a (barring a few exceptional instances) it had a wonderful power of quiet and unobtrusive absorption. If a person, though of foreign ancestry, conformed to Hindu social usages in outward behaviour, in course of time his descendants became absorbed into the vast Hindu community.

⁹²⁸ a. A few striking instances of religious telerance among kings and common people may be cited with advantage. The Pala king Mahipala I granted a village to a brahmana of the Vajasaneyaśākha in honour of Lord Buddha (E. I. vol. 14 p. 324). Similarly the king Subhakaradeva who was a great devotee of Buddha (paramasaugata) granted two villages to 200 brahmanas (Neulpur grant in E. I. vol. 15 p. 1); vide also E. I. vol. 15 p. 293. The famous Emperor Harsa, whose father was a great devotee of the Sun, and who was himself a great devotee of Siva, pays the highest honour to his elder brother Rajyavardhana who was a very devout Buddhist (paramasaugata). Vide the Madhuban copperplate Inscription in E. I. vol. I. p. 67 and E. I. vol. VII. p. 155. Usavadeta makes large gifts to brahmanas as well as to communities of Buddhist monks (vide Nasik Inscriptions No. 10 and No. 12 in E.I. vol. VIII p. 78 and p. 82). The Valabhi king Guhasena who was himself a Mahesvara (a Saiva) made a grant of four villages to a bhikqu-sangha. From the Paharpur plate of the Gupta year 159 (478-79 A. D.) it appears that a brahmans and his wife deposited three dinaras with a city council for the maintenance of the worship of arhats at a vihara (E. I. Vol. XX. p. 59). The Mulgund inscription of the time of Raştrakūta Kṛṣṇa II. (of 902-3 A. D.) shows that to a temple of Jina at Mulgund a field was given by a brahmana of the Bellala family (E. I. vol. XIII. p. 190). Vide Rice's 'Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions' pp. 113 and 207 for an account how a Vijayanagar king settled the dispute between Jainas and Srivaispavas in 1368 A. D.

This process has gone on for at least two thousand years. The beginnings of it are found in the Santiparva chap. 65 where Indra tells the Emperor Mandhatr to bring all foreign people like the Yavanas under brahmanical influence. The Besnagar column inscription shows that the Yona (yavana) Heliodora (Heliodorus) son of Diya (Dion) was a bhagavata (devotee of Vasudeva). Vide J. R. A. S. for 1909 pp. 1053 and 1087 and J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 23 p. 104. In the caves at Nasik, Karle and other places many of the donors are said to have been vavanas (vide E. I. vol. VII, pp. 53-54, 55, E. I. vol. VIII, p. 90. E. I. vol. XVIII, p. 325). Several inscriptions state that Indian kings married Hūna princesses, e.g. Allata of the Guhila dynasty married a Hūna princess named Hariyadevi (I. A. vol. 39 p. 191), king Yasahkarnadeva of the Kalacuri dynasty is said to have been the son of Karnadeva and Avalladevi, a Huna princess. These and similar examples show that persons of foreign descent and their children were absorbed into the Hindu community from time to time. This absorption is illustrated in modern times by the case of Fanindra Deb v. Rajeshwar (L. R. 12 I. A. 72) in which it was found that a family in Kooch Behar not originally Hindu had adopted certain Hindu usages and it was held that it had not taken over the practice of adoption. How Hindu customs and incidents persist even after conversion to Islam is strikingly shown by the Khoias and Kutchi Memons of the Bombay Presidency, who though made converts to Islam several centuries ago, were held by the courts in India to have retained the ancient Hindu Law of succession and inheritance. 9286

The problem of taking back into the Hindu fold persons who were forcibly converted to other faiths has engaged the attention of smṛtis. Moslems first attacked India in the 8th century from the direction of the province of Sindh. This invasion led to the enslavement and forcible conversion of many people. It appears that Devala and other smṛtikāras tackled with the problem of taking back such people. The Devala smṛti opens with a question by the sages put to Devala who was sitting on the banks of the Sindhu at ease as to how

928 b. The Cutchi Memons Act (XLVI of 1920) as amended by Act XXIV of 1923 now enables Cutchi Memons by observing certain formalities prescribed by the Act to become free from the application of Hindu Law. By Act XXVI of 1937 it is declared that the personal law will apply to all Muslims instead of customary law on going through certain procedure prescribed by the Act.

brahmanas and members of the other varnas when carried off by Mlecchas were to be purified and restored to caste. following verses of the Devala-smrti are very instructive on this point. Verses 7-10 declare that when a brahmana is carried off by Mlecchas and he eats or drinks forbidden food or drink or has sexual intercourse with women he should not have approached, he becomes purified by doing the penance of candrayana and paraka, that a ksatriya becomes pure by undergoing parāka and pādakrechra, a vaišya by half of parāka and a sudra by the penance of paraka for five days. Then verses 17-22 are most important 928°. 'When persons are forcibly made slaves by Mlecchas, candalas and robbers, are compelled to do dirty acts, such as killing cows and other animals or sweeping the leavings of the food (of Mlecchas) or eating the leavings of the food of Mlecchas or partaking of the flesh of asses, camels and village pigs, or baving intercourse with their women, or are forced to dine with them, then the penance for purifying a dvijāti that has stayed for a month in this way is prājāpatya, for one who had consecrated Vedic fires (and stayed one month or less) it is candrayana or paraka: for one who stays a year (with Mlecchas in this condition of things) it is both candravana and paraka: a śūdra who stays (in this condition) for a month becomes pure by krcchrapada; a śūdra who stays a year should drink yavaka for half a month. appropriate prāvaścitta should be determined by learned brāhmanas when a person has staved (in the above circumstances among Mlecchas) for over a year; in four years the person (who stays in the above circumstances among Mlecchas) is reduced to their condition (i. e. becomes a mleccha and there

⁹²⁸ c. बलाहासीकृता ये च म्लेच्छचाण्डालद्रस्युभिः। अञ्चभं कारिताः कर्म गवादिमाणिहिंसनम्। उच्छिष्टमार्जनं चैव तथा तस्यैव भोजनम्। खरोष्ट्रविद्ध्वराहाणामामिषस्य च भक्षणम्। तत्त्र्र्णाणां च तथा सङ्गं ताभिश्च सह भोजनम्। मासोषितं द्विजातौ तु प्राजापत्यं विशोधनम्। चान्द्रायणं त्वाहिताग्नेः पराकस्त्वथवा भवेत्। चान्द्रायणं पराकं च चरेत्संवत्सरोषितः। संवत्सरोषितः शूद्धा मासार्थं यावकं पिवेत्। मासमात्रोषितः शूद्धः कुच्छूपादेन शुक्यित। उद्धा संवत्सरोषितः शूद्धा प्रायश्चित्तं द्विजोत्तमैः। संवत्सरेश्वतुभिश्च तद्धावमधिगच्छित ॥ देवल 17-22. These six verses are quoted as आपत्तम्बारे by the मिता॰ on या. III.290 and by अपरार्क p. 1200 (who reads त्रिभिः संवत्सरेश्वापि in v. 22). These six verses are quoted as देवला in the प्रायश्चित्तविदेक of शूलपाणि (Jiv. ed.) p. 455. सर्वज्ञनारायण on मन्तु. II. 180 appears to regard them as Devala's as he says चतुर्वत्सरिनयमञ्च बलाद् गृहीतो म्लेच्छाचौरित्यादिदेवलस्पृतिद्र्शनाद्वचेतः। The first verse occurs in बृहद्यम V. 5 (Anan. ed.) after which we read प्रायन्त्रित्तं च दालव्यं तारतम्येन चा द्विजे: ॥ So these verses are certainly older than 1000 A. D.

is no prāyaścitta for him).' The Prāyaścittaviveka states that after four years death is the only purifier for him. 928d Three more verses of Devala (53-55) also deserve consideration 'One who was forcibly seized by Mlecchas for five, six or seven years or from ten to twenty years, is purified by undergoing two Prājāpatyas. Beyond this there is no purification; these penances are meant only for him who has simply stayed among Mlecchas. He who had stayed with Mlecchas from five to twenty years is purified by undergoing two Candrayanas'. These verses are apparently inconsistent with the verses cited above (17-22), but they most probably mean this that if a man only stayed among Mlecchas for 5 to 20 years, but has not done any of the forbidden things such as eating ucchista or the flesh of asses &c., then he can be taken back even after so many years. This would be an exception to the rule contained in verse 22. There is no reason why the reasoning of Devala should not be extended to persons who have been in the condition stated in verses 17-22 for over four years. In the Pañcadasi (Trptidipa v. 239) we have the following very significant passage 1284 'just as a brāhmaņa seized by Mlecchas and afterwards undergoing the appropriate prayascitta does not become confounded with Mlecchas (but returns to his original status of being a brāhmana) so the Intelligent Soul is not really to be confounded with the body and other material adjuncts,' This establishes that the great Vidyāranya, who after Samkarācārya, is the greatest figure among ācāryas, approved of the view that a brahmana even though enslaved by Mlecchas could be restored to his original status.

Under Shivaji and the Peshwas it appears that several persons that had been forcibly made Moslems were restored to caste after under-going prāyaścitta (vide notes 2321-2 below for examples). But this was done in only a few instances.

In modern times there is a movement among Hindus called *suddhi* or *patitaparāvartana* (purification or bringing back into the Hindu fold those who had fallen away from it). In a very few cases persons born in western countries have been taken into the Hindu fold by the performance of vrātyastoma

⁹²⁸ d. चत्सरादूर्ध्व चत्सरचतृष्टयं यावत्तावद्भागहारेण प्रायश्चित्तमृहनीयम् । तदूर्ध्वे तत्समत्वेन पतितत्वात् प्रायश्चित्ताभावाद् मरणम् । प्रायश्चित्तविवेक p. 456.

⁹²⁸ e. गृहीतो बाह्मणो म्लेच्छैः प्रायश्चित चरन्युनः । म्लेच्छैः संकीर्यते नेव तथा-भासः शरीरकैः ॥ पञ्चदशी (तिस्दिप v. 229).

and other rites. But such instances are very rare and are not yet supported by the vast majority of Hindus. It has been shown above that for taking back a man who was once a Hindu but had left Hinduism, there is smrti authority in Devala and others and the authority of the Nibandhakāras.

Punarupanayana (performing upanayana again).

In certain cases an upanayana has to be performed again. The Asv. 989 gr. (I. 22. 22-26) prescribes that in punarupanayana the cutting of the hair and production of intelligence (medhājanana) are optional, there are no rules about paridana (giving in charge of deities) and about the time (i.e. it may be performed at any time and no paridana is necessary) and instead of the usual Gayatri, he should recite 'tat savitur vrnImahe' (Rg. V. 82. 1.). When a person in whose family one Veda is studied (e. g. the Rgveda) wants to study another Veda (e. g. Yajurveda), he had to undergo a fresh upanayana. The Asv. gr. sūtra is interpreted in this way by some. Haradatta on Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 10 says that as the Savitri (i. e. Gāyatri, Rg. III. 62. 10) is recited for all Vedas according to the Brāhmana passage quoted by Ap. one upanayana is sufficient for the study of the three Vedas in succession, but if a person wants to study the Atharvaveda after studying another Veda, then a fresh upanavana is necessary. This is one kind of punarupanayana. Another kind of punarupanayana takes place when in the first upanayana the principal rite viz. placing his hands on the boy's shoulders and bringing the student near the teacher is left off through oversight or the first upanayana takes place in a season other than vasanta (spring) or in the dark half of a month or on a day which was anadhyāya 930 (unfit for Vedic study) or on a galagraha (vide note 642 above) in the latter part of the day. A third kind of punarupanayana is one which is by way of prayascitta for certain sins or lapses from good conduct. 23. 2-5

^{929.} अधोषेतपूर्वस्य । कुताकृतं केशवपनं मेघाजननं च । अनिकक्तं परिदानम् । कालश्च । तत्सवितुर्वणीमह इति सावित्रीम् । आश्व. गृ. सू. I. 22. 22-26.

^{930.} विनर्ताना चसन्तेन कुण्णपक्षे गलग्रहे। उपनीतस्त्वनध्याये पुनःसंस्कारमहित। अपराह्मे चोपनीतः पुनः संस्कारमहित। अरहाज quoted in the संस्कारमयुख, संस्कारकी-स्तुभ p. 541 and संस्कारत्त्नमाला p. 282; सं. प्र. p. 547 quotes a similar verse from वैवज्ञवस्त्रभ.

^{931.} The संस्कारकोस्तुभ (p. 536 with Marathi tr.) पुनःसंस्कारः पुनक्षनयनम्। तञ्च त्रिविधम्। मत्यवायनिमित्ते मायश्चित्तत्वेन विहितम्। निमित्तविशेषेण कृतोपनयनस्य वृथाचेष्टात्वापत्तौ तत्फलार्थत्वेन विहितम्। वेदान्तराध्ययनचिकीर्षायां तद्दर्थत्वेन
विहितमिति। The संस्कारकौस्तुभ (pp. 536-558) contains the most elaborate
treatment of पुनक्षनयन.

prescribes the penance called Taptakrechra and punarupanayana for one guilty of drinking wine (surā) in ignorance or partaking of human urine, fæces and semen and the flesh of wild beasts, camels, asses, village cocks, and village hogs. Vas. (23, 30) also has a similar sūtra. Baud. Dh. S. II. 1, 25 quotes a verse 'if a person belonging to the three varnas unknowingly drinks surā (wine) or fæces, he has to undergo punarupanayana' and says (II. 1. 29) that if a brahmacari carries a corpse (other than that of his parents or teacher) he has to undergo punarupanayana. Manu V. 91 and Visnu Dh. S. 22, 86 prescribe the same. In the Baud. gr. paribhāsāsūtra (I. 12. 4-6) it is said that on partaking of honey, or flesh, śrāddha food or food from those in impurity on birth, or the milk of a cow before the lapse of ten days or the milk of a sandhini cow, mushrooms or the resin exuded from trees, vilayana (a product of milk?), the food prepared for a number of people in common or the food of prostitutes, a man has to undergo punarupanayana and, according to some, also if he goes to a forbidden country, 988 viz. Saurāstra (Kathiawar), Sindhu, and Sauvīra (Sind and the territory to its south and east), Avanti (Ujjain), Daksiņāpatha (Deccan), a brāhmaņa has to undergo punarupanayana (except when he goes on a pilgrimage). It then sets out the procedure (such as a homa, putting a fuel stick of palasa on the fire and oblations of cooked food and ājya) and adds that in punarupanayana shaving, daksiņā, girdle, staff, deer-skin, begging for food and vratas do not take place.

The Vaik. smārta (VI. 9-10) contains similar rules for punarupanayana. Aparārka (p. 1160) quotes Paithīnasi to the effect that if a grown-up person drinks the milk of sheep or of a she-ass, she-camel or of a woman, he has to undergo punarupanayana and also the penance called prājāpatya.

Anadhyāya:—(cessation from Vedic study; holiday).

^{932.} प्रतिषिद्धदेशगमनिमत्यंकेषाम् । अथाप्युदाहरान्ति । सौराष्ट्रं सिन्धुसौर्वार-मवन्तीं दक्षिणापथम् । एतानि बाह्मणो गत्वा पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ षौ. यू. परिभाषासूत्र I. 12. 5-6.

^{933.} पितृङ्येष्ठयोरन्येषासुन्धिष्टभोजने मधुमत्स्यमांससूतकप्रेतकाकाद्यभोज्यभोजने स्र पुनरुपनयनं करोति । वे. स्मा. VI. 9.

It appears that from very early times Vedic studies were stopped on various grounds. The Tai. Ar. 934 II. 15 has a very important statement on this subject. 'Indeed as to this yajña (brahmayajña) there are two cases in which the study of the Veda ceases, namely, when the man himself is impure or when the place is impure'. The Sat. Br. 935 has a passage in which several occasions when Vedic study was ordinarily stopped are mentioned and it is added that those occasions do not prevent the repetition of Vedic texts as Brahmavajña. 'Therefore one knowing this should certainly repeat the Veda as Brahmayajña. when the wind blows, when lightning flashes, when it thunders or when there is a fall of thunderbolt, in order that vasatkūras may not be fruitless'. The Ap. Dh. S. (I. 4.12.3.) quotes the Vājasaneyi Brāhmana (the Satapatha) to the effect that "Vedic study is Brahmayajña; when it thunders, when lightning flashes, when there is a fall of the thunderbolt, when the wind blows, these are its vasatkāras; 936 therefore when.....fruitless". The Ait. Ar. (V. 3.3) notes that if there be rain when it is not the season of rainfall, he should make a break by observing cessation of Vedic study for three nights. 937

The subject of anadhyāya is discussed in the grhya and dharmasūtras and in almost all smrtis. It is not possible to give for want of space the differences between the several works. Among sūtras and smrtis the most exhaustive and lengthy treatment is found in Āp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 9. 4. to I. 3.11), Gaut. 16.5-49, Śānkhāyana gr. IV. 7 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp. 115-118), Manu IV. 102-128, Yāj. I. 144-151. The subject is also treated

^{934.} तस्य वा एतस्य यज्ञस्य द्वावनध्यायो यदात्माञ्चियोदेशः। ते. आ. II. 15. This is quoted by आश्व. मृ. III. 4.7 'विज्ञायते तस्य द्वावनध्यायो यदात्माञ्चाचिर्यन्थाः'. Manu IV. 127 conveys the same sense in almost the same words. A man may be impure on account of births or deaths in his family or on account of mala (dirt on his body) and a place may be so because it is in contact with some impure thing (such as उच्छिष्ट).

^{935.} तस्य वा एतस्य ब्रह्मयज्ञस्य चत्वारो वषद्कारा यद्वातो वाति विद्योतते स्तनयति अवस्फूर्जिति। तस्मादेवंविद्वाते वाति विद्योतमाने स्तनयति अवस्फूर्जित्यधीयीतैव वषद्काराणा-मच्छंबद्काराय। ज्ञतपथबाह्मण XI. 5. 6. 9. The words तस्मादेवं &c. are quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 145.

^{936.} The word 'vaşat' or svāhā is uttered when making an offering to a deity. Thunder and lightning are said to be the vaṣatkāras of brahmayajāa. Just as when the word vaṣat is uttered some offering follows, so, when it thunders some Vedic text by way of brahmayajāa should be repeated.

^{937.} अपर्ती वर्षे त्रिशत्रं वैदिकेनाध्यायेनान्तरियात् । ऐ. आ. V. 3. 3.

at length in the Sm. C., Smṛtyarthasāra, the Saṁskāra kaustubha (pp. 564-570), the Saṁskāra-ratnamālā (pp. 327-339) and other Nibandha works. In the following an attempt is made to present a tolerably exhaustive list of anadhyāyas together with a few references to the original sources.

Among tithis the following are anadhyayas. On the first. the 8th, the 14th, 15th tithis (Paurnamäsi and Amāvāsyā) there was to be cessation of Vedic Study for the whole day; vide 113-114, Yāj I. 146 (in both pratipad is not Manu IV. expressly mentioned) and Hārīta. Patañjali in the Mahābhāsya (vol. II. p. 386) refers to anadhyāya on amāvāsvā and 14th tithi. There is a famous verse of the Rāmāyana 938 which shows that pratipad also was a holiday. Gaut. says that there was no holiday on the full moon days of the twelve months. but only on the full moon days of Asadha. Kartika and Phālguna. The Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 42-43 quotes a verse 939 '(Vedic study on) the eighth tithi kills the teacher, 14th kills the pupil, 15th kills learning'. Manu (IV. 114) has a similar verse. Aparārka 940 (p. 189) quotes from the Nrsimhapurāna verses to the effect that there is to be no teaching (of the Veda) on Mahānavamī (9th of Āśvina, bright half), on Bharanī (i. e. the tithi when the moon is in Bharani naksatra after Bhadrapada full moon), Aksatatrtīyā (3rd of Vaiśākha, bright half) and Rathasaptami (7th of Magha, bright half). Similarly there is to be anadhyāya on what are called Yugādi and Manvantarādi tithis. Yugādi tithis according to Visnupurāna 941 and Brahmapurāna quoted by Aparārka (p. 425) are Vaiśākhasukla trtīvā, Kārtika sukla navamī, Bi ādrapada krsna travodaši and Māgha Pūrnimā (they are respectively the beginnings of the four yugas, krta, tretā, dvāpara and kali). The Sm. C. (I, p. 58) quotes the Naradiyapurana 'on the day when uttarāyana and daksiņāyana first take place, on Visuva (the two

^{938.} सा प्रकृत्येव तन्बङ्गी तद्वियोगाच्च किंशता। प्रतिपत्पाठशीलस्य विद्येव तन्नतां गता॥ सुन्दरकाण्ड 59. 32. प्रतिपत्स चतुर्दश्यामष्टम्यां पर्वणोर्द्वयोः । श्वोनध्यायेऽस्य शर्वयो नाधीयीत कदाचन ॥ हारीत in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 57.

^{939.} अधाष्युद्दाहरन्ति । हन्त्यष्टभी ह्युपाध्यायं हन्ति शिष्यं चतुर्वशी । हन्ति पञ्चवृशी विद्यां तस्मात्पर्वणि वर्जयेत् ॥ चौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 42-43.

^{940.} द्वसिंहपुराणात् । महानवस्यां द्वाद्द्यां भरण्यामपि चेव हि । तथाक्षततृतीयायां शिष्णाक्षाध्यापयेद् द्विजः ॥ माघमासे तु सत्तस्यां रथाख्यायां तु वर्जयेत् । अपरार्क p. 189 and स्मृतिचः I. p. 58. These occur in दृक्षितपुराण 58, 109-110.

^{941.} The verses on युगावितिधित्र are विष्णुपुराण III.14.13. ff. The मत्स्य-पुराण (17.4-5) gives similar verses. Vide स्मृतिचः I. p. 59 for these verses. According to some Magha Amavasya is क्लियुगावितिधि.

days in the year when the day and night are equal), on the tithis when Visnu sleeps and awakes from sleep (i. e. Āṣāḍha-śukla-ekādaśī and Kārtika-śukla-ekādaśī), on Yugādi and Manvādi tithis there is anadhyāya. The tithis on which the fourteen manvantaras are supposed to begin are quoted below. According to a purāṇa passage quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 58) there is anadhyāya on Sopapadā tithis 43 (viz. Jyestha śukla 2, Āśvina śukla 10, and Māgha śukla 4 and 12). Sometimes on the same day there are two tithis; hence the rule laid down is that if on any day a particular tithi (which is declared to be anadhyāya) is shown in the calendar as extending for three muhūrtas at sunrise or at sunset, then the whole of that day is anadhyāya.

Yāj. (I. 148-151) speaks of 37 tātkālika anadhyāyas (i.e. where Veda study is suspended only as long as the occasion or disturbance stated lasts). They are: when there is noise created by a dog, jackal, ass, owl, singing of saman, playing on a flute and the cries of the distressed (these are 7): in the vicinity or presence of impure things, of a corpse, or a śūdra or antva (i. e. one of the untouchables), cemetery, a patita (one guilty of mahāpātaka); when the place (of study) has become impure or when the man himself is impure; when there is continuous flashing of lightning or continuous peals of thunder; while one's hands are wet after taking one's meals; in the midst of water; at midnight; when a violent wind is blowing; when there is a rainfall of dust, when the quarters are lit up by sudden (and strange) lights; at the two twilights; when there is fog; when there is a fright (caused by robbers &c.): when one is running; when the smell of something rotten or impure spreads; when a distinguished visitor comes to the house; when one rides an ass, a camel, a conveyance (like a chariot), an elephant, a horse, a boat, or climbs a tree or is in a desert (or barren) place. A few explanatory words may

^{942.} आश्वयुक् क्रुक्क नवमी कार्तिक्या द्वादशी सिता। तृतीया चैत्रमासस्य तथा भाद्रपद्स्य च ॥ फाल्ग्रनस्य त्वमावास्या पुष्यस्यैकाद्शी सिता। आषाद्वस्यापि दशमी माधमासस्य सप्तमी॥ श्रावणस्याष्टमी कृष्णा आषाद्वस्यापि पौर्णिमा। कार्तिकी फाल्ग्रनी चैत्री उयेष्टी पञ्चद्शी सिता ॥ मन्वन्तराद्यश्चेते दत्तस्याक्षयकारकाः ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 17. 6-8 quoted in the स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 58; vide also स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 9.

^{943.} ज्येष्ठे शुक्कदितीया तु आश्विने दशमी सिता। चतुर्थी द्वादशी माघे एताः सोप-पदाः स्मृताः॥ quoted in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 8; संस्कारमयूख quotes it as from कालादर्श.

^{944.} उत्यास्तमये वापि सङ्क्तंत्रयगामि यत् । तद्दिनं तत्व्होरात्रमनध्यायत्रिद्दो बिहुः । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 8.

be added. According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 19 when wolves howl, or when there is the sound of any musical instrument, or of weeping, singing or of the recitation of a Saman there is anadhyāya. Gaut. 16. 7 mentions the sound of bāṇa (a kind of viņā), bherī (a drum), mṛdanga, garta (a chariot) and the distressed. Manu (IV, 123-124) explains that when a saman is heard, one should not study any portion of the Rgveda or Yajurveda, because the gods are the devatas of Rgveda, the Yajurveda deals with men (it enjoins actions to be done by men), Samaveda has the pitrs as its deities; hence its sound has something of the impure or uncanny about it. Ap. Dh. S. I. 3. 11, 27 prescribes 945 that there should be no Vedic study as long as there are clouds when it is not the season for clouds, when there is a halo round the sun or moon, when there is a rainbow, or when there is parhelion or a star with a tail (like a fish). Gaut. 16. 19, Ap. Dh. I. 3. 9. 14-15, Vas. 13. 11 say that there is anadhyāya as long as a corpse or a candala is in the village or town. Gaut. 16, 45 states the view of some that the Veda can never be studied in a city; there is no Veda study as long as there is an assembly of people (Manu IV. 108) or while the student is lying down or has stretched his feet or placed them on a cot or stool, or while he sits on his haunches winding round his knees and hips a piece of cloth (Manu IV. 112., Vas. Dh. S. 13. 23. Visnu Dh. S. 30. 17). There is to be anadhyava when one is answering the calls of nature (Manu IV. 109). or when one has not yet sipped water (acamana) after taking food, or after partaking of meat (Manu IV. 112), when there is wordy argument or there is an affray or a fight or when one is wounded or when blood flows from the body (Manu IV. 122) or when one suffers from indigestion or vemits or has sour eructations (Manu IV. 121).

In certain cases anadhyāya lasts only for a portion of the day. When the wind blows by day strong enough to carry off clouds of dust (Gaut. 16. 5) there is anadhyāya during the day (but not at night even if the wind is still strong) or when on a festive occasion like upanayana there is anadhyāya after dinner that day (Gaut. 16. 43); when in the morning twilight fire has been kindled for homa and there are

^{945.} अम्रं चापतीं सूर्याचन्द्रमसीः परिवेष इन्द्रधतः प्रतिसूर्यमस्यश्च वाते पूरितगन्धे नीहारे स सर्वेध्वेतेषु तावत्कालम् । आप. ध. स. 1. 3.11. 27; रोहितेनद्रधतुर्नीहारेषु । अभ्रद्र्यां चापतीं । गौ. 16. 9-10; 'प्रतिसूर्यमस्यश्च । is explained by हरद्स ॥॥ सूर्यमभीये तद्वाद्वृतिः प्रतिसूर्यः गत्रयः पुच्छवक्षश्चम् । ममाद्वारद्वन्द्वे छाग्द्रमो छिङ्कृष्यस्यथः।

flashes of lightning and thunder (not accompanied by rain) there is anadhyāya till the sun sets. Gaut. (16.32) prescribes anadhyāya for the rest of the day when the king in whose country a man dwells dies; when a strong wind that was blowing stops, there is anadhyāya for a muhūrta i. e. two ghaṭikās (Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 28) or when there is the howling of sālāvṛka (hyaena?) or a jackal moving about alone there is anadhyāya till one gets up from sleep (ibid I. 3. 11. 29).

In some cases there is anadhyāya for the whole day and night. According to Yaj. I, 145-147 there is such an anadhyaya when there is thunder at the twilight time, there is a fall of the thunderbolt or earth-quake or the fall of a meteor, when one finishes Samhitā or Brāhmana (of the śākhā one is studying) or when one finishes the study of the Aranyaka portion of one's Veda; when there is an eclipse of the sun or moon, or when it is the first day after the season changes or when a person partakes of śrāddha food or accepts a gift on śrāddha (except in Ekoddista śrāddha); when a beast, frog, mongoose, dog, snake, cat or mouse passes between the teacher and pupil (Manu IV. 126 also) or when the banner of Indra is raised or taken down. Manu IV. 110 lays down anadhyaya for three days when one accepts invitation for an Ekoddista śrāddha or when the king dies or when there is an eclipse. This last refers to an eclipse where the sun or the moon sets while still eclipsed. Gaut. I.60 prescribes cessation for three days when dogs and others come This is explained as referring to the first lesson in Veda, while the words of Manu and Yāi, are held to refer to repetition. Raising the banner in honour of Indra was a festival prescribed for kings in the Kausika sutra 140 and other The banner was raised usually in Bhadrapada (or sometimes in Asvina) on the 12th of the bright half when the moon was in conjunction with uttarāṣādhā, śravaņa or dhanisthā constellation and it was taken down in the same month on the bharani constellation (vide Sm. C. I. p. 59). According to the Brhat-Sambitā (chap. 43) of Varāha this festival lasted from the 8th to the 12th day of Bhadrapada sukla. Manu (IV. 119) prescribes anadhyāya for a day and night on the Astakā days 916 and on the last day of each of the six rtus (seasons).

^{946.} The aṣṭakā homa was performed on the 8th of the dark hulf of the four months from Mārgasīrṣa (according to Āsv. gr. II. 4, 1) or (according to others) of three months of Panṣa, Māgha and Phālguna. Gaut. 16. 38-39 prescribed three days' anadhyāya on each of the three Aṣṭakās or according to some only on the last Aṣṭakā.

In a few cases the anadhyāya was ākālika 947 i. c. lasted for one day (60 ghatikas) from the time when the cause began to operate up to the same hour next day. Ap. Dh. S. (I. 3. 11. 25-26) lays down this kind of anadhyāya if out of three viz. flashing of lightning, thunder and rain, one or two occur at a time when it is no season for rain; there is this anadhyaya for all vidyas at all times, when there is an eclipse of the sun or the moon or there is an earthquake or a whirlwind or fall of meteors. Manu IV, 103-105 and Gautama 16, 22-23 are similar to $\vec{\Lambda}$ p. Dh. S. I. 3. 11, 25-26 and Manu IV. 118 prescribes ākālika anadhyāva when a village is thrown into confusion by thieves or there is a commotion due to a conflagration and in the case of all portentous phenomena (such as rain of blood or stones; vide Vas. 13. 35). Gaut. (16. 47-48) adds that the performer of a śrāddha (whether he actually serves cooked food to brāhmanas or only makes gifts of money and corn &c.) has to observe this anadhyāya (vide Manu IV. 117 also).

Anadhyāya for three days was prescribed in a few cases. If lightning, thunder and rain all appear together when it is not the proper season for them, there is anadhyāya for three days (Āp. Dh. I. 3. 11. 23). Vide note 937 above. In the utsarga and upākaraņa of the Vedas, on the death of gurus (persons worthy of respect like the father-in-law), on the Aṣṭakās and on the death of near agnates (like brother, nephew &c.) there is anadhyāya for three days 948 (Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 2-3). Gaut. (6. 38-41) is similar to Āp. The Hārīta dharmasūtra 949 prescribes anadhyāya for three days on the death of one's upādhyāya, or of the king or of a śrotriya or fellow pupil, on eclipses of the sun and the moon, on the taking down of the banner of Indra and on the death of one's ācārya.

^{947.} The मिता॰ on या. I. 147 derives the word as follows 'निमित्त-कालावारम्यापरेख्यांवत्स एव कालस्तावत्कालः आकालः तत्र भव आकालिकोऽनध्यायः '

^{948.} बैर्मणे गुरुष्वष्टाक्य औपाकरण इति ज्यहाः। तथा संबन्धेषु ज्ञातिषु। आप. ध. I. 3. 10. 2-3. जुपाकरण (उपाकर्म) and उत्सर्ग (बैरमण) will be explained later. The sutra तथा......ज्ञातिषु applies to a ब्रह्मचारी since others have to observe अनध्याय on the death of agnates till assuca lasts. In this last case अनध्याय begins on the day of death. In उपाकरण or उत्सर्ग the three days are the day previous to them, the day following them and the one on which that rite is performed.

^{949.} अत एव हारीत: । उपाध्याये राजाने च मृते श्रोत्रिये सब्द्वाचारिणि च चन्द्रा-कीयो राहुद्दर्शने शक्रध्वजयतन आचार्ये च मृते त्रिरात्रम् । इति । अपरार्क p. 190. The श्रोत्रिय, as या. I. 144 says, must be one who has studied the same śākhū.

Manu (IV. 110 and 119) prescribes anadhyāya for three days on accepting invitation for *ekoddistu śrūddha*, on the death of the king, on eclipses and on upākarma or utsarga. Yaj. I. 144 contains similar rules.

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 10. 4) prescribes 12 days' anadhyāya on the death of one's parents and ācārya. Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 32 prescribes so three days' anadhyāya on the death of one's father. This rule must be taken as referring only to a brahmacārī. Vas. (13. 39-40) prescribes three days' anadhyāya on the death of one's ācārya and one day's on the death of the son or wife of the ācārya.

The Smrtyarthasāra (p. 10) mentions some occasions whou anadhyāya may extend to a month, to six months, or a year. Ap. D. S. I. 3. 9. 1. prescribes that, when upākarma is performed on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa, for a month thereafter one should not study Veda in the first part of the night (he may do so after that at night or in the day).

Aparārka (p. 192) quotes a verse from Yama⁹⁵¹ that there can be no Vedic study under the shade of certain trees like Śleşmātaka, Śālmali (silk-cotton), Madhuka, Kovidāra and Kapitthaka.

Both Gaut. (16. 49) and Ap. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 34 state that besides the anadhyāyas expressly mentioned by them there are others which may be learnt from the several smrtis and from the assemblies of learned men. 952

It would be noticed how the number of anadhyāyas is rather too numerous for rapid and effective study. Therefore certain rules are laid down to explain what is that is forbidden on those days.

In the first place anadhyāya may be vācika (concerned with the loud utterance of Vedic words), mānasa (revolving

- 950. पितर्श्वपरते जिरात्रम् । बी. ध. 1. 11. 3-2; आचार्यं प्रेते जिरात्रम् । आचार्यपुत्र-शिष्यभार्यास्वहोरात्रम् । वसिष्ठ 13. 39-40.
- 951. श्रुडमातकस्य छायायां शाल्मलेर्मधुकस्य च । कदाचिव्यि नाध्येयं कोविदार-कियियोः ॥ यम quoted by अपरार्क p. 192. In the प्रा. मा. I. 1. p. 158 this is quoted as from the क्र्मधुराण.
- 952. प्रतिविद्यं च याम्स्मर्ग्निः। गौ. 16.49; यधोक्तमम्यद्तः परिवत्सुः। आप. ध-सू. 1.3.11.34.

the Veda in the mind). Baud. Dh. S. I. 953 11. 40-41 says that the rule about anadhyāya on portentous happenings for a day and night does not apply to mānasa study; but even mānasa study is forbidden when there is impurity due to birth or death. Gaut. 16. 46 says the same. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 20 allows (in general) mental study (not vocal) on anadhyāya days. Vide also Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 12-13.

The Ap. Śrautasūtra ⁹⁵⁴ (24. 1, 37) says that the rules about anadhyāya apply only to the learning of Vedic mantras, but have no application to their employment in various rites. Jaimini ⁹⁵⁵ (XII. 3. 18-19) establishes the proposition that the rules about anadhyāya being prescribed for acquisition of the Vedic mantras have no application to their employment in sacrifices. The Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 12. 9 has a sūtra which shows remarkable agreement with the words of Jaimini.

We saw above that according to the Tai. Ār. the rules of anadhyāya do not apply to the daily performance of Brahmayajña (i. e. to the repetition of the Vedic texts already learnt). Manu II. 105 says that there is no concern about anadhyāya as to the lores (the angas like grammar, Nirukta &c.) helpful to (understanding of) the Veda, the obligatory svādhyāya (i. e. brahmayajña) and the mantras to be used in homa. Saunaka 956 quoted in the Sm. C. says there is no anadhyāya as to repeating the Vedic texts in the obligatory rites and in japa nor in kāmya rites, in sacrifices or in the pārāyaṇa (repeating the Veda already learnt); the anadhyāya rules apply only to the first learning of Vedic mantras and to their teaching. The Smṛtyarthaṣāra 957 (p. 10) says that those who have a slippery memory or those who have to commit to memory extensive Vedic texts

⁹⁵³. अन्येषु चाद्धतोत्पातेषु अहोरात्रमनध्यायोऽन्यत्र मानसात् । मानसेपि जनन-गरणयोरनध्यायः । बो. ध. सू. $I.\ 11.\ 49-41$; मानसमध्यश्चाचिः । गो. $16.\ 46$; मनसा चानध्याये । आप. ध. सू. $I.\ 3.\ 11.\ 20.$

^{954.} स्वाध्याये अनध्यायो मन्त्राणां न कर्मण्यर्थान्तरत्वात् । आप. श्री. 24. 1. 37.

^{955.} मन्त्राणां कर्मसंयोगात्स्वधर्मेण प्रयोगः स्याद्धर्मस्य तिक्षमित्तत्वात् । विद्यां प्रति विधानाद्वा सर्वकालं प्रयोगः स्यात्कर्मार्थत्वात्प्रयोगस्य । जे. XII. 3. 18-19. The first sutra contains the पूर्वपक्ष view; compare विद्यां प्रत्यनध्यायः श्रूयते न कर्मयोगे मन्त्राणाम् । आप. ध. I. 4. 12. 9.

^{956.} निश्ये जपे च काम्ये च कतौ पारायणेपि च । नानध्यायोस्ति वेदानां ग्रहणे ग्राहणे स्मृत:। शौनक in स्मृतिच॰ 1. p. 61; vide similar verses in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 11.

^{957.} तथा विस्मृतिशीलानां बहुवेद्प्रपाठिनाम् । चतुर्दश्यष्टमी-पर्वप्रतिपद्वर्जितेषु तु । वेदाङ्गन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राणि चाम्यसेत् । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 10

should study the Vedāngas, nyāya (logic), mīmāmsā and dharmaśāstras on all anadhyāyas except on 1st, 8th, 14th and full moon and new moon days. Some digests quote a verse from the Kūrmapurāṇa⁹⁵⁸ that there is no anadhyāya for the study of Vedāngas, of itihāsa, purāṇas, dharmaśāstras and other śāstras; but on parva days the study of even these should be dropped. This shows that these tithis were the only close holidays on which there was complete cessation of all study, whether Vedic or non-Vedic. That is, these were what are called nitya holidays while the rest are naimittika anadhyāyas. Even now these nitya anadhyāyas are observed by vaidikas and by Pandits in their Sanskrit schools (particularly amāvāsyā).

It will be seen that though some of the occasions for anadhyāya are somewhat strange and bizarre, underlying most of them there are reasonable and understandable principles. Vedic study depended in the first place on memorizing. Committing sacred texts to memory (without in most cases understanding their meaning) required close attention and concentration. Therefore, all occasions which caused disturbance or distraction of mind were held to be anadhyāyas. But the same concentration was not necessary for reciting in sacrifices or japa or brahma-yajña what had already been committed to memory. Hence such occasions were not anadhyāyas for those purposes.

It was believed that \$^{59}\$ if a person taught the Vedic lore or studied it on anadhyāya days, he incurred loss as to (long) life, offspring, cattle, intelligence and the merit accumulated by him.

Keśānta or godāna:—This samskāra consists in shaving the head and also the hair on the other parts of the body (such as arm-pits, chin). Pār. gr., Yāj. (I. 36) and Manu (II. 65) employ the word keśānta, while Āśv. gr., Śān. gr., Gobhila and other grhyasūtras employ the word godāna. In the Śat. 860 Br. while speaking of the dikṣā (consecration of the performer

^{958.} अनध्यायस्तु नाङ्गेषु नेतिहासपुराणयोः। न धर्मशास्त्रेष्वन्येषु पर्वण्येतानि वर्ज-येत्॥ quoted from कूर्मपुराण by निर्णयसिन्धु. This is कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 14. 82-83 and औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. ed. I. p. 517)

^{959.} यमोपि। आयु: प्रजां पश्चूत मेधां कृतं हि सुकृतं च यत्। अनध्यायेण्वभ्यसतो ब्रह्मध्याहरतस्त्रथा॥ स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 61. Vide two similar verses quoted in स्मृत्यर्थ-सार p. 8.

^{960.} स वृक्षिणमेवाग्रे गोदानमभ्युनित । शतपथ III. 1. 2. 4.

of a sacrifice) the word godana is used in the sense of a portion of the hair (on the head) near the top of the ear. smrtikāras say that this samskāra was performed in the 16th year. According to San. gr. (I. 23. 20, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 57) it may be performed in the 16th or 18th year. According to Manu II. 65 keśänta is performed in the 16th, 22nd or 24th year respectively for a brāhmana, ksatriya or vaisya. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana smrti XIV. 1 says that Godāna may be performed in the 16th year or at the time of marriage. This last view seems to have been known to Bhavabhūti who in his Uttararāmacarita 961 (Act. I) makes the heroine Sītā sav that Rāma and his three brothers had the godāna ceremony performed immediately before their marriage. It is somewhat strange that according to the Kausika sütra 962 (54. 15) godāna precedes cūdākarma and the commentator Kesava remarks that godana takes place at the end of the first or 2nd vear (from birth).

There is great divergence of views about the starting point from which 16 years are to be calculated. The Baud, Dh. S. (I. 2. 7) has stated the rule in general terms that the number of years is to be calculated from the time of conception. ⁹⁶³ Following this rule the Mit. on Yāj. I. 36 and Kullūka on Man II. 65 say that godāna should be performed in the 16th year from conception in the case of brāhmaṇas, ⁹⁶⁴ while Aparārka says that it is to be performed in the 16th year from birth. Viśvarūpa ⁹⁶⁵ on Yāj. I. 36 says that whatever the period of brahmacarya that a student was going to observe (whether 12, 24, 36, 48 &c.) keśānta must be performed in the 16th year and if any one had his upanayana performed later than the 16th year, then keśānta will not take place at all. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gr. I. 22, 3 notes that according to some godāna takes

- 962. चूडाकरणं च गोदानेन ध्याख्यातम् । कौशिकसूत्र 54. 15.
- 963. गर्भाटिसंख्या वर्षाणां तदष्टमेषु बाह्मणसुपनयीत । बी. ध. सू. र्र. 2.7.
- 964. केशान्तः पुनर्गोदानारूयं कर्म गर्भादारभ्य षोडशे वर्षे ब्राह्मणस्य कार्यम् । एतज्ञ द्वादशवार्षिके बद्वते बोद्धत्यम् । इतरस्मिन्यक्षे यथासंभवं द्रष्टन्यम् । राज्यन्यवैश्ययोस्तूपन-यनकालवद् द्वाविशे चतुर्विशे वा द्रष्टन्यम् । मिता॰ on या. 1. 36.
- 965. On केशान्तश्चेव षोडशे 'केशान्तस्तु सर्वपक्षेषु षोडश एवाब्दे कर्तव्यः। चशब्दस्तु-शब्दस्यार्थे। एवकारस्योत्कर्षः।'..... यदा पुनः पाक् षोडशाब्दात्कर्थचिक्रोपनीतस्तदा काल-प्राप्ताचनुपनीतस्य तद्भावः। विश्वरूप on या. I. 36.

⁹⁶¹. एते खलु तस्कालकृतगोद्दानमङ्गलाश्चरवारो भ्रातरो विवाहदीक्षिता यूयम् । उत्तररामचिरित ${
m I}$.

place in the 16th year from upanayana, while others celebrate it in the 16th year from birth.

All sütrakāras are agreed that godāna or keśānta follows the procedure of cudakarana with a few differences. The Asv. gr. (I. 18. 1-9) points these out. Caula is performed in the 3rd year, while godana is performed in the 16th. Asv. gr. further says" wherever the word kesa occurs (in the mantras or procedure of caula) he should employ the word smasru (beard). He moistens the beard here. (The mantra is) purify his head and face, but do not deprive him of life'. He gives orders (to the barber) 'arrange his beard, the hair of his body and his nails, ending in the north'. Having bathed and stood up silently during the rest of the day, he should break his silence in the presence of his teacher (saying to the teacher) 'I give a gift'. The fee is a pair of cows. Let the teacher instruct him to keep the observances for a year" 966. Nārāyana notes that being grown up he should not sit on his mother's lap as in caula (but sit to her right) and that the instruction is to be on the next day. Nārāvana says that the instruction referred to is the one mentioned in Asy, gr. I. 22, 20 from 'cutting the hair' to 'giving in charge' i. e. from Asv. gr. I. 19. 8. to I. 20.7. It is better to hold as Par. and Bhar, gr. ordain that the instruction is as to brahmacaryayrata (mentioned 967 in Asv. gr. I. 22, 17) or that he is not to shave himself for a year, 12 days, 6 days or at least 3 days. Pār. gr., Śānkhāyana and several others allowed the fee of only one cow 968. Gobbila (III. 1. 5) and Khādira (II. 5. 3) allowed optionally the gift of a pair of horses or a pair of sheep for ksatriyas or vaisyas respectively. According to

^{966.} In आश्व. य. I. 17. 7 the mantra in चौल is आदितिः केज्ञान चपतुः instead of it the mantra in godana is 'आदितिः इमश्राण चपतुः'. In चौल आश्व. (I. 17. 8) prescribes the laying of kusa bunches on to the right side of the hair; in मोदान the kusa is laid on the beard (before it is cut). In चौल the edge of the razor is wiped with the mantra 'यरधुरेण मर्चयता सुपेज्ञसा नमा नपसि केज्ञान्। छुन्धि ज्ञिरो मास्यायुः प्रमोषीः (आश्व. य. I. 17. 15); instead in मोदान, the mantra is यत्...नपसि इमश्र्णि ॥ छुन्धि ज्ञिरो सुखं मास्या &c. In this way ऊह (necessary changes in the words) is to be made. In चौल in आश्व. I. 17. 16 the direction to the barber is 'ज्ञीतोदणाभिरिज्ञरचर्थ कुर्वाणोऽ-धुण्वन्कुञ्ञलीकुर'; in मोदान it is 'ज्ञीतो... धुण्वन कुञ्जली केज्ञज्ञमश्रलोमनखान्युद-क्संस्थानि कुर'.

^{967.} अत ऊर्ध्वमक्षारलवणाशी बह्मचार्यधःशायी त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रं संवत्सरं वा। आश्व. মৃ. I. 22. 17.

^{968.} गां केशान्ते संवत्सरं ब्रह्मचर्यमवपनं च केशान्ते द्वावशरात्रं षड्रात्रं त्रिरात्रः मन्ततः। पारस्कर गृ. 11. 1; संवत्सरं कृतगोदानो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरति। गारद्वाजगृह्य 1. 10.

Gobhila and Khādira shaving the beard precedes a vrata called godānika for one year and both state at length the observances of that vrata (Gobhila III. 1, 11-29, Khādira II. 5, 7-16).

Śān. gr. (I. 28. 22) expressly says that the keśānta ceremony is performed for girls but silently. Āp. gr. 16. 15, Hir. gr. 6. 16, Bhāradvāja gr. I. 10, Baud. gr. III. 2. 55 prescribe in godāna the removal of all the hair on the head (including the śikhā top-knot), while in caula it is not so.

This sainskāra gradually went out of vogue, so much so that most of the medieval digests like the Sm. C., the Sainskāraprakāśa, and the Nirnayasindhu contain hardly anything about it.

Snāna or Samāvartana:—(Taking the ceremonial bath after finishing Vedic study and returning from the teacher's house). Some sütrakāras such as Gaut. (VIII. 16), Āp. gr. XII. 1, Hir. gr. 9, 1 and Yāj. 1, 51 employ the word 'snāna' for this samskāra, while Asv. gr. III. 8. 1, Baud. gr. (II. 6. 1), Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 15 and 31, Bhar. gr. II. 18 employ the word samāvartana. The Khādira gr. (I. 3. 2-3, III. 1. 1) and Gobhila III. 4. 7 use the word 'aplavana' (which means snāna). Manu (III. 4) uses both 'snāna' and 'samāvartana' in "a dvija being permitted by his teacher, may take the ceremonial bath and return from his teacher according to the rules laid down (in his own grhyasūtra) and then marry a a girl &c". Aparārka (p. 76) explains this verse by saying that it makes a distinction between snana and samayartana. The distinction consists in this: snana or ceremonial bath indicates the completion of the period of student-hood. A man who wants to remain a brahmacārin all his life need not undergo this samskāra. Samāvartana literally means 'return from the teacher's house to one's home'. If a boy learns under his own father, then literally speaking there will be no return in his case from a teacher's house. Medhātithi⁹⁶⁹ (on Manu III. 4) puts this position forcibly. Samāvartana is not a necessary anga (adjunct) of marriage and therefore he who learnt the Veda in his father's house may, though there is no return (to the father's house from the teacher's house), enter on matrimony. Some hold that Samāvartana is an anga of marriage and consists

^{969.} न तु समावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गम् । तेन यः पितृगृह एवाधीतवेदस्तस्यासमावृत्तस्य संभ-वत्येव विवाहः । केचित्समावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गं स्वानं मन्यन्ते । क्लाश्रुत्या भेदपतिपत्तिरिति विदेवं तर्हि समावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गं स्वानसंस्कारं वस्यति । अशवा यमवियमस्यागाभिषायं गमावृत्तिवाद्मशम् । ingr. on मनु 111. 4.

in the ceremonial bath. If it be said that the gerundial termination (tvā in snātvā in Manu III. 4) conveys distinction between snāna and samāvartana, the reply is that Manu will later on speak of samāvartana as the samskāra of snāna.

Ap. gr. 12.1 begins its treatment with the words 'vedam adhity a snāsyan' (after learning the Veda and when about to undergo the ceremonial bath).' Having these words in mind Baud, gr. 970 (II. 6.1) remarks that in the words 'vedam adhity a snāsyan' it is samāvartana that has been described. Hence the essence of samāvartana is the ceremonial bath and return to the parental home is a subsidiary matter (which may or may not occur in the case of a student). The Mahābhāsya (vol. I. p. 384) says that a person after he has studied the Veda and taken the ceremonial bath with the permission of the teacher should begin to use a cot (for sleeping on).

In the Vedic Literature both words are used. In the Chândogya Upanisad 471 IV. 10, 1 we read that Upakosala Kāmalāyana became a student of Satyakāma Jābāla and tended his teacher's fires for twelve years: the teacher while making his other pupils return (to their parental home) did not make Upakosala return. Here it is clear that the Upanisad knew the term 'samāvartana'. Similarly in Chāndogya VIII. 15 it is stated that 'having studied the Veda according to the rules in the time that was left after doing work for the teacher and having returned from the teacher's house to his own family'. On the other hand the Sat. Br. (XI. 3. 3. 7) says 'that one 978 should not beg after taking the ceremonial bath'. The Sat. Br. (XII. 1. 1. 10) distinguishes ⁹⁷³ a snātaka from a brahmacārin (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 137). Similarly the Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 13 quotes a Brāhmana passage 'therefore the face of the snātaka is as if resplendent with fire'. The Ait. Ar. V. 974 3. 3. remarks that one who

- 970. वेदमधीत्य स्नास्याक्षत्युक्तं समावर्तनम् । बौ. गृ. 11, 6, 1. अधीत्य स्नारवा गुरुभिरञ्ज्ञातेन खहारोढव्या । महाभाष्य vol. 1, p. 384.
- 971. स ह स्मान्यानन्तेवासिनः समावर्तयंस्तं ह स्मैव न समावर्तयति । छान्द्रोग्य IV. 10. 1; आन्वार्यकुलाह्रेद्रमधीत्य यथाविधानं ग्रतोः कर्मातिशेषणाभिसमावृत्य कुदुम्बे । छान्द्रोग्य VIII. 15. 1.
- 972. न ह वे स्नात्वा भिक्षत। ज्ञातपथ बा. XI. 3. 3. 7. This is quoted by the चो. ध. स्. I. 2. 53 (along with other passages of the same बाह्मण)
- 973. The गोपथना. (पूर्वार्ध IV. 6) also distinguishes between स्नातक and नद्वाचारी 'अथ तमन्यस्नातको वा नद्वाचारी वा दीक्षयति न पूतः पावयेदित्याहुः'.
- 974. नेद्रानधीयत् स्नातको भवति यद्यन्यद्र्वह्वधीयात् । ऐ. आ. V. 3. 3; महद्वै भूतं स्नातको भवतीति विज्ञायते । आश्व. मृ. III. 9. 8.

has not studied this (mahāvrata) does not become a (true) snātaka, even though he may have learnt a good deal else. The Āśv. gr. III. 9. 8 summarises a Brāhmaṇa passage to the effect that a snātaka is indeed a great being.

Snāna (the ceremonial bath) was ordained by the sūtrakāras after a student finishesd his Vedic study. The Asv. gr. (III.9.4) remarks 'after having finished (the task of learning) $vidy\bar{u}$, they should invite his teacher to name the gift (of wealth or otherwise) he desired or when the pupil has been permitted by the teacher, the pupil may take a ceremonial bath.'975 This shows that one may perform snana either when he had finished his Vedic and other studies or he may do so even without finishing his intended studies, if the teacher permitted him to do so. The Par. gr. II. 6 is more explicit 'The student should take the ceremonial bath after finishing (the study of) the Veda or when he has gone through the period of student-hood for 48 years, or for 12 years according to some (teachers); (he should) take the bath when permitted by the teacher.' A person who has taken the ceremonial bath is called a snataka. A snātaka is said by the Par. gr. (II, 5), 976 Gobbila (III, 5, 21-22), Baud. gr. paribhāṣā sūtra I. 15, Hārīta and others to be of three kinds, viz vidyāsnātaka (or Veda-snātaka as Baud. gr. paribhāsā has it), vratasnātaka and vidvā-vratasnātaka (or vedavrata-snātaka as in Baud). One who has finished Veda study. but has not gone through the vratas (described above) is called vidua-snataka; one who has finished the vratas, but has not finished his Veda study is styled vrata-snātaka; while one who has finished both is named vidyā-vrata-snātaka. Yāj. 1.51 in saying that a student 'after finishing Veda (study) or the vratas (observances of brahmacarya) or both, and after giving to the teacher what the latter chooses to ask should take the ceremonial bath with the teacher's permission' impliedly refers to the three-fold division of snatakas. These three alternatives are due to the fact that a student may not have the ability or the time to go through the full Vedic curriculum and the

^{975.} विद्यान्ते ग्रुफार्थेन निमन्त्रं कुत्वाऽनुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् । आश्वः ग्रु. 111. १. ४. ; वेदं समाप्य स्नायाद् ब्रह्मचर्ये वाष्टाचत्वारिंशकं द्वादशकप्यके ग्रुकणानुज्ञातः । पारस्करगृह्य II. 6.

^{976.} त्रयः स्नातका भवन्ति विद्यास्नातको व्रतस्नातको विद्यावतस्नातक इति । समाप्य वेत्मसमाप्य वर्ते यः समावर्तते स विद्यास्नातकः समाप्य व्रतमसमाप्य वेदं यः समावर्तते स विद्यास्नातकः समाप्य व्रतमसमाप्य वेदं यः समावर्तते स विद्यावतस्नातक इति । पारस्करगृह्य 11. 5; हारीत as quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 66 is the same.

vratas. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 31 notices that according to some vrata-snātakas are those who without finishing Veda study take the ceremonial bath three years after upanayana. Gobhila (III. 5. 23) says that of these, vidyā-vrata-snātaka is the best, the other two being equal to each other. Ap. Dh. S. (I. 11. 30. 1-5) refers to this three-fold division and adds that all three are to be honoured as snātakas, but that great reward follows by honouring vidyā-vrata-snātakas.

A good deal of time may conceivably elapse between a man's taking the ceremonial bath and actually marrying a woman. During that period he is called a snātaka; while after marriage he comes to be called a grhastha ⁹⁷⁷. As long as a person is not married after he takes the bath, he has to follow the observances prescribed for snātakas and grhasthas so far as applicable to his position but not those of a student. Gaut. ⁹⁷⁸ (1X, 1-2) makes the position quite clear by prescribing the same rules of conduct for grhasthas and for snātakas. He also states (in III. 9) that whatever rules laid down for brahmacārins are not opposed to the special rules for other āśramas are to be observed by all. The latter means that the special observances of a brahmacāri are not applicable to him (such as avoiding honey and flesh, living on alms, offering fuel-sticks to fire).

The most elaborate procedure of samāvartana is found in Hir. gr. I. 9-13, Baud. gr. paribhāṣā I. 14, Pār. gr. II. 6 and Gobhila gr. III. 4-5. A concise statement is given below from Aśv. gr. (III. 8 and 9). The student who is about to return home from his teacher should get ready (eleven) things, viz. a jewel (to be suspended round his neck), two ear-rings, a pair of garments, an umbrella, a pair of shoes, a staff, a wreath, (powder) for rubbing his body with, ointment, eyc-salve, a turban, (all these) being meant for the teacher and for himself. If he cannot afford to have these materials for both of them, then he

^{977.} आ जायासङ्गमान्स्नातका भवन्त्यत ऊर्ध्व गृहस्थाः । बौ. गृ. परिभाषा 1. 15. 10.

^{978.} Vido हरदत्त on गोतम IX. 2 (स्नातकश्च) 'ब्रह्मचर्याशिवृत्तत्वाद्गर्षस्थ्य-व्यतिरिक्ताश्रमान्तराभावाच्च भार्याधिगमादृष्ट्वमिति पूर्वस्थ्यमारव्धम् । स्नातकस्य तु भार्याधिगमासंभवे यावजीवं गृहस्थधमा एवाचुष्टेया इति स्थानारव्धम् । हरद्त्त on आप. ध. I. 11. 30. 6 (अध स्नातकः) says that some of the स्नातकवतं are common to गृहस्था. According to हरद्त्त on आप. ध. I. 11. 30. 3 बतानि in बतस्नातक does not stand for the special बता like महानाम्नी, but for the general observances such अशीन्धन, भैक्षचर्या.

should prepare them only for the teacher. He should procure a fuel-stick from the north-east side of a sacrificial tree (like palāsa); the fuel-stick may be undried if he wishes for the enjoyment of food or for prosperity or for splendour; it may be dry if he wishes for spiritual lustre; or both dry (in part) and undried in the remaining part if he desires both. Having placed the fuel-stick on high (not on the ground) and having made gifts of food and of a cow to brāhmanas, he should perform the actions prescribed in godana ceremony (and not the observances like remaining silent). He should 979 alter the mantras (of godana) so that they refer to himself. (He should rub himself) with the powder of Ekaklitaka. 980 Having bathed himself in lukewarm water and having put on two garments which have not yet been washed (or used) with the mantra 'You two (Mitra and Varuna) put on garments 981 with fat splendour' (Rg. I. 152. 1); he should apply eye-salve to his eyes with the words 'thou art the lustre of stone, protect my eye.' He should fasten the two ear-rings with the words 'thou art the lustre of stone; protect my ear.' After having smeared his two hands with ointment (saffron paste &c.) a brāhmana should first anoint his face with it (and then the limbs), a Rajanya his two arms first, a vaisya his belly first, a woman her private parts, persons, who maintain themselves by running, their With the words 'free from distress art thou, may I become free from distress' he should put on the wreath, but not such a wreath as would be called a mala (garland). If some call it $m\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ (through ignorance of what to say) he should cause them to speak of it as sraj (wreath). steps into the shoes with the words 'you two are the supports of the gods, protect me from all sides' and with the

^{979.} This means:—instead of 'ओषधे जायस्वेनं स्वधिते मैनं हिंसी:' (आश्व. गृ. I. 17. 8-9) repeated in चौल and गोदान (by the आचार्य) the student should himself repeat the mantra as 'ओषधे जायस्व मां स्वधिते मा मा हिंसी:'. Instead of the mantra 'ज्ञान्ध शिरो सुखं मास्यायुः प्रमोषीः' repeated by the आचार्य in गोदान, the student should himself say 'ज्ञान्धि शिरो सुखं मा मे आयुः प्रमोषीः'

^{980. &#}x27;करआवीजस्य यत्रैकं बीजं तदेकक्कीतम्। तत्येषयित्वा तेनोन्मर्द्नं कारयेत्॥' नारायण on आश्व. मृ. III. 8. 8. It is the seed of the करआ tree which contains only one grain that is to be powdered.

^{981.} The mantra ga annonis to be repeated with each garment. The eye-salve is to be applied to the left eye first and then to the right, says Narayana quoting a smrti. The ear-ring is first to be fastened on the right ear and then on the left.

words 'heaven's covering art thou' he takes the umbrella. He takes the bamboo staff with the words 'bamboo art thou, thou art the child of a tree, protect me from all sides.' Having tied round his neck the jewel 988 with the hymn beginning with 'ayusyam',983 and having arranged the turban (on his head) he should in a standing posture put a fuel-stick (on the fire), and should say at that time memory and reproach, knowledge, faith, wisdom as the fifth, what is sacrificed, what is given (as gift), what is studied and what is done, truth, learning, observances. O Agni. the vow (of thee) together with Indra, with Prajapati, with the sages, with the sages that are ksatriyas, with the Fathers, with the kings among Fathers, with men and with the kings among men, with the glow, with the super-glow, with the after-glow, with the counter-glow, with gods and men, with Gandharvas and Apsarases, with wild and domestic animals, the vow belonging to my own self, dwelling in my own self, that is my entire vow. O Agni! I shall on all sides become this vow, svāhā'. With the hymn 'mine, O Agni, be the glory' (Rg. X. 128. 1) he should put fuel-sticks on fire one for each verse. 984 He should stay for the night at a place where the people will do honour to him (by offering Madhuparka)'. Madhuparka will be dealt with under marriage.

The Baud. gr. paribhāṣā says (I. 14. 1) that the samāvartana rite for him who is only a vratasnātaka (and has not studied the Veda) is performed silently (i. e. without the mantras prescribed). The other grhya sūtras have a similar procedure in samāvartana, only the mantras sometimes differ and a few details are added.

- 982. Nārāyaņa on Āsv. gr. I. 8. 16 says that the 'maņi' is 'suvarņamaya (made of gold). Āp. gr. 12. 8 speaks of 'maņim sauvarņam sopadhānam' (a golden bead with two precious stones on two sides).
- 983. This sukta is a khila sukta in the Rgveda. It occurs in the आप. म. पा. II. 8. It is in praise of gold.
- 984. Nārāyaņa adds on Āsv. gr. III. 8.16 that he should keep aside his shoes and then offer the fuel-stick. Stenzler conjectures with for wing in May. T. III. 9. 1, which is unwarranted and unnecessary. The sūkta Rg. X. 128 has nine verses. Nārāyaņa says that there is to be homa with ten samidhs; the tenth verse, therefore, is the verse 'āyuşyam' which is the first verse of the Khilasūkta after Rg. X. 128. The erstwhile student is to offer samidhs sitting and not standing and end the rite with the offering to Sviştakıt Agni.

For example, San. gr. (III. 1.2) makes the student sit on bull's hide. Par. gr. (II. 6) prescribes that eight jars full of water are to be placed on kuśa grass and water therefrom is to be poured over the head and the body of the student with certain mantras, that he is to worship the rising sun, to partake of curds or sesame seeds, to cleanse his teeth with an udumbara twig, he sees himself in a mirror (after adorning himself). Both Par. and Gobhila (III. 4.23) say that in this rite the girdle is taken off. Gobhila (III. 4. 31-34) says that at the end of the rite the student should mount a chariot drawn by oxen, drive some distance in an eastern or northern direction, should then come back to the teacher who honours him with madhuparka. Hir, gr. (I. 9, 10) says that the girdle. the staff and the black antelope skin that he wore as brahmacărin are to be thrown into water. The Laghu-Aśvalāyanasmrti (14th section) appears to suggest that godana and samavartana take place on the same day and that at the end of the homa in samāvartana a student of the Rgveda should unloosen the girdle of munia grass with the mantra 'ud uttamam mumugdhi' (Rg. I. 25, 21). It is for this reason that in the Maratha country samāvartana is called 'sodmunia' (rite in which the munja girdle is taken away).

The sūtras more or less prescribe expressly or impliedly the same materials that are required by Āśvalāyana. Vide Bhār. gr. II. 18 (which enumerates them in one place), Baud. gr. paribhāṣā sūtra I. 13. 1.

Some of the sūtras specīfy the auspicious times when this rite is to be performed. Hir. gr. I. 9. 3 lays down that the proper time for snāna is during the northern course of the sun, in the bright half of a month when the moon is in conjunction with Rohini, Mṛgaśiras, Tiṣya (Puṣya), Uttarā Phalguni, Hasta, Citrā, or Viśākhā. The Baud. gr. paribhāṣā (I. 13. 3-9) omits Mṛgaśiras out of these, while Bhār. gr. (II. 18) omits Rohini and Mṛgaśiras and adds Svāti. Medieval and modern digests add elaborate rules about the astrological details for the proper day of samāvartana, which are passed over here. Vide Saṃskāraprakāśa pp. 576-578 for some of these details.

Numerous rules are laid down in the smrtis and digests about snātakas (snātakadharmāḥ). Many of these rules are applicable to grhasthas also (i. e. snātakas who have married). Those rules are too numerous to enumerate. But some idea may be conveyed by quoting in full the rules in Aśv. gr.

(III. 9. 6-7) which has the shortest treatment and adding a few interesting items from other works. Asv. gr. (III. 9. 6-7) says 'He (the snātaka) should not bathe at night, nor bathe naked, nor lie down naked, he should not look at a naked woman except during intercourse, he shall not run when it rains, he should not climb up a tree, nor descend into a well, should not cross a river (by swimming) with his arms, he should not expose himself to a danger. A great being indeed is a snātaka—so it is known (from the śruti)'. Ap. Dh. S. (I. 11. 30, 6-I. 11, 32, 29), Vas. XII, 1-47, Gaut. IX, Yāj. I, 129-166, Manu IV. 13ff, Vișpu Dh. S. 71, Par. gr. II. 1 contain an exhaustive treatment of snätaka vratas. Some of these are concerned with the rules about anadhyayas, about answering calls of nature, about persons whose food should not be taken, about sexual intercourse, about ācamana, about daily observances like the five mahāyajñas, about upākarma and utsarjana. These have been or will be dealt with in the appropriate places. few of the other important rules of conduct are: a snātaka should always be pure (in body), should daily bathe and should apply fragrant unguents (like sandal-wood paste) to his body, should be always patient, persistent in his undertakings, self-restrained, generous and not disposed to cause injury to others (Gaut. 9, 7 and 73); he should speak the truth and also speak what is agreeable, but should not tell disagreeable truths, nor should he tell agreeable lies (Manu IV. 138 and Gaut. IX. 68); he should according to his ability try to make his day fruitful as regards the performance of meritorious acts, satisfaction of (legitimate) desires and acquisition of wealth, but he should look upon dharma as the principal of the three purusarthas (Gaut. IX. 46-47, Manu IV. 176, Yaj. I. 156), though he should avoid even what is allowed by the sastras if it is hateful to the people; he should not beg (for his livelihood) of anybody except the king or his pupils, but when oppressed by hunger he may beg a little such as a cultivated or uncultivated field, a cow, goats and sheep, or gold, corn, food (Vas. XII. 2-3, Gaut. IX. 63-64, Manu IV. 33-34, Yāj. I. 130); but he should not beg of a king who is not of ksatriya descent or who sets at naught the dictates of the sastras (Manu IV. 84, 87) nor should he stay in the kingdom of a śūdra king (Manu IV. 61); he should not talk with the mlecchas, impure persons and irreligious persons (Gaut. IX. 17); he should not dwell in contact with sinners, candalas and other untouchables, with fools or persons puffed up with the pride of wealth &c. (Manu IV. 79); he should

not be restless in his sexual desires or with his hands and feet, speech and eyes (Gaut. IX. 50, Manu IV. 177, Vas. VI. 42); he should go round (perform pradaksinā), when he meets on his way a cow, images of gods, a brahmana, ghee, honey, a square, well-known trees (Manu IV. 39, Gaut. IX. 66); he should not engage in wordy quarrels with his parents, guests, brothers, sisters, persons connected by marriage, maternal uncles. dependents, relations, sacrificial and family priests, children, wife, slaves (Manu IV. 179-180=Santiparva 244, 14-16, Yāj. I. 157-158); he should carry a bamboo stick, a water jar, kuśa grass, wear two yajñopavitas, two garments (upper and lower) and two golden ear-rings (Manu IV. 36. Yāj. I. 133, Vas. XII. 14, 37-38); if he has money enough he should not wear old and dirty clothes, his garments should be white, he should not wear garments that are dyed and black cloth even when that is its natural colour (Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 30, 10-13, Manu IV. 34-35, Yāj. I. 131, Gaut. IX. 4-5) nor should be wear the clothes, shoes, and garland of another and if he wears these of another owing to poverty, he should thoroughly clean them (Gaut. IX, 6-7, Manu IV, 66); he should not allow his beard to grow unless there is some good ground to do so and should pare his nails (Gaut. IX. 8, Manu V. 35, Yāj I.131); while his shoes are in his hand he should not sit on a seat nor should he salute a person or bow to a deity (Gaut. IX. 45); he should not blow with his mouth to kindle fire (Manu IV. 53, Vas. XII. 27, Gaut. IX. 32); he should not hold simultaneously in his hands fire and water nor should he come between the fire and a brahmana nor between two brahmanas without their permission (Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 12, 6-8, Vas. XII. 28-30); he should not eat food in the same plate with his wife, nor should he see his wife while she is eating or applying eye-salve or when she is yawning or sneezing (Manu IV, 43-44, Vas. XII. 31, Gaut. IX. 32); he should not use a seat or padukas or toothbrush made of palāśa (Vas. XII. 34, Gaut. IX. 44, Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 9); he should wear a wreath (of flowers) and ointment so as not to be easily noticed (Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 5, Manu IV. 72, Vas. 12. 39, Gaut. IX. 32); he should not see the sun rising or setting (Vas. 12. 10, Manu IV. 39, Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 20); he should not be kulamkula985 and should not

^{985.} कुलंकुल is variously explained. इरद्त on मो. explains it as 'stay at home' and gives another's explanation as 'one' who leaves his family and goes to another i. e, studies another's sutra' &c.

go over a rope by which a calf is tied (Vas. XII. 8-9, Gaut. IX. 52-53, Manu IV. 38); he is not to point out the rainbow to another when he sees it in the sky (Manu IV. 59) nor is he to employ the word 'Indradhanuh' for it, but the word 'manidhanuh' (Vas. XII. 32-33. Gaut. IX. 23, Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 18): he is to employ certain euphemisms e. g. he should not speak of a cow that yields no milk as 'adhenu' but as 'dhenu-bhavva' (who would become dhenu later on), he is not to employ the word 'bhadra' for a thing that is auspicious. but he should employ the words 'punya or prasasta'; what is not 'bhadra' he should speak of as 'bhadra' and should not use the word 'kapāla', but the word 'bhagāla' for it (Gaut. IX. 20-22, Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 11-14); he should not inform a person when a cow does some damage or allows her calf to have milk without the owner knowing it (Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 9-10, Gaut. IX. 24-25); he should enter or leave his village from the east or north (Ap. Dh. S. I. 11, 30, 7) and should not enter a village or a guarded house by a by-path (Manu IV. 73, Yāj. I. 140, Ap. Db. S. I. 11. 32. 23); at the two twilights he should be seated outside the village and should be silent (Ap. Dh. S. I. 11, 30, 8); he should not wander about by day with the head covered, but he may do so at night or when answering calls of nature (Gaut. IX. 35-37; Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 14); he should avoid finding fault with a cow, a fee given or a maiden ($\bar{A}p$. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 8); he should not resort 986 to inferior men or to countries in which such persons abound nor should be frequent gambling houses or meetings of clubs (Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 18-20, Vas. XII. 40); he should try to dwell in a place that abounds in fuel, water and grass, kuśas, flowers, that has a court-yard, and is mostly peopled by Aryas, that has industrious and religious people (Gaut. IX. 65); he should take his food, answer calls of nature,

^{986.} श्रुद्धाच श्रुद्धाचितितंश्च देशाच न सेवेत। सभाः समाजांश्च। आप. ध. I. 11. 32. 18-19. Compare आप. ध. स. I. 1. 3. 12 सभाः समाजांश्चागन्ता (ब्रह्मचारी). समाज is defined in the कामसूत्र I. 4. 27 as 'पक्षस्य मासस्य वा प्रज्ञातेहानि सरस्वरया भवने नियुक्तानां नित्यं समाजः। कुशीलवाश्चागन्तवः पेक्षणकभेषां दृष्धः। ' In the Rock Edict No. 1 at Girnar (C. I. I. vol.1) Devanam Priya orders that no samaja be held as he saw grave faults in it ' न च समाजो कर्तव्यो बहुकं हि दोसं समाजिम्ह पसाति देवानां पियो &c.' In the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 Gotamīputa is described as समाजकारक (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 60). समाज may mean 'festival'. Vide Yāj. I. 84.

engage in dalliance with his wife, engage 987 in yoga practices in a place screened from public view and he should guard his speech, intellect and strength and should keep his wealth and age very secret; but he should make public the repayment of a debt, a gift, mortgage or sale, the gift of his daughter in marriage, the letting loose of a bull (in śrāddha) and a sin done in secret.

Manu (XI. 203) says that the prāyaścitta for not observing the rules of conduct laid down for snātakas is fasting for a day. Haradatta on Gautama IX. 2 says that the rules for snātakas are meant for brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya snātakas only, that the prāyaścitta for non-observance is also to be undergone by them and that the vaiśya snātakas are not obliged to observe these rules.

In modern times samāvartana often takes place a short time after upanayana and sometimes on the 4th day thereafter or even the next day. As many brāhmaṇas do not learn any part of the Veda, samāvartana has become a mere matter of form in their case. Even the Samskārakaustubha (p. 607) prescribes a very brief procedure for samāvartana when the brahmacārī is ill. It consists in the brahmacārī giving up his girdle &c., in shaving the boy silently, in silently bathing at a holy place, putting on another garment, then sipping water twice, bringing fire from the house of a śretriya and placing it on some place according to the rules, then contemplating on Prajāpati and putting the samidh (fuel-stick) on fire.

As a brahmacārī is not affected by the mourning due to the death of relatives (except his parents), on samāvartana he has to observe impurity for three days (if there have been deaths of relatives in the interval, but not for births). (Vide Manu V. 88 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22, 87).

^{987.} आहारनिर्हारविहारयोगाः सुसंवता धर्मविदा तु कार्याः । वाग्बुद्धिवीर्याणि तप-स्त्रथेव धनायुषी ग्रातमे तु कार्ये ॥ विसष्ठ VI. 9; आयुषितं गृहच्छिद्यं मन्त्रो मैथुनमीषधम् । पापकर्मापमानश्च धर्मो गोप्यानि यत्नतः ॥ अगोप्यमुणशुद्धिश्च दानाधमनविक्रयाः । कन्यादान वृषोत्सर्गो रहः पापं जुगुप्सितम् ॥ दक्ष III. 15-16. All are quoted in the गृहस्धरत्नाकर pp. 484-85.

CHAPTER VIII

ĀŚRAMAS

In the preceding pages several questions connected with brahmacarya have been dealt with. Brahmacarya is, according to the theory of the dharmasūtras and smṛtis, the first of the four āśramas. Therefore, before proceeding to the next saṁskāra, viz. vivāha (marriage) which is the starting point of the second āśrama, it is necessary to discuss the origin and development of the idea of āśramas.

From the times of the most ancient dharmasūtras the number of asramas has been four, though there are slight differences in the nomenclature and in their sequence. 988 Ap. Dh. S. II. 9.21. 1 says 'there are four asramas, viz. the stage of householder, (staying in) the teacher's house, stage of being a muni, the stage of being a forest dweller.' That here mauna stands for the asrama of samnyasa is clear from Apastamba's own words in II. 9. 21. 7 (atha parivrājah) where he employs the word 'parivrāj' to indicate 'mauna.' Ap. places the householder first among the asramas, probably on account of the importance of that stage to all other asramas. Why he should mention the stage of forest hermit last is not clear. Gaut. also (III. 2) enumerates the four āśramas as brahmacārī, grhastha, bhiksu and vaikhānasa. Here also Gaut. speaks of bhiksu before vaikhānasa and Haradatta 989 explains this departure from the usual sequence of āśramas as due to the words in Gaut. 28. 47 where we read 'prag-uttamad tray a asraminah' (persons belonging to the three asramas except the last may constitute a parisad), i.e. to exclude vaikhānasa from the parisad he is mentioned last. Why the vanaprastha is called vaikhānasa will be discussed later on under the former word. Vas. Dh. S. (VII. 1-2) names the four āśramas as brahmacāri, grhastha, vānaprastha and parivrājaka.

^{988.} Vide above p. 3 where asramadharma is said to be one of the six-fold divisions of dharma. चत्वार आश्रमा गाईस्थ्यमाचार्यकुलं मौनं वानमस्थ्य-मिति। आप. ध. स. II. 9. 21. 1. This is quoted by इंकर in his आह्य on चेवान्तसूत्र III. 4. 47.

^{989.} शाश्चान्तरेषु वैखानसस्तृतीयो भिश्चश्चतुर्थ आश्रमः। इह तु क्रमभेदः पाग्रकाखय आश्रमिण इत्यत्र वैखानसवर्जनार्थः। हरदत्त on गौतम III. 2.

Vas. Dh. S. (in XI. 34) employs the word yati to denote a person in the fourth asrama. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 6.17) names the four asramas in the same way as Vasistha and vouchsafes the interesting information that it was the asura Kapila, son of Prahlada, who in his rivalry with the gods, made these distinctions to which a wise man should pay no heed. What Baud. 990 means appears to be that there is really one $\bar{a}\dot{s}rama$ viz. that of the householder, that Kapila devised the scheme of four asramas. so that those who became vanaprasthas and parivrajakas would perform no yajñas and thereby the gods would lose the offerings they received from men and become less powerful. Manu VI. 87 speaks of the four asramas, the last being called yati by him and also 'samnyāsa' (in VI. 96). It would thus be seen that a person who belongs to the last asrama is variously called parivrāt or parivrājaka (one who does not stay in one place but wanders from place to place), bhiksu (one who begs for his livelihood), muni (one who ponders over the mysteries of life and death), yati (one who controls his senses) These words suggest the various characteristics of the man who undertakes the fourth asrama.

In theory of Manu about these asramas is as follows. The span of human life is one hundred years (satāyur vai purusah). All do not live to that age, but that is the maximum age one can expect to reach. This should be divided into four parts. As one cannot know beforehand what age one is going to reach, it is not to be supposed that these four parts are each of 25 years. They may be more or less. As stated in Manu IV. 1 the first part of man's life is brahmacarya in which he learns at his teacher's house and after he has finished his study. in the second part of his life he marries and becomes an householder, discharges his debts to his ancestors by begetting sons and to the gods by performing yajñas (Manu V. 169). When he sees that his head has grey hair and that there are wrinkles on his body he resorts to the forest i. e. becomes a vanaprastha (Manu VI. 1-2). After spending the third part of his life in the forest for some time he spends the rest of his life as a samnyāsin⁹⁹¹ (Manu VI. 33). Similar rules are found

^{990.} ऐकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्या अप्रजननत्वादितरेषाम् । तबीदाहरान्ति । पाह्णादिर्वे किपिली नामासुर आस स एतान्भेदांश्रदकार देवेः स्पर्धमानस्तान्मनीषी नादियेत । बी. ध. सू. 11. 6. 29-31.

^{991.} शृङ्खिलिखित as quoted by खुळूक on मनु $V1.~33~{
m say}$ 'वनवासादूर्ध्व शान्तस्य परिगतवयसः पारिव्राज्यस्ः आपरार्क p. 947. reads 'परिगतवयसः कामतः भवन्या'.

in many other smṛtis. 999 Baud. (Dh. S. II. 10.5) 993 states as his own opinion that the sages prescribe saṃnyāsa after the 70th year.

The word asrama does not occur in the Samhitas or Brahmanas. But this cannot be stretched to mean that the stages of life denoted by this word in the sūtras were unknown throughout the Vedic period. It has been shown above (p. 268) that the word brahmacari occurs in the Reveda and the Atharvaveda and that brahmacarya is mentioned in the Tai. S., the Sat. Br. and other ancient Vedic works. So the stage of brahmacarya was wellknown in the remotest past. The fact that Agni is said to be 'the grhapati in our house' (Rg. II. 1.2) 994 and the fact that in the famous verse (Rg. X. 85. 36) which is employed even today in the marriage ceremony the husband says to the bride when taking hold of her hand that the gods gave her to him for garhapatya (for attaining the position of a house-owner or householder) establish that the second stage of the householder was well-known to the Rgveda. There is nothing in the Vedic Literature expressly corresponding to the vanaprastha. It may however be stated that the Tandya Mahabrahmana 14, 4, 7 says that vaikhānasa sages were the favourites of Indra and that one Rahasya Devamalimluc killed them in a place called Munimarana. Vaikhānasa means 'vānaprastha' in the sūtras and it is possible that this is the germ of the idea of vanaprastha. 'Yati' used in the sūtras and smrtis to indicate the fourth āśrama of samnyāsa does occur in the oldest Vedic texts. But there the meaning appears to be different. In the Rg. the word 'yati' occurs several times. But the sense is doubtful. Rg. VIII. 3.9 runs 'whereby 995 when wealth was bestowed on Bhrgu and on yatis (or 'on Bhrgu from yatis') you protected Praskanva'. Rg. VIII. 6. 18 reads 'O Indra, the yatis and those who were Bhrgus praised thee'; Rg. X, 72, 7 says 'O gods.

^{992.} E. g. vide अपरार्क p. 940 quoting two verses of Yama that are very similar to Manu V. 169 and Vl. 2.

^{993.} सप्तत्या अर्ध्व संन्यासमुपदिशन्ति । बी. ध. सू. 11. 10. 5.

^{994.} तवाग्ने होत्रं ब्रह्मा चासि गृहपतिश्च नो दमे॥ ऋ. II. 1. 2.

^{995.} येना यतिभ्यो भुगवे धने हिते येन प्रस्कण्वमाविध । झ. VIII. 8. 9. Prof. Keith takes यतिंड as connected with the Bhigus. It would be better to take यतिभ्यः as in the ablative. य इन्द्र यत्तयस्त्वा भृगवो ये च तुष्टुषः। झ. VIII.6.18; सायण explains यत्तयः as नियताः अङ्गिरसः ; यद्देवा यत्तयो यथा भुवनान्यपिन्वत । अश्वा समुद्र आ गृहक्रमा सूर्यमजभर्तन ॥ इर. X. 72. 7; here सायण renders यत्तयः as त्रेषाः.

when you filled the worlds as the yatis (did) you brought the sun hidden in the sea.'. In the Tai. 996 S. VI. 2. 7. 5 we read 'Indra threw yatis to the salavrkas (hyaenas or wolves), they devoured them to the south of the Uttaravedi.' The same words and story occur in the Kāthaka sainhitā VIII. 5, the Ait. Br. 35, 2 (prādāt) and the Kausitaki Up. III. 1; in the last Indra said to Pratardana 'do know me only: I regard this as the most beneficial thing to man that he should know me. I killed the three-headed Tvāstra. I gave to the sālāvrkas the Arunmukha vatis.' In the Kāthaka samhitā (IV. 10) and the Tai. S. II. 4. 9. 2 it is stated that the heads of the yalis when they were being devoured fell aside and they (the heads) became the kharjūras (date palms). Atharvaveda II. 5. 3. says 'Indra, who is quick in his attack, who is Mitra and who killed Vrtra as he did the yatis.' In the Tandya Mahabrahmana VIII. 1. 4 Brhadgiri is said to be one of the three yatis who escaped from slaughter and who were then taken under his protection by Indra. All these passages taken together suggest that the yatis were people who had incurred the hostility of Indra, the patron of the Aryas, that they were slaughtered by the Aryas with the help of Indra and their bodies were thrown to the wolves and that they seem to have something to do with a country where the date-palm grew and that a few of them who escaped slaughter subsequently were won over and became the worshippers of Indra (and therefore in Rg. VIII. 6. 18 they are described as praising Indra). So originally they were probably beyond the pale of the Vedic Aryans. If there is any connection between yati and yatu (sorcery) which seems possible, the yatis were probably non-vedic sorcerers.

In the Rg. X. 136. 2, there is a reference of to munis, who are wind-girt and who put on brownish dirt (dirty garments). In Rg. VIII. 17. 14 Indra is said to be the friend of munis (Indro muninām sakhā) and in Rg. X. 136. 4 muni is said to be the friend of all gods. So it appears that even in the times of the Rgveda persons

^{996.} इन्द्रो यतीन सालावृक्षेभ्यः प्रायच्छत् । ते. सं. VI. 2. 7. 5. सहोवाच मामेव विज्ञानीक्षेत्रदेवाहं मतुष्याय हिततमं मन्ये यन्मां विज्ञानीयात् जिल्लाणिणं त्वाष्ट्रमहम्महनम् रून्सुखान्यतीन् सालावृक्षेभ्यः प्रायच्छम्। कीषी. ना. उप. III. 1. अरुन्सुखान् is explained by शंकरानन्द as रुच्छब्दः वेदाध्ययनं तेन उपनिषद्धविच्चारः ... स येषां सुखे नास्ति ते प्रयत्नवन्तश्चतुर्धाश्रमिणः. The words इन्द्रो यतीन् ... प्रायच्छत् are quoted by मेधातिथि on मतु XII. 48 and he gives the gloss of some as 'मेरुनिवासिनः कोचिज्ञनपद्दा यतयो नाम '. यतीनामद्यमानानां शीर्षाणि परापतन् । ते खर्जूरा अभवन् । ते. सं. II. 4. 9. 2.

^{997.} सुनयो बातरशनाः पिशङ्गा वसते मला। ऋ. X. 136. 2.

who led a life of poverty, contemplation and mortification were known, and were honoured and called munis, while persons corresponding to them among non-vedic people were probably called yatis. But in both these words there is no idea of a certain stage in a well-knit scheme of life. Perhaps the earliest reference to the four āśramas, though somewhat obscureoccurs in the Ait. Br. 33. 11 'what (use is there) of dirt, what use of antelope skin, what use of (growing) the beard, what is the use of tapas? O! brāhmanas! desire a son, he is a world that is to be highly praised.' 998 Here it is clear that ajina refers to brahmacarya, śmaśrūni to vānaprasthas (since according to Manu VI. 6 and Gaut. III. 33 the vanaprastha had to grow his hair, beard and nails). Therefore 'malam' and 'tapas' must be taken respectively as indicating the householder and the sainnyāsin. A much clearer reference to three āśramas occurs in the Chandogya 999 Up. II. 23. 1 'there are three branches of dharma, the first (is constituted by) sacrifice, study and charity (i. e. by the stage of householder), the second is (constituted by the performance of) lapas (i. e. the vanaprastha). the third is the brahmacarī staying in the house of his teacher and wearing himself out till death in the teacher's house; all these attain to the worlds of the meritorious; but one who (has correctly understood brahma) and abides in it attains immortality'. Tapas is a characteristic of both vānaprastha and parivrājaka. Therefore in this passage it is possible to hold that the three asramas (of student, householder and vanaprastha) are mentioned. The last clause about 'brahmasamstha' differentiates the three asramas from him who has knowledge

^{998.} किं न मलं किमजिनं किस इमश्रूणि किं तपः। एतं ब्रह्माण इच्छध्वं स वै लोको बदावदः। ऐ. बा. 33.11. मलं probably refers to sexual intercourse. तपः may indicate the वानप्रस्थ (भौतम III. 25 वैखानसो चने मूलफलाशी तपःशिलः) or संन्यासिन् (Manu VI. 75 requires a संन्यासिन् to undergo severe tapas).

^{999.} त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धा यज्ञोध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमस्तप एव द्वितीयो ब्रह्मत्वार्याचार्यकुलवासी तृतीयोऽत्यन्तमात्मानमाचार्यकुलेऽवसाद्यन्सर्व एते प्रण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमिते। द्यान्दोग्य II. 23. 1. It is worthy of note that इंकर explains तपः as
'तप इति कुच्छ्नचान्द्रायणादि तद्वांस्तापसः परिवाङ् वा न ब्रह्मसंस्थः आश्रमधर्ममात्रसंस्थो
ब्रह्मसंस्थस्य त्वमृतत्वश्रवणात्'; while on Vedānta—sūtra III. 4. 20 he disapproves of the view that by the word 'tapas' the parivrājaka also is
meant. This passage of the Chān. Up. is the basis of Vedāntasūtra
III. 4. 18-20. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 55 quotes this passage of the
Chāndogya and remarks that it is the parivrājaka who is brahmasanistha
that is referred to in the last part of the passage 'पारिशेष्यात्परिवाजकस्यैव
ब्रह्मसंस्थस्य सुक्तिलक्षणामृतत्वपासिरभिहिता'।

of brahma and holds fast by it. That portion says that the consequence of the knowledge of brahma is immortality; say expressly or impliedly that the does not stage of parivrājaka is a means of attaining the knowledge of brahma. So one may doubt whether samnyasa an asrama is spoken of here, but there can be no doubt that the other three are clearly indicated here. Probably in the time of the Chandogya there was no clear line of demarcation between the asramas of vanaprastha and sainnyasa and they rather coalesced into each other. Chan. Up. V. 10. 1 and Br. Up. VI, 2, 15 support this conclusion 1000. In the Br. Up. III. 5, 1 there is a reference to brahmanas who on apprehending correctly the Supreme Spirit turn away from the desires of progeny. wealth and of securing holy worlds and practise begging. Begging is a characteristic of samnyāsa in the sūtras. Yājñavalkya in the Br. Up. IV. 5. 2. tells his wife Maitrey that he was going into a life of prarrajyā from being a householder. Mundaka Up. I. 2. 11 refers to begging for him who has knowledge of brahma and Mundaka III. 2. 6 mentions 'samnyāsa'. In the Jabalopanisad 1001 (4) it is said that Janaka asked Yājûavalkva to expound saimyāsa and then the four āśramas aro distinctly set out 'after finishing the stage of student-hood, one should become a householder; after becoming a householder one should become a forest-dweller, after being a forest-dweller. one should renounce the world; or he may do otherwise viz. he may renounce the world after the stage of student-hood itself or after being an householder or from the forest. The very day on which he becomes desireless, he should renounce the world (become a samnyāsin)'. Probably this passage 100% was not

^{1000.} तद्य इत्थं विदुर्ये चेमेऽरण्ये श्रद्धा तप इत्युपासते तेऽर्चिषमभिसंभवन्ति... स एनान् ब्रह्म गमयत्येष देवयानः प्रत्याः। छाः उप. V. 10. 1. शंकर explains 'ये चेमे... पासते' as 'ये चारण्योपलक्षिता वैखानमाः परिवाजकाश्चः;' एतं वे तमात्मानं विदित्ता ब्राह्मणाः पुत्रेषणायाश्च वित्तेषणायाश्च लोकेषणायाश्च व्युत्थायाथ भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति। तृतः उप. III. 5. 1.

^{1001.} ब्रह्मचर्य परिसमाप्य गृही भनेड् गृही भूत्वा वनी भवेद्वनी भूत्वा प्रवेजत । यित् वेतरथा ब्रह्मचर्यादेव प्रवेजेत् । जावालीप. 4. Vide बी. ध. सू. II. 10. 2 and 18 सीडत एवं ब्रह्मचर्यवान्त्रवज्ञतीत्येकेषाम् । आश्रमाद्य-अमसुपनीय ब्रह्मपूर्वो भवतीति विज्ञायते । Those sutras probably have in view the जावालीप. 4 or some other similar Upanisad passage.

^{1002.} शंकर remarks on Vedantasura III. 4. 20 अनपेक्षेत्र जाबालश्चितिन माभ्रमान्तरविधायिनीमयमाचार्येण विचारः प्रवर्तितः। . त्यःप्रभावाद् देवपसादाद्य बहा ह श्वेताश्वतरोध विद्वान् । अत्याभ्रमिश्यः परमं पवित्रं पोवाच सम्यग्रुषिसङ्खलुष्टम्। श्वेता. उप. VI. 21. The meaning of अत्याभ्रमिश्यः is doubtful. शंकराचार्य explains अत्यन्तं पूज्यतमाश्रमिश्यः . नारायण in the दीपिका reads अन्त्याभ्रमिश्यः .

before the author of the Vedāntasūtra or he did not regard the Jābālopaniṣad as very authoritative; otherwise there would hardly have been any need for the Vedāntasūtrakāra (in the Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 18-20) to hold a discussion on Chāndogya II. 23, 1.

It is clear that in the times of the earliest Upanisads at least three (if not four) āśramas were known and that all four were known by their specific names to the Jābālopaniṣad. In the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad (VI. 21) we have the word 'atyāśramibhyaḥ'. It is said there that the sage Śvetāśvatara, who acquired knowledge of Brahma, proclaimed the knowledge to those who had risen above the mere observances of āśramas.

No scholar Eastern or Western places Pāṇini later than 300 B. C. He knew Bhikṣu-sūtras composed by Pārāśarya and Karmanda¹⁰⁰³ and he tells us that the word 'maskarin' means parivrājaka. As sūtra works about 'bhikṣus' were composed before Pāṇini, this āśrama of bhikṣus must have been an established institution centuries before Pāṇini. Buddhism took over this mode of life (pabbajjā as the Pāli works say) from the brahmanical system.

It has been already stated at p. 8 that the goals of existence were deemed to be four, viz. dharma, artha, kāma and moksa. The highest goal was moksa. All ancient Indian philosophy (whether Vedānta, Sāmkhya or Nyāya) held that liberation from the never-ending cycle of births and deaths, and escape from the three kinds of duhkha were the highest good. The summum bonum consisted in non-return (anavrttih) to the world of pleasures and sorrows. The Chan. Up. 1005 VIII. 15.1 winds up with the words 'and he does not return'. The Br. Up. VI. 2. 15, Prasna Up. I. 10 and others say the same. This supreme goal had fascinated all noble minds in whatever sphere of life they might have been working. The greatest poet and dramatist of classical Sanskrit ends his most famous drama (the Śākuntala) with the prayer 'may self-existent God Siva destroy for me rebirth'. This state of liberation or release is variously called moksa or mukti, amrtatva, nihśrevasa,

^{1003.} पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिश्चनटसूत्रयोः। कर्मन्दकुशाश्वादिनिः। पाणिनि IV. 3. 110-111.

^{1004.} मस्करमस्करिणी वेणुपरिज्ञाजकयो: । पाणिनि VJ. 1. 154.

^{1005.} न च पुनरावर्तते । छा. उ. VIII. 15. 1.

^{1006.} ममापि च क्षपयत मीललोहितः पुनर्भवं परिगतशाक्तिशत्मभूः ॥ शास्त्रन्तल VII.

kaivalya (by the Sāmkhyas) or apavarga (Nyāyasūtra I. 1. 2). For attaining this state man must know and realize that there is only one Reality underlying all existence (and no plurality) and become disgusted with the passions and temptations of the world i. e. he must have nirveda and vairāgya (as stated in the Br. Up. III. 5. 1 or Mundaka I. 2. 12), Merely reading from the books that desirelessness is necessary for release and immediately giving up the world would not serve the purpose. The man would be hankering, as the Bhagavadgita says, after pleasures he has renounced. Therefore the ancient Indian writers devised according to their lights a scheme which is embodied in the theory and practice of the asramas. In brahmacarva the individual goes through the discipline of the will and the emotions, makes himself acquainted with the literary treasures of the past and learns obedience, respect, plain living and high thinking. Then he marries, becomes a householder, tastes the pleasures of the world, enjoys life, has sons, discharges his duties to his children, to his friends, relatives and neighbours and becomes a useful, industrious and worthy citizen, the founder of a family. It is supposed that by the time he is fifty years or so he has become convinced of the futility of human appetites and the pleasures of the world and is, therefore, called upon to resort to a forest life for pondering over the great problem of the life hereafter and to accustom himself to self-abnegation, austerities and a harmless life. This would lead on to the last stage, viz. samnyasa. He may succeed in this very life in realizing the supreme goal of moksa or he may have to continue to rise in spiritual height until after several births and deaths the goal is in view. The theory of varna dealt with man as a member of the Aryan society and laid down what his rights, functions, privileges, responsibilities and duties were as a member of that society. It was addressed to man in the mass. The theory of asramas addressed itself to the individual. It tells him what his spiritual goal is, how he is to order his life and what preparations are required to attain that goal. The theory of asramas was truly a sublime conception and if owing to the exigencies of the times, the conflicts of interests and distractions of life, the scheme could not even in ancient times be carried out fully by every individual and seems to have failed in modern times. the fault does not lie with the originators of this conception. Deussen was constrained to say (in E. R. E. under asrama) far the practice corresponded to this theory given in

Manu and other law books, we do not know; but we are free to confess that in our opinion the whole history of mankind has not much that equals the grandeur of this thought' and again in 'The Philosophy of the Upanisads' (tr. by Geden, 1906) p. 367' the entire history of mankind does not produce much that approaches in grandeur to this thought'.

The three asramas of householder, forest hermit and samnyasa will be dealt with in detail hereafter. Only one question about asramas in general remains to be discussed. With reference to the four asramas, there are three different points of view (paksas) viz. samuccaya (orderly co-ordination), vikalpa (option) and $b\bar{a}dha$ (annulment or contradiction). hold the first view (samuccaya) say that a person can resort to the four asramas one after another in order and that he cannot drop any one or more and pass on to the next nor can be resort to the householder's life after becoming a samnyāsin (vide Daksa I. 8-9, Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 40) e. g. a man cannot take samnyāsa immediately after brahmacarya. Manu (IV. 1, VI. 1. 33-37, 87-88) is the prime supporter of this view. The first part of the Jabalopanisad quoted above refers to this view. This view does not regard marriage and sexual life as impure or inferior to asceticism and on the contrary places it on a higher plane than asceticism. On the whole the tendency of most of the dharmasastra works is to glorify the status of an house-holder and push into the background the two asramas of vanaprastha and samnyasa, so much so that certain works say that these are forbidden in the Kali age. The second view is that there is an option after brahmacarya i. e. a man may become a parirrājaka inunediately after he finishes his study or immediately after the householder's way of life. This view is put forward by the Jäbālopanisad as an alternative to the first view of samuccaya. This is the view also of Vasistha VII. 3, Laghu Visnu III. 1, and Yāj. III. 56. Ap. Dh. S. (II. 9. 21. 7-8 and II. 9. 22. 7-8) scens to favour this view. The third view of badha is held by the ancient dharmasutras of Gautama 1007 and Baudhāyana. They hold that there is really one asrama viz. that of the householder (brahmacarya being only preparatory to it) and that the other asramas are inferior to that of the householder. Vide Gautama (III, 1 and 35) where he first

^{1007.} तस्याश्रमविकाल्पमेके मुक्ते । ऐकाश्रम्भं त्वाचार्या प्रत्यक्षविधानादार्हस्थ्यस्य । भी. 111. 1 and 35.

refers to the view about vikalpa (option) and emphatically says that there is only one asrama. Manu VI. 89-90, III. 77-80, Vas. Db. S. VIII. 14-17, Daksa II. 57-60, Visnu Db. S. 59, 29 and many others praise the asrama of householder as the highest. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 6. 29 ff) says the same as Gautama and it relies 1008 upon the fact that the asramas other than that of householder do not beget offspring and quotes Vedic passages viz. 'may we, O Agni, attain immortality through progeny' (Rg. V. 4, 10 = Tai. S. I. 4, 46, 1) and 'a brahmana when born is born involved in three debts, viz. he owes brahmacarva to the sages, sacrifice to the gods, and progeny to pitrs' (Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5). According to Brahmasutra III. 4. 18 Jaimini held this view, while Bädarāyana seems to have been of the opinion that all asramas are enjoined (ibid. 111, 4, 19-20). Those who hold this view (badha) rely on such Vedic passages 1009 as one should offer agnihotra as long as life lasts' or 'indeed Agnihotra is a satra (sacrificial session) that lasts till one dies by old ago' (Sat. Br. XII, 4. 1. 1), 'one should desire to live a hundred years performing religious acts' (Vaj. S. 40, 2), 'after bringing to the teacher wealth desired by him, do not cut off the thread of progeny' (Tai. Up. I. 11.1). The Mit, on Yaj. III. 56 sets out these three views and says that each is supported by Vedic texts and one may follow any one of the three-Ap. Dh. S. (II. 9, 21, 2) held the view that whatever asrama out of the four one followed, one attained happiness if one performed its duties according to the sastra and after a lengthy discussion Ap, arrives at the conclusion that there is no distinction due to superiority among the four asramas 1010. There were some who thought that the bouseholder's life was the rule and the other asramas were for the blind and other incapable persons. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 56 refutes this view.

'The word āśrama is derived loll from 'śram' to exert, to labour and etymologically means 'a stage in which one exerts oneself'

^{1008.} ऐकाश्रस्यं स्वाचार्या अप्रजननत्वादितरेषाम् । ...प्रजाभिरग्ने अमृतस्वमञ्चाम् जायमानो वै बाह्मणस्त्रिभिर्क्षणवा जायते बह्मचर्यणपिश्यो यज्ञेन देवेश्यः प्रजया पितृश्य इति । बौ. ध. 11. 6. 29, 42-43.

^{1009.} एतद्वे जरामर्थ सत्रं यद्गिहोत्रम् । शतपथ XII. 4. 1. 1; कुर्वक्रेवह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः । ईशावास्योप॰ 2.

^{1010.} तेषु सर्वेषु यथोपदेशमध्यक्रो वर्तमानः क्षेत्रं गच्छति । आप. ध. सू. 11. 9, 21, 2 and '..... न तु तज्ज्येष्ठज्यमाश्रमाणाम् । 'आप. ध. 11. 9, 24, 14.

^{1011.} आश्रारपन्ति अस्मिन् इति आश्रमः।. From this sense arose the meaning of 'hermitage'.

Commentators like Sarvajña-Nārāyana on Manu VI. 35 endeavour to bring about reconciliation between the three views set out above as follows: the view that a man may pass on to sainnyāsa immediately after the period of student-hood (without being a householder) applies only to those men who are, owing to the impressions and effects of restrained conduct in past lives, entirely free from desires and whose tongue, sexual appetites, belly and words are thoroughly under control; the prescriptions of Manu enjoining on men not to resort to samnyasa without paying off the three debts are concerned with men whose appetites have not yet thoroughly been brought under control and the words of Gautama that there is only one asrama (that of the house-holder) relate only to those whose appetites for worldly pleasures and pursuits are quite keen.

CHAPTER IX

MARRIAGE

This is the most important of all samskaras. Throughout the ages for which literary tradition is available in India marriage has been highly thought of. The several words that are employed to denote the idea of marriage indicate one or more of the elements of the samskara of marriage. Such words are udvāha (taking the girl out of her parental home), vivāha (taking the girl away in a special way or for a special purpose i.e. for making her one's wife), parinaya or parinayana (going round i. e. making a pradaksinā to fire), upayama (to bring near and make one's own), and panigrahana (taking the hand of the girl). Though these words express only one component element of the rite of marriage they are all used in the śāstras 1012 to indicate the totality of the several acts that go to make up the ceremony of marriage. The word 'vivāha' occurs in the Tai. S. VII. 2. 87 and Ait. Br. (27.5). In the Tāṇdya 1013 Mahābrāhmana VII. 10. 1 it is said that "heaven and earth were once together but they became separate'; then they said 'let us bring about a marriage, let there be a co-operation between us'."

Before dwelling upon the various aspects of marriage, the question, whether our authorities point to a state of society when there was no institution of marriage, but there was only promiscuity, requires to be considered. The Vedic works contain no indications about a society in which the relations of the sexes were promiscuous and unregulated. In the Mahābhārata, 1014 however, Pāṇḍu is made to state to his queen Kunti that women in former ages were under no control, indulged themselves as they liked and that they left off one man and

^{1012.} एवसुपयमनपाणिग्रहणज्ञाब्द्वत्परिणयनशब्दोऽपि द्ण्डिन्यायेनेव कर्मससुद्धाये शास्त्रेषु प्रयुज्यते । अपरार्क p. 91.

^{1014.} Vide आदिपर्व chap. 122 (chap. 113 of cr. ed. Poona). Some of the verses may be quoted 'अनावृताः किल पुरा श्चिय आसन् वरानने। कामचार-विहास्पियः स्वतन्त्राश्चारहासिनि ॥ 4 ...उत्तरेषु च रम्भोक कुठव्यद्यापि वर्तते। 7; सभापर्व 31. 37-38 'वभूवरनिमाह्या योषितश्चन्द्वतः किल। एवमभिर्वरं प्रादान श्चीणामशिववारणे॥.'

went after another, that this state of things continued to his (Pāndu's) day in the country of Uttara Kuru, that it was Svetaketu, son of Uddālaka, who for the first time stopped all this license and laid down the rule that if a woman proved false to her husband or if a husband was false to a chaste wife, very grave sin would be incurred. In the Sabhāparva (31.37-38) it is said that through the favour of Agni women in Mahismati did what they liked and could not be restrained. These passages cannot be relied upon for proving promiscuity of intercourse. In the first place, the country of Uttara Kuru is more or less mythical. This passage rather gives expression to what the poet imagined about remotest ages and not what he knew was the real state of society thousands of years before him. The theory of an original state of promiscuity once advanced by several sociologists has now ceased to be respectable (vide Mrs. M. Cole in 'Marriage, past and present' p. 10.

The purpose of marriage, even according to the Rgveda, was to enable a man, by becoming a householder, to perform sacrifices to the gods and to procreate sons. The verse in Rg. X. 85, 36 shows that the husband took a woman as a wife for 'garhapatya'. Rg. V. 3. 2., V. 28. 3 speak of the co-operation of husband and wife in the worship of gods. Rg. III, 53, 4 contains the emphatic assertion 'the wife herself is the home' (jayed-astam). In later literature also the same statement occurs. A wife was called 'jaya', because the husband was born in the wife as a son (Ait, Br. 33, 1). The Sat. Br. V. 2, 1. 10 says 'the wife 1015 is indeed half of one's self: therefore as long as a man does not secure a wife so long he does not beget a son and so he is till then not complete (or whole); but when be secures a wife he gets progeny and then he becomes complete'. The Ait. Ar. (1, 2, 4) says 'therefore a man, after securing a wife, regards himself as more complete'. When Ap. Dh. S. 11, 5, 11, 12 forbids taking a second wife if the first is endowed with progeny and the performance of religious rites, it indicates

^{1015.} अर्धो ह वा एष आत्मनी पञ्जापा तस्माद्यावज्जायां न विन्द्रते नैव तावत्प्रजायते असवीं हि तावञ्जवति । अथ यदैव जायां विन्द्रतेऽध प्रजायते तर्हि हि सर्वी भवति । इत्रप्ध आ. V. 2. 1. 10. Vide इत्रप्ध VIII. 7. 2. 3. also. The words अर्धो वा एष आत्मनी यत्यत्नी occur in तै. सं. VI. 1. 8. 5. तस्मात् पुरुषो जायां विस्ता कृत्स्नतरमिवात्माणं सन्यते । ऐ. आ. I. 2. 5. न गृहं गृहमित्याहुगृहिणी गृहसुच्यते । झानितपर्व 144. 66; अर्ध भार्या मनुष्यस्य भार्या श्रेष्ठतमः सस्मा । भार्या मूर्ज विवर्षय भार्या भूतं तरिष्यतः ॥ आद्मिष्व 74. 40; आम्नाये समुतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च स्तिभिः । झनिराधै रसूता भार्यो एण्यापुण्यकले समा ॥ बुष्टस्यति quoted by अपरार्क p. 740.

that the main purposes of marriage are two, ¹⁰¹⁶ viz. the wife enables a man to perform religious rites and is the mother of a son or sons who were supposed to save a man from hell. Manu (IX. 28) states that on the wife depend the procreation of sons, the performance of religious rites, service, highest pleasure, heaven for oneself and for one's ancestors. So these three viz. dharmasampatti, prajū (and consequent freedom from falling into hell) and rati (sexual and other pleasures) are the principal purposes of marriage according to the smrtis and nibandhas. Yāj. I. 78 is to the same effect. Jaimini (VI. 1. 17 ff) establishes that husband and wife have to perform sacrifices together and not separately and Ap. Dh. S. ¹⁰¹⁷ II. 6. 13. 16-17 emphatically says that there can be no separation between husband and wife, for since marriage they have to perform religious acts jointly.

Marriage is a composite rite comprising several subordinate elements which have to be done in a certain order and the last of which is seeing the constellation of the seven sages; it (rite) brings about the status of a woman as a person's wife.

The first consideration is: how to choose a bridegroom and what qualifications make a person a very desirable bridegroom. Asv. gr. (1, 5, 2) says 'one should give a maiden in (in marriage) to a man endowed with intelligence'. The Ap. gr. (3, 20) remarks "the accomplishments of a bridegroom are that he must be endowed with good family, a good character, auspicious characteristics, learning and good health". Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1.12 states a maiden should be given in marriage to one who is endowed with good qualities and who is a celibate (till then)'. Even the Sākuntala (IV) echoes the words of

^{1016.} धर्मप्रजासंपन्ने द्वारे नाम्यां कुर्वात । आप, घ. 11. 5. 11. 12; the मिता॰ on धा. 1. 78 quotes this and remarks 'तथा खापस्तम्बेन धर्मप्रजासंपत्तिः प्रयोजनं द्वारसंग्रहस्योक्तं धर्म---कुर्वितिन बद्दता । रतिफलं तु लैक्तिकसेव ।.

^{1017.} आयापत्योर्न विभागी विद्यते । पाणिब्रहणाद्धि सहत्वं कर्मेश्च । आप. ध. भू. 11. 6. 13. 16-17.

^{1018.} कः पुनरयं विवाहो नाम । उपायतः प्रातायाः कन्याचा दारकरणार्थः संस्कारः सेतिकर्तव्याङ्गः सप्तर्षिद्कीनपर्यन्तः पाणिभ्रहणलक्षणः । मेधा॰ on मनु 111. 20; तेन भार्याः स्वसंपादकं ग्रहणं विवाहः । रघुनन्द्रन in उद्घाहतस्व.

^{1019.} सुद्धिमते कन्यां प्रयच्छेत्। आश्व. ए. 1. 5. 2; दश्चाहुणको कन्यां निश्चकां अक्ष-चारिणे। मी. ध. IV. 1. 20; चन्धुर्शाललक्षणसंपक्षः श्रुतवानरोग इति वरसंपत्। आप. १. 1. 3. 20; गुणको कन्यका प्रतिपाद्मनीयेत्ययं तावत्प्रथमः संकल्पः। शाकुन्तलः IV (said by अनस्या); कुलं च शीलं च वपूर्यशब्द विद्यां च वित्तं च सन्वावतां च। एतान्युणान्मस परीक्ष्य देगा कन्या बुधैः श्रीकाचिकातीयसः॥ यम 10 रसृतिचः 1. १. 78.

Baudhāyana 'the best idea is to give one's daughter to a man endowed with good qualities'. Yama quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 78) says 'one should seek for seven qualities in a bridegroom viz. good family, good character, bodily appearance, fame, learning, wealth and support (of relatives and friends); the other matters need not be considered'. Brhat-paräsara (p. 118 Jiv. ed.) enumerates eight qualities in a bridegroom viz. caste, learning, youth, strength, health, support of many (friends &c.), ambitions (arthitva), and possession of wealth. Asv. gr. (I. 5. 1) and others place kula (a good family) in the forefront in the case of both the bride and the bridegroom. 1080 'One should first examine the family (of the intended bride or bridegroom) as it has been said above (in the Asv. Srauta sūtra IX. 3). The Asy, Srauta reads 'those who on their mother's as well as their father's side through ten generations are endowed with learning, austerity and meritorious works or whose pure brāhmana lineage can be traced on both sides (for ten generations) or according to some on the father's side.' Manu regarded a good family as the most important from the eugenic point of view. In IV. 244 he says 'one who desires to raise his family to excellence and eminence should always enter into marriage alliances with the best and avoid alliance with the low'; and adds (III. 6-7) that ten kinds of families even though richly endowed with cattle, wealth &c. should be avoided in marriage viz. in which the samskaras are not performed, in which there is no male progeny, which are devoid of Veda (study), which have hairy members, that suffer from piles or consumption or indigestion or epilepsy, white or black leprosy. Manu (III) 63-65) explains under what circumstances good families are reduced to a bad state. Harita states that the offspring is in accordance with the (qualities of the) family of the parents. The Harsacarita (IV) gives expression to the view that generally the wise look to good family first even though there may be other qualities in the bridegroom. Manu II. 238, however, allows a man to marry a girl even from an inferior or bad family provided she is a jewel among women.

^{1020.} कुलमग्ने परिक्षेत ये मातृतः पितृतश्चेति यथोक्तं पुरस्तात्। आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 1; आश्व. श्री. स्. IX. 3. is 'ये मातृतः पितृतश्च दशपूरुषं समद्वष्टिता विद्यातपोभ्यां पुण्येश्व वर्माभिर्येषासुभयतो वा ब्राह्मण्यं निनयेषुः पितृतश्चेके। ... These qualifications were laid down for those who were to partake of the camasa offering in Rajasuya. कुलानुस्त्याः प्रजाः संभवन्ति। हारीत quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 589; पायेण च सत्स्वदयन्येष वरमणेष्वभिजनमेनानुरुध्यन्ते धीमन्तः। हर्षस्त. IV.

Yaj. (I. 54-55) emphasizes the importance of a good family famed for ten generations and freedom from diseases that are hereditarily transmitted and adds that the bridegroom must be young, intelligent, a favourite among the people and his virility must be carefully tested. The Mit. on Yāj. 1. 55 quotes Nārada (strīpuinsa) who mentions some characteristics of the virile man and enumerates fourteen varieties of impotent persons (verses 11-13). Kātyāyana 1021 mentions what defective bridegrooms are to be avoided viz. the lunatic, one guilty of grave sins, leprous, one of the same gotra, one bereft of eyesight or hearing, an epileptic and adds that these defects are to be avoided even The Mahābhārata observes 'friendship and among brides. marriage should take place between those alone whose wealth is similar and whose learning (i. e. the learning in whose families) is of equal status, not between opulent (well-off) and the poverty-stricken', 1022

Though Manu and Yāj. indicate that impotent persons are not eligible for marriage, yet such persons rarely married. Their marriages were held valid by Manu, Yāj, and others and their sons (by niyoga) took property as if they were aurasa sons. Vide Manu IX. 203 and Yāj. II. 141-142.

The Samskäraprakäsa (pp. 752-754) contains a long discussion on the question how from bodily characteristics one can find whether a man will live long or what his prospects would be. These are passed over for want of space.

Rules for the selection of the bride are far more elaborate than those for selecting a bridegroom, though in some respects they are the same (such as about the necessity of good family, about the absence of diseases &c.). Vide Vas I. 38, Vispu Dh. S. 24, 11, Kāmasūtra III. 1, 2, 1023 Even the Śat. Br. (I. 2, 5, 16)

- 1021. उन्मत्तः पतितः कुष्ठी तथा षण्ढः स्वगोत्रजः। चक्षःश्रोत्रविद्दिनिश्च तथापस्मार-पूषितः। यरदोषाः स्मृता होते कन्यादोषाश्च कीर्तिताः। स्मृतिचः I. p. 59; the text of नारद (ed. by Jolly, स्त्रीपुंसयोग v. 37) is उन्मत्तः पतितः क्रीवां दुर्भगस्त्यक्तवान्धवः॥ कन्यादोषौ च यौ पूर्वविष दोषगणो वरे॥
- 1022. यथोरेव समं वित्तं यथोरेव समं श्वतम् । तथोर्भेत्री विवाहश्च न तु पुष्टविपुष्टयोः॥ आदिपर्व 131. 10; compare उद्योगपर्व 33. 117 समैर्विवाहं कुरुते न हीनेः समैः सख्यं व्यवहारं कथां च।
- ्र 1023. तस्मात्कन्यामभिजनोपेतां मातापितृमतीं विवर्षात्मभृतिन्यूनवयसं श्राध्याचारे धनवति पक्षवति कुले संबन्धिपिये संबन्धिभिराकुले प्रस्तां प्रभूतमातापितृपक्षां रूपशीललक्षण-संपन्नामन्यूनाधिकाविनष्टदन्तनस्वकर्णकेशाक्षिस्तनीमरोगिमकृतिशरीरां तथाविध एव श्रुतवाञ्च् शीलयेत्। कामसुव III. 1. 2.

gives expression to the then view that broad hips and slender waists make women attractive. Asv. gr. I. 5. 3 says 1084 one should marry a girl who is endowed with intelligence, beauty, a good character and auspicious characteristics and who is healthy'. San. gr. I. 5. 6 and Manu III. 4 and Yaj. I. 52 also require that the girl should be possessed of auspicious characteristics (or indications). These (laksanas) are of two kinds. bāhya (visible or bodily characteristics) and ābhyantara (invisible). Ap. gr. 1025 (III, 21) states a commonsense rule: 'a girl on whom his mind and eyes are riveted will bring him happiness (or prosperity), he should pay no heed to other things; this is the view of some'. The Kamasutra quotes the view of Ghotakamukha 'be should proceed to marry a girl on taking whom as his wife he would regard himself as blessed and would not be blamed by his friends (or persons in a similar station in life)' 1026. Manu III. 8 and 10. Visnu Dh. S. 24. 12-16 say that one should not marry a girl having tawny hair or having an excessive limb (such as a sixth finger) or a deficient limb, who is hairless or very hairy, who is talkative and has yellowish eyes; but should marry a girl who has limbs void of any defect, whose gait is like that of a swan or an elephant, the hair on whose head or body is of slight growth and whose teeth are small, whose body is delicate. The Visnu-purana (III, 10. 18-22) adds that the girl must not have a marked growth of hair on her chin or lip, her voice must not be hoarse or like that of a crow; her legs and ankles must not be very hairy, there should be no dimples on her cheeks when she laughs, she should not be very dwarfish or very tall &c. Manu III. 9 and Ap. gr. (III. 13) say that the girl to be married must not bear names of the lunar mansions (such as Revatl. Ardra &c.), trees or rivers, she must not bear a mleccha name or that

^{1024.} बुद्धिरूपशीललक्षणसंपन्नामरागासुपयच्छेत । आश्वः मृ. I. 5. 3; बन्धुङ्गील सुंपयच्छेत । आप. मृ. III. 20.

^{1025.} यस्यां मनश्चभुवोत्तिनम्धस्तस्यामृद्धिनंतरदानियेत्वयेक । आप. ध. III. 21. This is quoted by the मिता॰ on याज्ञ. I. 52. The Kamasutra III. 1.14 has the same rule in the same words. The भारदाजगृह्य I. 11 quotes a verse to the same effect श्रीकं तु लाक्षणा उदाहरान्ति । यस्यां मनोऽतुरमते चश्चश्च प्रतिपद्यते । तां विद्यात्पुण्यलक्ष्मीकां किं ज्ञानेन करिष्यति॥ This makes attractiveness more important in a woman even than knowledge. In the Malatimadhava (Act. II) Kamandaki ascribes the words यस्यां मनश्च॰ to Angiras 'इतरेतराजुरागो विद्यायकर्मणि पराध्ये मङ्गलं गीतश्चायमधोङ्गिरसा यस्यां मनश्चभुवोरद्धवन्धस्तस्यामृद्धिरिते '.

^{1026.} या गृहीत्वा कृतिनमात्मानं मन्येत न च समानैनिन्धेत तस्या प्रवृत्तिरिति घोटकस्थः। कामसञ्ज III. 1. 3.

of a mountain, of a bird, of a snake or of a slave or a name that is terrific. Āp. gr. (III. 14) and Kāmasūtra III. 1. 13 mention that a girl should not be chosen, the penultimate letter of whose name is r or l (such as Gauri, Śāli, Kamalū). Nārada 1027 (strīpumsayoga 36) says that defects of girls are as follows:—when they suffer from long-standing or disgusting diseases, when they are devoid of a limb or have already had connection with another man, when they are wicked or have their minds fixed on another; and Āp. gr. (III. 11-12) states other defects of girls viz. one should not choose a girl who is asleep or weeps or has left the house when persons come to see whether she can be chosen. Vide Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 34. 76-77 for guṇas and defects of girls as 'brides'.

Bhār. gr. I.11 says that there are four inducing reasons 1028 for marrying a particular girl viz. wealth, beauty, intelligence and family. If all four cannot be secured, wealth may be neglected (as the least important of all); then beauty may be neglected if there is intelligence and good family, but there is a difference of view as to the latter two, some preferring intelligence to family and others family to intelligence. Mānava gr. (I. 7. 6-7) adds a fifth inducement for marriage, viz. vidyā (learning) after beauty and before prajñā. Vide also Vārāha gr. 10.

Some of the grhyasūtras propose a peculiar mystical method of selecting a bride. The Āśv. gr. (I. 5. 3) after stating that one should select a girl endowed with good characteristics (laksaṇas) proceeds 'lakṣaṇas are very difficult to discern' and therefore prescribes (I. 5. 5-6) that eight lumps of different kinds of earth should be taken respectively from a field that yields two crops a year, from a cow-stable, from a vedī (sacrificial altar, after sacrifice is performed), from a pool of water that does not dry up, from a gambling place, from a place where four roads meet, from a barren spot, and from a burial ground; then he should recite over the lumps the formula 'rla (right) has been born first in the beginning; truth is founded (or fixed) in rta; may this girl attain here that for which she is born; may what is true be visible; 'then he says to the girl

^{1027.} दीर्घकुत्सितरोगार्ता व्यङ्गा संस्रष्टमैधुना । दुष्टान्यगतभावा च कन्यादोषाः प्रकी-र्तिताः ॥ नारद् (स्त्रीपुंसयोग 36)

^{1028.} च्यत्वारि विवाहकारणानि वित्तं रूपं प्रज्ञा बान्धविमिति। तानि चेत्सर्वाणि न शक्तु-याद्वित्तसुद्दरेक्तो रूपं प्रज्ञायां च तु बान्धवे च विवन्दते । बान्धवसुद्दरयेदित्येक आहुरप्रज्ञेन हि कः संवासः । भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 11.

'take one of these'. According as she chooses the lump, it may respectively be deemed that she will have offspring rich in food (if she chooses the lump of the earth taken from the field of two crops a year &c.), or rich in cattle, or rich in spiritual lustre or rich in everything, or addicted to gambling, or wandering in different directions or poor, or that she will bring death to her husband (if she takes the lump of the earth from the burial ground). The Gobhila gr. II. 1, 4-9 speaks of these lumps and adds that a ninth lump may be formed by mixing up the earths of all eight varieties and that if she takes up any one of the four lumps of earth from an altar, furrow, a pool or a cow-stable or (according to some) the ninth lump, she may be selected. The Laugāksi gr. 14. 4-7 contains the same rules as in Gobhila. Ap. gr. 1020 (III. 15-18) prescribes a somewhat different method. If both sides agree, the bridegroom (or his friends) should place in one lump of earth several kinds of seeds (such as rice, barley &c.); he should take (a lump having in it) the dust from an altar, a third having a clod from a ploughed field, a lump having cowdung inside and (a fifth having) a clod of earth from a cemetery and keeping them before the girl ask her to teuch one of them (the five). If she touches any one of the first four, that is an indication of future prosperity (of the nature of the object touched), but the last (viz. clod of earth from cemetery) is objectionable. The Vārāha gr. 10 and Bhār. gr. I. 11 speak of only four lumps of earth viz. from a field, from an altar, from a cow-stable, and from a cemetery and say that one should not marry a girl who takes up the lump of cemetery earth. Manava gr. (I. 7. 9-10) speaks of eight lumps but substitutes a lump of earth where durva grows and a lump from under a tree filled with fruit for earth from a pool of water and one from a gambling place and adds that the eight lumps should be placed in a temple and if the girl takes up the lump from a cemetery or from a barren spot or from where four roads meet she should not be married. Many digests like the Gr. R. (pp. 13-22) contain long quotations which dilate upon the indications about the auspiciousness or otherwise of girls from their several physical features.

Gaut. IV. 1, Vas. 8. 1, Mānava gr. I. 7. 8, Yāj. I. 52 and several others say that the girl must be younger (yaviyasi)

^{1029.} शक्तिविषये द्रव्याणि प्रतिच्छन्नान्युपनिधाय न्यादुपस्पृशेति। नानाचिनानि संस्थानि वेद्याः पास्य क्षेत्राछोष्टं शकुच्छम्शानलोष्टमिति। पूर्वेषासुपस्पर्शने यथालिङ्गसृद्धिः। उत्तमं परिचक्षते । आप. मृ. 3. 15-18.

than the bridegroom and the Kāmasūtra (III. 1.2) recommends that she must be younger than the bridegroom by at least three years. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 52 explains 'yavīyasi' as meaning 'younger in age and smaller in stature' (than the bridegroom). What the age of marriage was will be discussed a little below.

Gaut. IV. 1, 1030 Vas. 8. 1, Yāj. I. 52, Manu (III. 4 and 12) and others say that one should marry only a girl who is a virgin and of the same caste. How far widow-marriages and intercaste marriages were allowed would be discussed later on.

The Manava gr. I.7.8, Manu III. 11 and Yaj. I. 53 require that the girl to be chosen must not be brotherless. This requirement which has been not in force for centuries has a long history behind it. In Rg. I. 124.7 it is said 1031 'as a brotherless maiden comes back towards her male relations (her father's family)...so the dawn reveals objects (or her beauty).' In the Atharvaveda I. 17. 1 we read 'like brotherless women let them sit still with their splendour gone'. Both these passages are quoted and explained in the Nirukta III. 4-5. In ancient times when a man had no son, he could make his daughter do for a son (i. e. she herself became putrikā) and stipulate with the person marrying her that the son born of her would be his (i. e. the girl's father's) son and would offer pindas as a son to his maternal grandfather. The result would be that the son of such a girl would not offer pindas to his father and would not continue the line of his father. Rg. III. 31.1 (a very obscure and difficult verse) has been explained by the Nirukta (1II. 4) as referring to the practice of declaring a daughter to be one's son 1088. Therefore, brotherless maidens were not chosen as brides and the Rg. speaks of spinsters growing old in their parental home (Rg. II. 17. 7). Vas. Dh. S. 17. 16 refers 1033 to

^{1030.} गृहस्थः सदृशीं भाषी विन्देतानन्यपूर्वी वत्तीयसीम्। गाँ, IV. 1; गृहस्थी विनीतक्रोधहर्षो अस्पृष्टमैथुनामवरवयसीं सदृशीं भाषी विन्देत। वसिष्ठ VIII. 1.

^{1031.} अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतिची गर्ताक्षिय सनये धनानाम्। जायेव पत्य उदावी सुवासा उषा हस्रेव निरिणीते अप्तः। द्वा. I. 124. 7. The संस्कारप्रकाश p. 747 quotes this Vedic verse, Yaska's Nirukta thereon and Vas. also. अभ्रातर इव जामय-स्तिष्ठनतु हत्तवर्चसः। अथर्व I. 17. 1. The निकक्त (III. 4) reads अभ्रातर इव योपा-स्तिष्ठनित हतवर्सनः and explains अभ्रातर इव योपास्तिष्ठन्ति संतानकर्मणे पिण्डदानाय हतवर्मानः

^{1032.} प्रशास्ति चोढा संतानकर्मणे दृहितुः पुत्रभावम् । निकक्त III. 4.

^{1033.} तृतीयः पुत्रिका। विज्ञायते अभ्रतृका पुंसः पितृतस्येति प्रतीचीनं गच्छति पुत्रत्वम्। तत्र श्लोकः। अभ्रातृकां प्रदास्यामि तृत्यं कन्यामलंकृताम्। अस्यां यो जायते पुत्रः सम् पुत्रो भवेदिति। वसिष्ठ 17. 15-17. The sutra विज्ञायते is an echo of the explanation of the Nirukta III. 5 and the verse quoted also occurs in the विच्छाधर्मसूत्र 15. 5.

Rg. I. 124, 7 and quotes a verse about a brotherless girl. Such a daughter at whose marriage the father made the stipulation stated above was called putrika and according to Gaut. 28.17 some 1034 teachers went so far as to say that a daughter became a putrikā by the mental resolve of the father alone (without there being an express agreement with the bridegroom). therefore that Manu (3.11) ordains that one should not marry a girl that has no brother, as there is the danger of her being a putrikā. The Nirukta (III. 5) quotes another 1035 Vedic passage one should not marry a brotherless woman, for she becomes the son of him (her father)' and remarks that in this passage there is a direct prohibition against marrying a brotherless maiden (while in the passage of the Atharvaveda it is indirect, being involved in a simile) and it is also expressly said that she becomes the son of her father. In medieval times this prohibition against marrying a brotherless girl gradually was ignored and in modern times the pendulum has swung the other way, a brotherless girl being a coveted prize if her father be rich. In course of time popular feeling changed and no girl could remain unmarried if she wanted heavenly worlds. There is an interesting story in the Salyaparva chap. 52 of the daughter of Kunigarga who, when told by Nārada that an unmarried woman could not secure heaven, married for one day Srngavat and then went to heaven.

There are further restrictions about choosing a girl for marriage. The rule was that a man should marry a girl of the same caste. So far there is what is called endogamy (i. e. rule requiring marriage within a certain large community). But within this large community there were certain groups which were prohibited for marriage to a person belonging to another group of the same caste or community (i. e. the principle of exogamy operated within the large community itself). The Hir. gr. I. 19. 2, Gobhila gr. III. 4. 4, Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 15 require that the bride to be chosen must not belong to the same gotra as that of the bridegroom. They are all silent about the sameness of prayara. Gaut. IV. 2., Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 1. Mānaya

1034. अभिसंधिमात्रात्युत्रिकेत्येकेषाम्। गौ. 28. 17.

^{1035.} नाभ्रात्रीस्पयच्छेत तोकं हास्य तद्भवति इति अभ्रातृकाया उपयमनभतिषेधः भत्यक्षः पितृश्च पुत्रभावः । निरुक्त III. 5. Prof. Rajvade in his translation of the Nirukta in Marathi regards this passage (Nir. III. 5) as interpolated, but his reasons are quite unconvincing. विश्वस्प on या. I. 53 quotes नाभ्रा••• भवति as a text of the Bhallavins.

gr. I. 7, 8, Vārāha gr. 9, Śankha 1080 Dh. S. forbid marriage with a girl whose prayara (or arseva) is the same as that of the bridegroom; but they say nothing about the prohibition against the sameness of gotra. It is somewhat remarkable that some of the grhvasūtras like Āsv. and Pār. say not a word about sameness of gotra and pravara. Visnu Dh. S. 24. 9, Vaik. III. 2, Yāi, I. 53, Nārada (strīpumsa, verse 7), Vedavyāsa II. 2 and many others prohibit sameness of gotra as well as of prayara. Gobhila gr. III. 4. 5, Manu III. 5, Vaik, III. 2 and Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16 require that the bride must not be a sapinda or blood relation of the mother of the bridegroom; while Gaut-IV. 2, Vas. VIII. 2, Visnu Dh. S. 24. 10, Vārāha gr. 9, Śankha Dh. (quoted above), Yāj. I. 53 and others restrict the prohibition against marrying a sapinda girl to seven degrees on the father's side and five degrees on the mother's side. There were others like the Vedavyāsa-smrti which not only prohibited marriage with a girl who had the same gotra as the bridegroom's, but prohibited marriage with a girl whose mother's gotra was the same as the bridegroom's.

All these prohibitions against marrying a sagotra, sapravara or sapinda girl are extremely important, as the following considerations will show. It is a canon of the Pūrvamīmāmsā that if there is a seen (drsta) or easily perceptible reason for a rule stated in the sacred texts, it is only recommendatory and a breach of such a rule does not nullify the principal act. But if there is an unseen (adrsta) reason for a rule and there is a breach of such rule, the principal act itself is rendered invalid and nugatory thereby. The rule about not marrying a woman who is diseased or who has superfluous or deficient limbs has a seen reason viz. marriage with such a girl causes unhappiness (if she is diseased) or comment (if she has deficient limbs). Therefore, if a person marries such a girl the marriage is perfectly valid. But there is no seen or easily perceptible reason for the prohibition against marrying a sagotra or sapravara girl. Therefore, such rules go to the root of the matter and are obligatory and, if there is a breach of them, the marriage is no marriage, it is null and void. So even if a person goes through a ceremony of marriage with a girl who

^{1036.} हरद्त्त on आप. ध. स्. II. 5. 11-16 quotes शृङ्ख ' दारानाहरेत्सद्वशानस-मानार्षेयानसंबन्धानासप्तमपञ्चमात्विवृमातुवन्धुस्यः ।. The words बाह्यक्, बाह्य and pravara mean the same thing. Manu is silent about the prohibition against marrying a sapravara girl.

is a sagotra or sapravara or sapinda (within prohibited degrees) she does not in law become his wife at all. These principles are very lucidly set 1057 forth by Medhātithi on Manu III. 11, by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 53, the Madanapārijāta and other works. Therefore, these questions of sagotra, sapravara and sapinda will be dealt with at some length later on.

The question of the age of marriage for men and women will now be considered. This is a very interesting and instructive study. The age of marriage for both sexes has varied considerably from age to age, from province to province and also from caste to caste even at the same time. 1038 As regards men there is no special rule as to the age before which a man was obliged to marry. A man could remain celibate all his life, while at least in medieval and modern times marriage has been absolutely necessary for every girl. A man was to marry after he had finished his Vedic studies; but the period of Vedic study was fluctuating (i. e. it could be 12, 24, 36, 48 years or as much time as was necessary to master one Veda or a portion of it). Usually twelve years were devoted to brahmacarva in ancient times and as upanayana ordinarily took place in the 8th year (for brāhmanas) a man would ordinarily be 20 years old or more at the time of marriage. It is therefore that Manu (IX. 94) remarks that a man of thirty may marry a girl of twelve years or a man of 24 who is in a hurry to become a householder may marry a girl of eight. Basing on this the Visnupurana 1039 (III. 10. 16) says that the ages of the bride and bridegroom should be in the ratio of 1 to 3. Angiras says that the bride should be two, three, five or more years younger.

^{1037.} अस्मिन् प्रकारण यत्र नारित दृष्टगतः प्रतिषेधः, यथा 'असपिण्डा च' इत्यत्र श्लोके, तद्विक्रमे विवाहस्वरूपानिर्वृत्तिरेव । अतः सगोत्राद्विवाहः कृतोप्यकृत एव । एवं सगोत्राया न भायांत्वम् । यस्त्र हीनिक्रियादिपतिषेधः (मन् ३-७), तस्य दृष्टदर्शनमूल-त्वािक्षविति विवाहः, भवत्यसी भार्या । मेधा॰ on मन्त्र III. 11; सपिण्डा-समानगोत्रा-सम्बरासु भार्यात्वमेव नीत्पद्यते । रोगिण्यादिषु तु भार्यात्व उत्पन्निष दृष्टविरोध एव । मिता॰ on या. I. 53; vide also मन्त्नपारिजात pp. 140-141, मृहस्यरन्तकर p. 28. Compare what St. Paul says 'the things that are seen are temporary, but the things that are not seen are eternal' 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians chap. IV. 18.

^{1038.} In Z. D. M. G. vol. 46 pp. 413-426 (Dr. Jolly) and vol. 47 pp. 143-154 (Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's reply) there is an interesting discussion about the marriageable age of girls in ancient India.

^{1039.} वर्षेरेकगुणां भार्यामुद्धहेत् त्रिगुणः स्वयम् । विष्णुपुराण III. 10.16; वयोधिकां नोपयच्छेव् दीर्घो कन्यां स्ववेहतः । स्ववर्षाद् द्वित्रिपञ्चादिन्यूनां कन्यां समुद्धहेत् ॥ अङ्गिरस् quoted in स्मृतिमुक्ताफल (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 125).

the Mahābhārata ¹⁰⁴⁰ Gautama is prepared to give his daughter in marriage to Uttanka if he could be a youth of 16 years. In another place the Mahābhārata (Sabhā 64. 14 and Vanaparva 5. 15) uses the simile of a maiden not liking a husband of 60 years. That shows that girls were sometimes married to even old men of 60 in those days as rarely in modern times also. In the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 44. 14) the respective ages of the bridegroom and bride are recommended as 30 and 10 or 21 and 7; while the Udvāhatattva (p. 123) and S. Pr. p. 766 quote a verse from the Mahābhārata that a man of 30 should marry a girl of 16 (but from the metre and context it appears that 'śodaṣa-varṣām' as printed should be 'daśa-varṣām'.

In the Rgveda there are no clear statements about the exact age when girls were married. But there are indications that many girls were married at a sufficiently mature age (at least they were not married at the tender age of eight). We have already seen (p. 435) that brotherless girls often remained unmarried till old age. One of the benevolent deeds 1041 of the Asvins is that they bestowed a husband on Ghosā who was growing old in her father's house. Vide also Rg. I. 124. 7, II. 17. 7, and Atharvaveda I. 17. 1. In Rg. X. 27. 12 it is said 'when a bride is fine looking and well adorned, she by herself seeks her friend from among men'. That shows that girls were grown-up enough to select their husbands. Some of the verses in the marriage hymn (such as Rg. X. 85. 26-27, 46) indicate 10+2 that married girls could not have been child-wives, but must have been grown-up-On the other hand in Rg. I. 116. 1 it is said that the Nāsatyas (Asyins) bestowed a wife on Vimada who was an arbhaga (of tender age). 1043 But all that is meant seems to be that Vimada was a mere boy as compared with his rival kings who had come as suitors. The two verses Rg. I. 126. 6-7 (which are rather too naive) indicate that girls were married before they had attained puberty. In Rg. I. 51. 13 Indra is said to have given to old Kaksivat a wife named Vrcaya who is styled "arbh \bar{a} " (young). But that word is only used in contradistinction to the word 'mahate' (grown old) applied to KaksIvat

^{1040.} युवा षोडशवर्षों हि यदाय भविता भवान । द्वानि परनीं कन्यां च स्वां ते द्वाहितरं द्विज ॥ आश्वमेधिकपर्व 56. 22-23.

^{1041.} धोषायै चित्पितृषदे दुरोणे पतिं जूर्यन्त्या अश्विनावदत्तम् ॥ ऋ. I. 117. 7.

^{1042.} सम्राज्ञी श्वश्चरे भव सम्राज्ञी श्वश्वां भव। ननान्द्रि सम्राज्ञी भव सम्राज्ञी अधि देवुषु ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 46.

^{1043.} यावर्भगाय विमदाय जायां सेनाजुवा न्यूहत् रथेन ॥ ऋ. I. 116. 1.

and conveys no idea of her exact age. 1044 On the whole one may conclude that in the period of the Rgveda girls were probably married at any age (either before puberty or after puberty) and sometimes remained spinsters all their life. The other Samhitās and the Brāhmanas do not shed much light on the question of the age of marriage for girls. In the Chān. Up. Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa is described as dwelling in the Kuru country with his wife, who is said to have been 'āṭikī' which Śamkara explains as 'a mere undeveloped girl'. 1045

Coming to the ancient grhya and dharma sūtras, it will be seen from several considerations that girls were married just before the time of puberty or immediately after it. Among the several requirements of the bride to be chosen several grhya sūtras lay down that she must be a 'nagnikā'. Vide Hir. gr. I. 19. 2, Gobhila gr. III. 4. 6, Mānava gr. I. 7. 8, Vaik. VI. 12. 1046 The word $nagnik\bar{u}$ is variously explained by the commentators. Mātrdatta on Hir. gr. explains that nagnikā means 'one whose menstrual period is near' i. e. one who is fit for intercourse. Aştāvakra, the commentator of the Manava gr., explains nagnikā as 'one who has not yet experienced the impulses and emotions of youth' or 'one who looks pretty even without clothes' (taking the word along with 'srestham' that follows). The Grhyasamgraha 1047 (which is much later than the Gobhila gr.) explains 'nagnikā' as one who has not yet reached puberty. These varying explanations of the word 'nagnika' are due to the fact that when some smrtis and commentators wrote child marriages were not in vogue, while they were in vogue when and where others flourished. Vas. Dh. S. 17. 70 says 'the father

^{1044.} अद्दा अर्भी महते वचस्यवे कक्षीवते वृच्चयामिन्द्र सुन्वते । ऋ. I. 51. 13.

^{1045.} मटचीहतेषु कुरुषुध्वाटिक्या सह जाययोषस्तिर्ह चाक्रायण इभ्यमाने प्रदाणक उवास । छान्दोग्य I. 10. 1. इंकर explains 'आटिक्या अनुपजातपयोधरादिस्नीन्थ्यक्षनया ?

^{1046.} तारयामनुज्ञातो भार्यासुपयच्छेत् सजातां नशिकां बहु चारिणीमसगोत्राम्। हिरण्य. य. I. 19. 2; 'नशिकामासजार्तवाम्। ...तस्माद्दश्चविक्षेपणार्हा नशिका मैथुनार्हेत्यर्थः' मानृद्त्तः, 'बन्धुमतीं कन्यामसृष्टमैथुनासुपयच्छेत ... यवीयसीं नशिकां श्रेष्ठाम्।' मानवगृद्ध I. 7. 8. Dr. Bhandarkar shows that in many Mss. of the Hir. gr. and as handed down by oral tradition among the vaidikas of the Hir. sakha the reading is सजातानशिकां (i. e. the girl should be of the same caste and not a nagnika). Vide ZDMG vol. 47. pp. 143-46.

^{1047.} निश्चको तु बद्देत्कम्यां यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत्। ऋतुमती त्वनश्चिका तां प्रयच्छेतु निश्चकाम् ॥ अपाप्ता रजसो गौरी प्राप्ते रजसि रेहिणी। अन्यक्षिता भवेत्कन्या कुचहीना च निश्चका। युद्धासंग्रह quoted by com. on गोभिलयुद्धा III. 4. 6.

should give away his daughter while she is still nagnikā through fear of her attaining puberty (while unmarried). This shows that according to Vas. nagnikā must have been a girl of tender years or one that had not attained puberty.

There is another very important indication. Most of the grhyasūtras prescribe that the married couple should be celibate for at least three nights after marriage (if not for a longer period). For example, the Par. gr. (I. 8) says 1048 'the married pair should (after marriage) not partake of ksāra and laraņa for three nights, should sleep on the ground (and not on a cot, for the same period) and should not have intercourse for a year, twelve nights, six nights, three nights in the last resort. Vide for a similar rule Āśv. gr. I. 8. 10, Āp. gr. 8. 8-9, Śān. gr. I. 17. 5, Mānava gr. I. 14. 14, Kāthaka gr. 30. 1, Khādira gr. I. 4. 9 and others. Such an injunction against intercourse for three nights after marriage would have been uncalled for and extremely inappropriate if girls had been usually married when they were only eight to ten years old. Such injunctions by so many authors presuppose that girls must have generally been very near puberty or past puberty at the time of marriage. Haradatta who belongs to about the 12th century A. D. expressly says 1049 that (in his days) in certain countries intercourse was commenced immediately after marriage and that such a usage being opposed to Asv. gr. I. S. 10 should not be followed (but continence should be observed at least for three days after marriage). This shows that so late as 1200 A. D. in several countries the marriageable age of girls must have been at least about 14.

In most of the grhyasūtras there is a rite called 'caturthī-karma' (rite on 4th day after marriage). Vide Gobhila II. 5, Śān. gr. I. 18-19, Khādira gr. I. 4. 12-16, Pār. gr. I. 11, Āp. gr. 8. 10-11, Hir. gr. I. 23-24 &c. This rite has been described above (pp. 203-204) and corresponds to the garbhādhāna of later writers (e. g. Yāj. I. 11). As cohabitation is expressly mentioned in connection with this rite performed on the fourth day after

^{1048.} त्रिरात्रमक्षारालवणाञ्चिनौ स्यातामधः शयीयातां संवत्सरं न विधुनसुषेयातां द्वादशरात्रं...विरात्रमन्ततः । पारस्करगृह्य I. 8.

^{1049.} केषुचिद्देशेषु सद्यः समावेशनं दृष्टं वक्ष्यमाणेन त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रमिति बह्य-चर्येण बाध्यते। हरदत्त on आश्व. मृ. I. 7. 2, on which नारायण also says 'चेदेहेषु सद्य एव व्यवायो दृष्टः। मृद्यो तु ब्रह्मचारिणो त्रिरात्रमिति ब्रह्मचर्य विहितं तत्र मृद्योक्तमेव कुर्याच देशधर्ममिति सिद्धम्। १.

marriage it follows that girls must have generally been quite grown-up at the time of marriage.

In some of the grhyasūtras and smrtis a slight prāyaścitta (purificatory ceremony) is prescribed if the bride has menstruation during the progress of the marriage ceremonies. Vide Baud. gr. IV. 1. 10, Kauśika sūtra 79. 16, Vaik. VI. 13, Atri (ed. by Jiv. part I. p. 11).

Gaut. 1050 (18, 20-23) says 'a girl should be given in marriage before she attains the age of puberty. He who neglects it declare that she should be given commits sin. Some in marriage before she begins to wear clothes. A marriageable girl (who is not given in marriage by her father &c.) should allow three monthly periods to pass and afterwards unite herself to a blameless man of her own will and give up the ornaments received from her father (or her family)'. This passage establishes that even before Gautama (i. e. 500 or 600 B. C.) there were people who advocated marriages of infant girls that did not care to put on clothes (i. e. who had no sense of shame if they went about without clothes), that Gautama disapproved of this view, that he only prescribed that the marriage of girls should take place before puberty and he was not horrified if girls got themselves married sometime after puberty. But it is clear that no blame attached to the girl married after puberty or to the husband; the idea, however, had arisen even then that the father or guardian incurred blame or sin by not getting a girl married before puberty. Manu (IX, 89-90) goes so far as to say 'A maiden may rather stay in her father's house even till her death, though she may have attained puberty; but the father should never give her to one who is devoid of good qualities. A maiden after attaining puberty may wait for three years (to see if she is given away by her father or brother &c.) but after this period she should seek a husband who is similar to her. Anuśasanaparva 44. 16 is to the same effect. Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 14 and Vas. V. Dh. S. 17. 67-68 give the same rule as in Manu IX. 90. But both add (Vas. 17, 70-71 and Baud. Dh. S. IV.1.12) that the father or guardian incurs the sin of destroying an embryo at each appearance of menses as long as the girl is

^{1050.} त्रीवृत्नतीत्य स्वयं युज्येतानिन्दितेनोत्सुज्य पित्र्यानलंकारान् । प्रदानं प्रागृतोः । अभयस्कृत दोषी । प्राग्वाससः प्रतिपत्तेरित्येके । गौ. 18. 20-23.

unmarried. Yāj. I. 64 and Nārada (strīpumsa, verses 25-27) state the same rule.

On account of this change in popular beliefs and sentiments it came to be recommended that a girl must be married early and may be given even to one ¹⁰⁵¹ who is devoid of qualities (in spite of Manu 1X 89). Vide Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 12 and 15.

So we see that from about 600 B. C. to about the beginning of the Christian Era it did not matter at all if a girl was married a few months or few years after puberty. But by about 200 A. D. (when the Yaj. smrti was composed) popular feeling had become insistent on pre-puberty marriages. The reasons for this change are not quite clear. But it is possible to hold that it was due to the following circumstances. Buddhism had spread far and wide during these centuries with its encouragement of the institution of monks and nuns. There was laxity of morals among nuns. A further reason may be adduced viz. that girls had generally ceased to study anything, though some of them certainly did study in the times of Panini and Patanjali, and so society did not like girls to remain doing nothing. times of the Rgveda (X. 85, 40-41) there was a mystical belief that Soma, Gaudharva and Agni were the divine guardians of a girl and the Grhyasamgraha (quoted in the com. on Gobhila gr. III, 4.6) says that Soma enjoys a girl first, then Gandharva enjoys her when her breasts develop and fire when she mentruates. Therefore, a feeling arose that a girl must be married even before she develops any distinct signs of femininity. Samvarta 1052 (verses 64 and 67) gives expression to this idea. Further, since marriage came to be looked upon as the upanayana in the case of women, naturally the age for upanayana (3th year) came to be looked upon as the proper age for marriage. Vide Samskārakaustubha quoted below. It came to be believed that there was no hope of heaven for a woman who died unmarried.

- 1051. द्याद्वणवते कन्यां नश्चिकां ब्रह्मचारिणीम् । अपि वा गुणहीनाय नोपरन्ध्याद्व-जस्वलाम् ॥ अविद्यमाने सदृशे गुणहीनमपि श्रयेत् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. IV. 1. 12 and 15.
- 1052. रोमकाले तु संमाते सोमो भुक्क्तिथ कन्यकाम्। रजो दृष्टा तु गन्धर्याः कुची दृष्टा तु पावकः। ...तस्माद् विवाहयेत्कन्यां यावस्तर्तमती भवेत्। विवाहो ह्यष्टवर्षायाः कन्यायास्तु महास्यते ॥ संवर्त verses 64 and 67, quoted by Sm. C. I. p. 79 and Gr. B. p. 46. स्नीणामुपनयनस्थानापस्रो विवाह इति तद्वुचितावस्थायां विवाहस्योचितत्वात्। संस्कारकौन्स्तुभ p. 699; विवाहं चोपनयनं स्नीणामाह पितामहः। तस्मादुर्भाष्टमः श्रेष्ठो जन्मतो वाष्ट-वरसरः॥ यम quoted in स्मृतिम्. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म) p. 136.

In the Salyaparva 1053 chap. 52 we have the story of a girl, daughter of Kuni Garga, who practised severe penance till she reached old age and yet was told by Nārada that if she died unmarried she would not go to heaven. The woman induced Śrngavat of the Galava family for a day previous to her death to marry her by the promise of giving him half of her merit (punya). The Vaik, 1054 (V. 9), while describing the ceremony of funeral rites in cases of distress, mentions the curious practice of finding out a male of the same caste for a girl, who dies unmarried though of the age of puberty, with whom a sort of marriage is gone through and the girl is then cremated. Whatever the reasons may be, this tendency to bring down the age of marriage for girls was accentuated in the first five or six centuries of the Christian era. The Laugāksi 1055 gr. (19, 2) says 'brahmacarva for girls lasts till the 10th or 12th year'. The Vaik. (VI. 12) says that a brāhmana should marry a brāhmana girl who is a namikā or gaurī and defines nagnikā as a girl over eight years but less than ten and gauri as one who is between ten and twelve and has not had menstruation. Apararka (p. 85) quotes the Bhavisyapurana to the effect that nagnika is one who is ten vears old. Vide Sm. C. quoting Samgraha. Parāśara, Yāj. and Samvarta go even beyond this. Parāśara 1056 (VII. 6-9) says 'a girl of eight is called gauri, but one who is nine years old is a rehini; one who is ten years old is a kanyā; beyond this (i. e. after 10 years) she is a rajasvalā. If a person does not give away a maiden when she has reached her 12th year, his pitrs have to drink every month her menstrual discharge. The parents and also the eldest brother go to hell on seeing (an unmarried) girl reaching the state of a rajasvalā'. Parāśara adds that the brahmana who marries such a girl should not be spoken to or admitted to dinner in the same row (as other

^{1053.} असंस्कृतायाः कन्यायाः कुतो लोकास्तवानघे । शल्यपर्व 52. 12.

¹⁰⁵⁴. तथैव कन्यां च मृतां प्राप्तयौवनां तुल्येन पुंसा प्राप्तगृहवत्तां दृहेत् । वैखानस-स्मार्तस्त्र $V.\ 9$.

^{1055.} द्शवार्षिकं ब्रह्मचर्यं कुमारीणां द्वाद्शवार्षिकं था। लोगाक्षिग्ह्य 19. 2. बाह्मणों बाह्मणों निम्नकां गोरीं वा कन्यां वरयत् । अष्टवर्षादा दशमाक्षमिका । रजस्य-प्राप्ते दशवर्षादा द्वादशाद् गोरीत्यामनन्ति । वैखानस VI. 12; संग्रहकारोपि । यावचीलं न गृह्णाति यावस्त्रीडित पांष्ठभिः। यावद् दोषं न जानाति तावद् भवति निम्नका॥ स्मृतिच् I.p.80.

^{1056.} माता चैव पिता चैय ज्येष्ठो भ्राता तथैव च। त्रयस्ते नरकं यान्ति दृष्ट्वा कन्यां रजस्वलाम् ॥ यस्तां सम्बद्धहेत्कन्यां बाह्मणोऽज्ञानमोहितः । असंभाष्यो ह्यपाङ्क्त्रेयः स विभो वृषलीपतिः ॥ पराज्ञार VII. 8-9. The स्मृतिचः (I. pp. 73 and 81) quotes पराज्ञर VII. 6-9 as from यम.

brāhmanas) and that he becomes the husband of a vṛṣalī. On the other hand the Vayupurana (83.44) extols the marriage of a gauri by remarking that her son purifies 21 ancestors on his father's side and 6 male ancestors on his mother's side. Samvarta (verse 65-66) has the same two verses as Parāśara (VII. 6 and 8) and winds up (verse 67) by saying that the marriage of a girl of eight is highly commended. The same four verses (Parāšara VII. 6-9) occur in Brhad-Yama (Anan. ed.) chap. 3, 19-22, but the order is different. Angiras (vv. 126-128, Anan, ed.) has the same verses. Kaśyapa as quoted in the Gr. R. (p. 46) says that a girl is called gauri when she is seven, a kanyakā when she is ten and kumāri when she is twelve. It will be noticed that the smrtis of Vaikhānasa and Kaśyapa differed from Parāśara as to the definition of gauri. Further the three smrtis make marriage of a girl after puberty an extremely sinful act and condemn not only the parents but also the husband, while Baud, prescribed only a slight prayascitta for the father alone even if there was menstruation during the marriage rites. Marici¹⁰⁵⁷ (quoted in Par. M. I. 2, p. 177) said that choosing a bride who was five years old was best. Even Manu (9.88) recommended an early marriage if a very desirable bridegroom was available. Rāma and Sītā are said to have been respective. ly 13 and 6 at the time of marriage (Arapyakānda 47. 10-11). But this passage appears to be an interpolation. In the Bālakānda 1058 it is expressly stated that Sītā and her sisters enjoyed in private dalliance with their respective husbands immediately after marriage. If this is true then Sita could not have been only 6 at the time of marriage.

The rule that brāhmaṇa girls were to be married between 8 to 10 years became general from about the 6th or 7th century and continued down to modern times. During the last two or three decades the marriageable age of girls owing to several causes, particularly the ravages of plague and the economic condition of the middle classes, has risen very high and marriages of girls even of poor brāhmaṇas hardly ever take place before 16 and have to be postponed to the age of 20 and beyond. Besides the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929, as amended

^{1057.} जन्मतो गर्भाधानाद्वा पश्चमाद्दात्परं शुभम् । कुमारीवरणं दानं मेखलावन्धनं तथा ॥ मरीचि quoted in परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 177.; सप्तवर्षा भवेदौरी दृशवर्षा तु निम्नता । भविष्यपुराण quoted by सं. प्र. p. 768.

^{1058.} अभिवाद्याभिवाद्यांश्च सर्वा राजसुतास्तदा। रेमिरे सुदिताः सर्वा भर्तृमिः सहिता रहः ॥ बालकाण्ड 77. 16-17 (in 3 vol. with गोविन्दराज's com.).

by Act 19 of 1938) has fixed the minimum age limit for girls at 14 and persons getting their daughters married before the completion of 14 years are liable to be punished in a criminal court under the Act. There is no reason to laugh at ancient Indian writers for the low age of marriage they advocated. Child marriages were common in all countries of Europe, England the age limits for boys and girls were recognised by the law only at 14 and 12 respectively until 1929, when the lowest marriageable age for both was fixed at 16 (19 and 20 Geo. V. Chap. 36). Besides it must be remembered that when marriages of girls of tender years took place they were purely a sacrament. There was no question of consummation which took place only after puberty. Sages condemned intercourse even with one's wife before she attained puberty. 1059 Winternitz in 'Die Frau,' p. 135 refers to a work of F. J. Furnivall on 'Child Marriages, Divorces &c' between 1560-66 A. D. in England from which it is clear that marriages of children of 9 or 10 (and rarely of even 2 or 3 years) took place in England only about 300 years ago.

These rules about the proper age for the marriage of girls affected only brāhmanas. Sanskrit poets and dramatists always depict that the heroines in their works are grown-up at the time of marriage and even Bhavabhūti imagines that Mālati, the heroine of his romantic drama of Mālatīmādhava, was so grown-up that it was practically a case of love at first sight. Vaik. (VI. 12) requires a brāhmana bride to be a nagnikā or gauri, but does not prescribe the same qualification for a ksatriya or vaišya bride. In the Harsacarita princess Rājyaśrī is described as quite grown-up at the time of her marriage which was consummated on the very day of marriage (vide the last para, of the 4th Ucchvāsa). The Samskāra-prakāśa 1060 expressly says that there is no prohibition against marrying a girl who has passed the age of puberty for ksatriyas and others. Even in Pauranic times grown-up unmarried girls must not have been unheard of. The Gr. R. p. 83 quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāpa where the injunction to observe complete celi-

^{1059.} प्राम्रजोदर्शनात्पत्नीं नेयाद्भत्वा पतत्यधः । व्यर्धीकारेण शुक्रस्य ब्रह्महत्यामवामु-यादिति तत्रैवाश्वलायनोक्तेः । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 234.

^{1060.} अत्रिकश्यपौ । यस्तु तां वरयेत्कन्यां ब्राह्मणो ज्ञानहुर्बलः । अश्राद्धेयमपाङ्क्तये तं विद्याद्वृषलीपतिम् ॥ इति । अत्र ब्राह्मणपद्मेपाद्मनाद्मब्राह्मणस्यैवायं रजस्वलापरिणयन- निषेधो न क्षत्रियाद्मीनाम् । क्षुन्त्यादिषु तथा दर्शनात् । संस्कारप्रकाश् p. 771.

bacy for one year, 12 days, 6 days or 3 days is construed as respectively referring to girls whose ages were 8, 12, 16 or 20 at the time of marriage. 1061

Another important question is inter-caste marriages. It has already been shown (pp. 50-58) how anuloma marriages were allowed, while pratiloma unions were condemned and how it was supposed that numerous sub-castes arose from such mixed marriages.

It is the contention of several eminent scholars (e. g. Senart in his 'Caste in India' translated by Ross p. 124) that caste as implied in modern usage and in its strict sense did not exist in the times of the Rgveda and the other Vedic Samhitas. We have seen, however, that the four varnas had been recognised in the times of the Samhitas and that ideas of superiority and inferiority due to being of a particular varna had become quite prevalent. But the practices as to marrying outside one's varna and taking food had not become as rigid and cast-iron as they became in medieval times. A few clear examples of inter-caste marriages may be cited from the Vedic Literature. The Sat. Br. (IV. 1. 5, S. B. E. vol. 26, pp. 272-275) narrates the story of the old and decrepit sage Cyavana who was a Bhārgava (descendant of Bhrgu) or Angirasa to Sukanyā, the daughter of king Saryata, a descendant of Manu. The Sat. Br. (XIII. 2. 9. 8, 1062 S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 326) quotes a half verse from the Vaj. S. (26, 30) and then remarks 'therefore he does not anoint (as king) the son of the vaisva woman.' This suggests that a king might marry a vaisya girl, but her son would not have the Vedic coronation ceremony performed on him. Verses 17-19 of the Rgveda V. 61 are interpreted by the Brhad-devatā (V. 50) as referring to the marriage of the brāhmana sage Śyāyāśya to the daughter of king Rathaviti Dārbhya. The story of Kavasa Ailūsa who was styled 'dāsyāḥ putra' (either meaning 'the son of a dasi or used as a term of abuse) by the sages has been mentioned above (at p. 36).

^{1061.} कृते विवाहे वर्षे तु वस्तव्यं ब्रह्मचारिणा । यद्यष्टत्रवां कन्या स्यात् तथा तिस्रिष्णः पुमान् ॥ अथवा द्वाद्शाहानि त्रिंशद्वर्षेण सर्वदा । यदि द्वाद्शवर्षा स्यात्कन्या स्वयुणान्विता । द्वात्रिंशद्वर्षपूर्णे तु यदि वोडशवार्षिकी । छन्धा तदा च षड्यतं वस्तव्यं संयतेन तु ॥ विंशत्यव्दा यदा कन्या वस्तव्यं तत्र वै व्यहम् । अत अर्थ्यमहोरात्रं वस्तव्यमिति संमतम् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in गृह. र. p. 83.

^{1062.} जूदा यदर्यजारा न पोषाय धनायतीति तस्माद्वेशीपुत्रं नाभिषिञ्चति। शतपथ XIII. 2. 9. 8. This verse has been quoted above in note 83.

Turning to the dharma and grhya sütras, the matter stands thus. Some of the grhya sūtras (like Āśv., Āp.) do not expressly say anything about the varna of the bride. The Ap. Dh. S. 1063 (II. 6. 13. 1 and 3) requires that one should marry a girl of the same varna, who was not given before to another and marriage with whom is in accordance with sastra and says that by contravening these rules sin is incurred. So he condemns mixed marriages. The Manava gr. I.7.8 and Gaut. IV. 1 require that one should marry a girl of the same varna and are silent about marriages with a bride of another varna. But Gautama knew of such marriages and enumerates the names of several sub-castes due to mixed marriages (IV. 14-17) and he includes among those who are unfit to be invited at a śrāddha dinner a brāhmana who is the husband of a woman of the śūdra caste (15.18). Manu (III. 12), Śankha and Nārada 1064 (strīpumsa, v. 4) say that the best course is to marry a girl of one's own caste. This is said to be purva kalpa (the foremost or the best procedure). Many also speak of a less advisable course (anukalpa, as it is called) viz. that a brahmana may take as wife a woman of any caste, a ksatriya may marry a woman of his own caste or a vaišya or a śūdra woman, a vaišya may marry a vaišya or śūdra woman and a śūdra only a śūdra woman. This is stated by Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 2, Sankha, Manu III. 13, Visnu Dh. S. 24. 1-4. Par. gr. I. 4 and Vas. Dh. S. 1065 I. 25 inform us that some teachers allowed a dvija to marry a śūdra woman but without Vedic mantras. But Vasistha himself condemns it severely by saying 'one should not do so (i. e. marry a śūdra girl), for by doing so the degradation of the family is certain and loss of heaven after death'. Though the Visnu Dh. S. and Manusmrti state that a dvijāti may marry a śūdra girl, that is not their own view, but they simply voice practices and sentiments prevalent in their time, since both denounce the marriage of a brahmana with a śūdra girl in the most un-measured terms. Dh. S. 26. 5-6 (S. B. E. vol. 7 p. 112) says that the union of a dvijāti with a śūdra woman can never produce religious

^{1063.} संवर्णापूर्वज्ञास्त्रविहितायां यथर्तु गच्छतः पुत्रास्तेषां कर्मभिः संबन्धः । पूर्ववत्याम-संस्कृतायां वर्णान्तरे च मैथुने दोषः । आप. ध. II. 6. 13. 1 and 3.

^{1064.} ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्धाणां च परिग्रहे । सजातिः श्रेयसी भार्या सजातिश्च पतिः ख्रियाः ॥ ब्राह्मणस्यानुरुं।स्येन ख्रियोऽन्यास्तिम्र एव तु । नारद् (ख्रीपुंस verses 4-5).

^{1065.} तिस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य भार्या वर्णात्रपूर्वेण हे राजन्यस्य एकैका बैश्यशूद्रयोः । शूद्रा-मध्येके मन्त्रवर्ज तहत्। तथा न कुर्यात्। अतो हि ध्रुतः कुलापकर्षः भेत्य चास्वर्गः। वसिष्ठ 1. 24-27.

merit; it is from carnal desire alone that he marries her being blinded by lust; and that dvijāti men who thus marry śūdra women quickly degrade their families and progeny to the status of sudras'. The ancient editor of the Manusmrti did not tolerate such marriages (though he gave expression to the common trend of view in III. 12-13) and condemns a dvijāti's marriage with a śūdra woman in the strongest language (III. 15-19, Manu III. 15 being the same as Visnu Dh. S. 26. 5) 'a brāhmana by having intercourse with a śūdra woman goes to hell and by procreating a son on her he loses his status as a brāhmana'. Yāj. I. 57 allowed a brāhmana or ksatriva to marry a girl of his own varna or of the varnas next in order. but laid it down as his emphatic opinion that 'a dvijāti should not marry a śūdra girl'. It appears however that prevailing public opinion and practice was too much for both Manu and Yāj.; for, both declare (Yāj. II, 125 and Manu IX, 152-153) that when a brāhmana has sons from wives of the four varnas. the son of a brahmana wife takes four shares (out of 10 in which his wealth is to be divided), the son of a ksatriya wife takes three, of a vaisya wife two and of a śūdra wife one. Yāj. (I. 91-92) recognises the marriage of a brāhmana with a śūdra and says that the son of such a union is a pāraśava. III. 44 also recognises the marriage of a südra girl with one of a higher class by saying that she holds the hem of the garment of a bridegroom of a higher class.

This shows that the ancient sortis ungrudgingly recognised marriages between a brāhmana and a ksatriya or a vaišya girl. But opinion was not unanimous about the marriage of a dvijāti with a sudra woman. Such marriages took place, but were looked upon with disfavour and often condemned with severity. Anuloma marriages were frequent enough till the 9th or 10th century A. D., but became rare later and for the last several hundred years they hardly ever took place or they were not at all recognized as valid by the communities concerned. epigraphic records furnish well authenticated instances of inter-caste marriages. The Vākātakas were brāhmanas (their gotra being Visnuvrddha). The Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā (E. I. vol. 15 p. 39) establish that she was a daughter of Candragupta II. (first quarter of 5th century A. D.) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty and became the chief queen of the king Rudrasena II of the Vākātaka line. The Talagunda pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman (E. I. vol. 8 p. 24) recites that

the founder of the Kadamba family was Mayurasarman, a brāhmana, who being exasperated with the Pallavas of Kāñcī took up the sword. His descendants have names ending in varman (as keatriyas should have, according to Manu II. 32). The inscription mentions that Kakusthavarman (who was 4th in descent from Mayūraśarman) got his daughters married to Gupta and other kings. In the Ghatotkaca Inscription of Yasodharman and Visnuvardhana (A. S. W. I. vol. 4, p. 140) we are told that Soma, a brāhmana and ancestor of Hastibhoia, minister of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena, gave his heart to wives born in brāhmana and ksatriya families. The Tipperah copper-plate grant of a chieftain called Lokanātha (E. I. vol. 15, p. 301 ff) dated in the 44th year (probably of the Harsa era i, e. about 650 A. D.) says that Lokanatha's ancestors belonged to the Bharadvaja gotra (p. 306) and that the maternal grand-father of Lokanātha was Keśava who is said to have been a pārasava (p. 307), while Kesava's father Vira was a brāhmana (dvijasattama). Virūpādevī, a daughter of the famous Vijayanagara king Bukka I (1268-1298 A. D.), was married to a brāhmaņa named Brahma or Bomaņņa Wedeya, who was the Governor of the Araga province (E. I. vol. 15, p. 12). Vide also E. I. vol. 18, p. 87 (dated 894 of the Vikrama era) for Pratīhāra kings being descended from a brāhmana Haricandra and the latter's ksatriya wife; the Atpur Inscription of Saktikumāra dated in samvat 1034 (977 A.D.) which states that the founder of the Guhila dynasty was a brāhmaņa Guhadatta. whose descendant Bhartrpatta married a Rāstrakūta princess.

Classical Sanskrit Literature also yields certain well-known instances of inter-caste marriages. The Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa shows that Agnimitra, a son of Senāpati Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty and a brāhmaṇa, married Mālavikā who was a kṣatriya princess. In the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa (Ucchvāsa I towards end) we are told by Bāṇa himself that among the friends and companions of his wanderings there were his two pāraśava brothers Candrasena and Mātṛṣeṇa (i.e. step-brothers from a śūdra wife of his father). Rājaśekhara, teacher of king Mahendrapāla of Kanoj, says in his Karpūramañjarī (I. 11) that his accomplished wife Avantisundarī was descended from the Cāhuāṇa (modern Chavan) family (i.e. from a kṣatriya family).

It is extremely difficult to say when exactly inter-caste marriages even between dvijātis came to be prohibited by the

smṛtis and writers of digests. Viśvarūpa 1066 on Yāj. III. 283 (not later than first half of 9th century) clearly suggests that in his day a brāhmaṇa could marry a kṣatriya girl. Medhātithi on Manu III. 14 suggests that about 900 A. D. at the latest marriages of brāhmaṇas with kṣatriya and vaiṣya girls took place rarely in his day, but not with śūdra women; and the Mit. on Yāj. does not at all say that though marriages among dvijātis (anuloma ones) were allowed by Manu and Yāj. they had entirely ceased to be regarded as valid by its time. Many of the medieval digests and writers like the Sm. C. and Hemādri quote verses stated to be from the Āditya-purāṇa or Brahma-purāṇa on matters forbidden in the Kali age (and so called Kalivarjya) among which inter-caste marriages are included.

The Apastamba¹⁰⁶⁷ smṛti (in verse ed. by Jivānanda I, p. 549, chap. IX) says that by marrying a girl of another caste a man incurred the sin of mahāpātaka and had to undergo the penance of 24 kṛcohras. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (113. 34-36) narrates the story of king Nābhāga who married a vaisya girl by the rākṣasa form of marriage and who consequently incurred sin.

The state of the law as to inter-caste marriages in British Indian courts may be briefly indicated here. By the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872 as amended by Act XXX of 1923) both anuloma and pratiloma marriages are validated if they are registered and solemnized according to the procedure prescribed by the Act. But if a marriage is not so solemnized under that Act, but under the general rules of Hindu Law, then all pratiloma marriages are invalid throughout British India.

^{1066.} भ्रातृजाया च ब्राह्मणस्यापि क्षत्रिया भवत्येव । विश्वरूप on या. III. 283 ; 'नद्ध च द्विजातीनां सूद्रापुत्रो नास्त्येव तद्विवाहमतिषेधात् । सत्यम् । स्मृत्यर्थभ्रान्त्या तु मन्नुत्त्रावयं विभागधर्म इत्यभिमायः । विश्वरूप on या. II. 129 ; सवर्णानियमेनासवर्णानिवृत्तेरर्थतः कृतायाः पुनः सूद्रानिवृत्तिरसवर्णानिवृत्तेरनित्यत्वं ज्ञापयति । अनित्यत्वे चापिवृत्तिरसवर्णानिवृत्तेरनित्यत्वं ज्ञापयति । अनित्यत्वे चापिवृत्तिरसवर्णानिवृत्तेरनित्यत्वं ज्ञापयति । भिधातिथि on मन्नु III. 14.

^{1067.} The उद्वाहतस्व of रचनन्द्न (ed. by Jivānanda vol. II, p. 112) quotes the verse द्विजानामसवर्णास कन्यास्प्यमस्तथा from the बृहकारदीय and कन्यानामसवर्णाना विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः from the आदित्यपुराण. The latter is quoted in the परा. मा. (vol. 1. part 1 p. 134) and in the Caturvargacintamani (vol. III. part 2 p. 667). The first quotation (द्विजाना &c) occurs in the नारदीयमहापुराण, पूर्वभाग, chap. 24. 13.

But anuloma 1068 marriages have been recognised as valid by some High Courts in India; the Allahabad High Court, however, regards all anuloma marriages even as invalid.

The next restriction that the girl to be married must not be a sapinda of the bride-groom has now to be considered. Sapinda relationship is of special importance in three matters, viz. marriage, inheritance and asauca 1069 (impurity on birth and death). The prohibition against marriage with a sapinda girl applies to all varnas including the śūdra 1070. There are two schools about the meaning of sapinda, one represented by the Mitaksara and the other by Jimutavahana (author of the Dāyabhāga). Both are agreed that a sapinda girl cannot be married, but they differ as to the meaning of the word. We shall first understand one interpretation of sapinda. The locus classicus is the commentary of Vijnānesvara on Yāj. I. 52-53 a substantial portion of which is translated here: "'asapindām' (in Yāi, I, 52) means a woman who is not a sapinda and sapinda means one who has the same pinda i. e. body (or particles of the body). Sapinda relationship (between two persons) arises from (their) being connected by having particles of the same body. Thus, the son has sapinda relationship with his father by reason of the (fact that) particles of the father's body continue in him (the son). Similarly (there is sapinda relationship) with the paternal grandfather and the like (of the

^{1068.} Vide Bai Laksmi v. Kaliansing 2 Bom. L. R. 128 (marriage between Rajput male and a brāhmaņa woman held to be invalid); Bai Kashi v. Jamnadas 14 Bom. L. R. 547 (marriage between a brāhmaņa woman and sūdra male was held to be void); Munnilal v. Shiama I. L.R. 48. All. 670 (marriage between a sūdra male and a vaisya female held to be invalid). Vide Bai Gulah v. Jivanlal I. L. R. 46 Bom. 871, Natha v. Mehta Chotalal I. L. R. 55 Pom. 1 (marriage of a brāhmaņa male with a sūdra female was held valid); Nalinaksha v. Rajanikanto 35 C. W. N. 726. Vide Padma Kumari v. Suraj Kumari I. L. R. 28 All. 458.

¹⁰⁶⁹. तेन विवाहे आशीर्च धनग्रहणे च निधा सापिण्ड्यं सिद्धम् । निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्नार्ध p. 284.

^{1070.} पञ्चमात्सप्तमाद्वर्धं मातृतः पितृतः क्षमात् । सिपण्डता निवर्तेत सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः ॥ नारव् quoted in उद्वाहत्त्वत् p. 108. The printed नारव् (स्त्रीपुंस section 7 p. 108) reads आ सप्तमात्पञ्चमाद्वा बन्धुभ्यः पितृमातृतः । अविवाद्याः सगोत्राः स्यः समानप्रवरास्तथा ॥ 'तथा अभूपिण्डाम् ' इत्येतत्सार्ववर्णिकस् । सर्वत्र सापिण्ड्यसद्भावात् । 'असमानार्पगोत्रजाम् ' इत्येतक्षेत्रणिकविषयम् । मिताक्षरा on या. І. 53; ह्यद्धिविषेके ह्यद्धिचिन्तामणी च बाह्ये 'सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां विज्ञया साप्तपौरुषी । सपिण्डता ततः पश्चात्समानोवक्षभत्ता ॥' निर्णयसिन्धु, III पूर्वार्ध p. 284. The word अन्वय in the Mit. means 'connection or continuity.'

grandson and the like) because through his (the grandson's) father particles of the body of the grandfather continue in (or are connected with) him (the grandson). Similarly (the son has sapinda relationship) with his mother because particles of the mother's body continue in him. Thus (a person has sapinda relationship) with his mother's father through his mother; so (one has sapindatā) with one's mother's sister or mother's brother also by reason of the connection with (or continuity of) particles of the same body (viz. the body of the maternal grandfather). So also (a person has sapindata) with the paternal uncle, the paternal aunt and the like. Similarly the wife has sapinda relationship with the husband because she produces (with the husband) one body (viz. their son). 1071 In the same way brother's wives (are sapindas) of each other, because they produce one body (viz. their respective sons) with their respective husbands who are produced from one body (viz. their husbands' father). In this manner wherever the word sapinda occurs, there one has to understand connection with (or continuity of)

1071. The words 'तथा पत्या सह पत्न्या एकज्ञरीराम्भकतया' are translated differently by Golap Chandra Sarkar in his 'Hindu Law', (7th ed. of 1936) pp. 81-82 as 'similarly arises the sapinda relationship of the husband with the lawfully wedded wife by reason of (their together) forming one body '(i. e. one person, hence the wife is called half the body of the husband). The learned author thinks that his translation is the correct one and others went wrong in translating as in the passage above. His translation cannot be accepted for several reasons. In the first place, it is opposed to the explanation of the Balambhatta आरम्भकतयेति जभयारच्धे एकज्ञरिरे स्वावयवान्वयादित्यर्थः (i. e. particles of the bodies of the husband and wife continue in or are concerned with one body, the son, that is produced by them both). That husband and wife are one is a pleasant fiction but here Vijnanesvara is stressing the physical continuity of particles. The husband and wife though said to be one are still two bodies. No one says that their bodies become physically one. Besides the objection that if they do not beget a son, the husband and wife will not be sapindas is not sound. Rules and principles are laid down for generality of cases and regard is to be had to their capacity to produce a sov. The निर्णयसिन्ध् (III. प्रवीर्ध p. 280) shows that G. C. Sarkar is wrong 'एकस्य हि पितर्मातर्ना झरीरस्यानयवाः प्रज-पौजाविषु साक्षात् परंपरया चा क्रुक्रशोणितादिरूपेणानुस्यृताः । यद्यपि पत्न्याः पत्या सह आतु-पत्नीनां च परस्परं नैतत्संभवति तथापि आधारवेनेकशरीरावयवान्वयोऽस्त्येव ।. woman's husband's brother's wife is the receptacle (adhara) for a son who is procreated by the husband's brother and his wife, the former of whom has particles of his father whose particles continue in the husband of the woman.

particles of the same body either directly or mediately. 1072 On the word 'asapindam' it was explained that sapinda relationship arises immediately or mediately by reason of the connection with particles of the same body; this may prove to be too wide a statement, since in this beginningless samsara, such a relationship might exist in some way or other between all men: 1078 therefore (the sage Yājñavalkya) states 'after the fifth on the mother's side and after the 7th on the father's side. After the fifth on the mother's side i. e. in the mother's line and after the 7th on the father's side i.e. in the father's line sapinda relationship ceases. These words (viz. sapinda.....ceases) are to be taken as understood (in the text of Yaj.). Therefore the word 'sapinda' though it applies everywhere (i.e. to a very wide circle of persons) by the expressive (i. e. literal) power of its component parts, is restricted to a certain definite sphere, like the words 'nirmanthya' 1074 and 'pankaja'. And so the six (ascendants) beginning with the father and the six descendants beginning with the son and the man himself as the seventh (in each case) are sapindas; wherever there is a divergence of the line, the counting shall be made until the seventh in descent is reached including him (i, e. the ancestor) from whom the line diverges; in this way the computation is to be made everywhere. And so the fifth (if a girl), who stands in the fifth generation when a computation is made beginning with the mother and going up to her (mother's) father, mother's paternal grandfather &c., is styled in an indirect way 'fifth

^{1072.} There is direct continuity of particles of the bodies of the parents in the son and there is mediate connection of particles between grandparents and grandchildren and so on.

^{1073.} As the world proceeded from the Creator every one has in his body parts of the Creator. In the Tai, Up. II. 6 we have 'सांडकामयत यह स्यां प्रजायेय...इदं सर्वमस्जत । and also in छान्दोग्य VI. 2. 3. This is relied upon for limiting supindya in Par. M. I. 2. p. 59. The words मातृत: and पितृत: of Yuj. are repeated in the Mit. and explained as मातृ: संवाने and पितृ: संवाने respectively and the Mit. adds that in Yuj. I. 53 (latter half) we have to understand the words सापिण्डमं निवर्तते (sapinda relationship ceases).

^{1074.} The word 'pankaja' literally means 'springing from mud' and may apply to every water plant, but it is restricted by usage (rūdhi) to a lotus plant i. e. the wide literal or etymological (yaugika) meaning of the two parts 'panka (mud) and 'ja' (springing from) is restricted by popular usage to a single plant springing from mud. 'Nirmanthya' is the word used for producing fire by friction. Literally the word means 'what is to be churned'.

from the mother's side' (by Yāj.). In the same way 'the seventh from the father's side' (in Yāj.) is she who is the seventh in degree (from an ancestor) when computation is made beginning from the father and proceeding up to the father's father and so on".

According to this explanation of the Mitaksara 1075 the following rules about prohibition based on sapindya follow: (1) In computing degrees the common ancestor is to be included; (2) regard is to be had to the father and mother of the bride and bridegroom both; (3) if computation is made from the mother's side of either the proposed bride or bridegroom, they must be beyond the fifth degree (i. e. they must be 6th or further on) from the common ancestor and if it is made through the father of either, they must be beyond the seventh from the common ancestor (i. e. they must be eighth &c.). This last postulates four different classes of cases, viz. descent from a common ancestor may be traced through the fathers of both bride and bridegroom or through the mother of both, or through the mother of the bridegroom and the father of the bride or through the father of the bridegroom and the mother of the bride. The method of computing degrees is entirely different from the English method as is made clear by the remarks of the Mit. translated above. require that both must be beyond sapinda relationship as defined and limited above. For example, tracing descent through the fathers of both bride and bridegroom, if the bride is 8th from the common ancestor (called kūtastha in dharmasāstra works) and the bridegroom is 6th, there can be no marriage. as though the bride is beyond the limits of sapinda relationship to the common ancestor, the bridegroom being 6th from the kūtastha has sapiņda relationship with the kūtastha. These rules apply according to the Mit. only where the ancestors married women of their own varus. But if an ancestor married a brāhmana girl and also a ksatriya girl and a question arose about the eligibility of marriage among descendants of these two wives, then prohibition based on sapinda relationship extends up to only three degrees (and not seven or five). 1075a

1075. Vide extract (text) from the मिताक्षरा in appendix.

¹⁰⁷⁵a. एतच्च समानजातीये द्रष्ट्यम्। त्रिजातीये तु विशेषः। ... त्रिपुरुषमेव सापिण्ड्य-मिति। मिता॰ on या. I. 53; the उद्घाहतत्त्व p. 109 explains differently the statement of Paithinasi. तस्मान्मद्वपारिजाताद्युक्तिदिशा द्रसकसापत्नसंबन्धाद्यद्यप्रवेशे बाह्मणादीनां क्षत्रियादिसापिण्डति ४ये वा पूर्वोक्तानि नयानि न श्वद्यकल्प इति भ्रमितन्यम् निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 285; the मदनपारिजात pp. 138-140 gives these explanations.

It should not be supposed that these rules of the Mit. are The texts themselves are in conflict. universally observed. Further, the customs and usages as to prohibited degrees for marriage are so divergent in the various parts of India and among the hundreds of castes and sub-castes that it is impossible to state any rule as universally or even generally applicable. A few examples of conflict among the smrtis are cited by the Mit, itself. Vas. Dh. S. (8, 2) says '(he may marry) the fifth on the mother's side and 7th on the father's side', while Yai, as interpreted by the Mit, makes it necessary that the girl to be eligible must be 6th from the common ancestor traced through the mother and 8th when traced through the father. Paithinasi says 'the girl must be beyond three degrees on the mother's 1076 side and five degrees on the father's side'. These two are explained away by the Mit. by saying that these texts do not authorise a marriage with a girl who is distant from the common ancestor by a lesser number of degrees than those propounded by Yāj, but they only prohibit marriage with girls who are nearer in degrees than those stated in those texts. But this reconciliation of the conflict among the smrtis is not at all satisfactory.

The following diagrams illustrate the application of the rules of sapinda relationship according to the Mitākṣarā. In all of them A represents the common ancestor and the letters S and D represent respectively sons and daughters. According to the Mit. computation has to be made from (and inclusive of) the common ancestor in all cases and both the bride and bridegroom have to be beyond the prohibited degrees. 1077

1076. यद्पि वसिष्ठेनोक्तं पञ्चनी सहिमी चेव मातृतः पितृतस्वधित, जीनतीत्य मातृतः पञ्चातीत्य च पितृत इति च पैठीनसिना तद्प्यवाङ्क्निषेधार्थं न पुनस्तत्याप्त्यर्थमिति सर्व-स्मृतीनामित्रोधः। मिता on या. I. 53; the words पञ्चमीं मातृबन्धुम्यः सप्तमीं पितृबन्धुम्यः वाट बसिष्ठधर्मस् 8. 2 (the preceding स्च being गृहस्थी भाया विन्देत). The निर्णयसिन्धु (III. पूर्वार्ध pp. 284-285) collects together more such passages, holds that they are not to be construed as allowing an option, but as referring to descendants one of whose ancestors had been adopted or where the descendants of one ancestor trace descent through a brahmaṇa wife and a kṣatriya wife. सं. कौ. (pp. 612-613) also quotes passages similar to those in the निर्णयसिन्धु, but seems to hold that there is an option due to family or local usages. Vide सं. प्. pp. 707-718.

1077. The विश्वस्त्रासमुच्चय quoted in the उद्वाहतस्य (p. 116) is quite explicit 'संतानो भिद्यते यस्मात्पूर्वजाहुभयत्र च । तमादाय गणेद्धीमान्वरं याषद्य कन्यकाम ॥ ?

No. 1 A 			No. 2 A 	
D (2)		D (2)	S (2)	S (2)
B (3)		S (3)	8 (3)	S (3)
S (4)	•	S (4)	S (4)	S (4)
S (5)		D (5)	D (5)	D (5)
S (6)		8 (6)	S (6)	D (6)
8 (7)		S (7)	• •	•
D (8)		S (8)		

Here a valid marriage might take place between S(8) and D(8) because sapinda relationship for both is traced through their fathers and both are removed from the common ancestor A by more than seven degrees or generations.

Here a valid marriage may take place between S (6) and D (6) because sapinda relationship of both is in this case traced through their mothers and they are both removed from the common ancestor by more than five degrees.

No. 3		No. 4		
	Ą	I.	L	
+			a to men minima relative a proposition agreement discount or community or page or fine of	
8 (2)	S (2)	S (2)	S (2)	
B (3)	S (3)	S (3)	S (3)	
S (4)	S (4)	S (4)	8 (4)	
D (5)	D (5)	D (5)	S (5)	
8 (6)	D (6)	D (6)	S (6)	
D (7)	S (7)			

Here a marriage may take place between S (6) and D (6) because their sapinda relationship is to be traced through their mothers and both are removed from the common ancestors by more than five degrees. But a marriage cannot take place between S (7) and D (7) as the sapinda relationship of D (7) is to be traced through her father and she is not more than 7 degrees from the common ancestor.

Here a marriage cannot take place between D (6) and S (6) as the sapinda relationship in the latter's case is to be traced through his father and he is not more than seven degrees removed from the common ancestor, though D (6) whose sapinda relationship is to be traced through her mother is more than five degrees from the common ancestor. Acoording to Balambhatta and some others marriage will take place as D(6) is beyond five degrees (tracing through her mother), though S(6) is within 7 degrees (tracing descent through his father) and so is not outside sapinda limits.

All these four examples are taken from the Dharmasindhu (III. Pūrvārdha p. 226-227). No. 3 illustrates what is called

sapiṇḍa relationship by 'frog's leap'. Just as a frog leaps from one spot to another leaving intervening objects untouched, so in this example No. 3, there is sāpiṇḍya between D(5) and D(5), but S(6) and D(6) are left unaffected by sāpiṇḍya (as relationship is traced through the mothers of both), while sāpiṇḍya reverts to affect D(7) and S(7). The maxim of 'frog's leap' is a very ancient one, being exemplified by the Mahābhāsya of Pataājali. 1079

The rules about prohibition of marriage on the ground of sapinda relationship, particularly where cognates (persons connected through females) were concerned, have not been observed in numerous instances over wide areas from very ancient times. One striking illustration is the question whether a man can marry his maternal uncle's or his paternal aunt's daughter, particularly the former. On this point opinion has been sharply divided from ancient times. Ap. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8 includes among pataniya actions (mortal sins) sexual intercourse with the uterine relations (mothers and sisters) of one's parents and their children. This would prohibit marriage with one's maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. Baud. Dh. S. I. 1080 1. 19-26 notes that there were five practices peculiar to the south viz. eating in the company of one whose upanayana has not been performed, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of the maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt and there were five practices peculiar to the Then he proceeds to state the argument that those who follow the practices mentioned by him in countries other than those where they prevail incur sin, that Gautama (XI. 20) holds this last argument to be wrong and then Baud, states his own

1078. झूटस्थात्पञ्चम्योः कन्ययोः संततौ मानृद्वारकत्वात्सापिण्ड्यनिवृत्तिः, पञ्चम्योः कन्ययोर्यो पुत्रो तयोः संततौ पिनृद्वारकत्वात्सापिण्ड्यमग्रवर्तत इतीदं मण्डूकषुतिसापिण्ड्यम् । धर्मासन्धु III. पूर्वाधं p. 227; यत्र तु मध्ये विच्छिन्नमपि सापिण्ड्यं मण्डूकषुतिवत्पुनरज्जवर्तते यथा कूटस्थात्पञ्चम्योः कन्ययोः पुत्रौ तत्र निवृत्तिः तद्पत्ययोस्त्वज्ञवृत्तिस्तत्रापि न सापिण्ड्यासापिण्ड्ययोद्गेषः संवन्धिभेदात्। तेन तत्र न विवाहः। निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 283. The सं. कौ. p. 612 refers to this.

1079. मण्डूकगतयोऽधिकाराः। यथा मण्डूका उत्क्रुत्योत्कुत्य गच्छन्ति तद्दद्धिकाराः। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 44 and vol. III. p. 25.

1080. पञ्चथा विमित्तपत्तिर्दक्षिणतस्त्तथोत्तरतः। यानि दक्षिणतस्तानि ध्याख्यास्यामः। यथैतद्ञुपतेन सह भोजनं स्त्रिया सह भोजनं पर्युषितभोजनं मातुलिपितृष्वमुहृहितृगमनिति। इतरिद्तिरस्मिन्कुर्वन्द्रुप्यतीतरिद्तित्रस्मिन् । मिथ्यैतिद्दिति गौतमः। उभयं चैव नादियेत शिष्टस्मृतिविरोधदर्शनात् भौ. ध. स्. I. 1. 19-26.

view that one should pay no heed to either set of practices, as both are opposed to smrtis and the views of sistas. From this it is clear that a marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter was in vogue in the south (below the Narmada probably) long before the Baud. Dh. S. (i. e. several centuries before the Christian era) and that North India did not go in for such marriages and that orthodox sutra writers like Gautama and Baudhāyana reprobated such practices. Manu (XI. 172-173) forbids such marriages "on approaching (for carnal intercourse) the daughter of one's father's sister or of one's mother's sister or of mother's full brother, a man must undergo the penance called 'candrayana'. A wise man should not take as his wife (any one of) these; they are not fit to be wedded because they are (sapinda) relatives, for by wedding them one sinks low (i. e. falls into hell or loses caste)". Haradatta on Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16 quotes a verse from Śātātapa 1081 prescribing the penance of $c\bar{a}ndr\bar{a}yana$ for marrying one's maternal uncle's daughter or a girl having the same gotra as one's mother's gotra (i. e. maternal grandfather's gotra) or a sapravara girl and a text of Sumantu forbidding marriage with the daughter of the brother of one's mother or step-mother. would be seen that all these relatives are third from the common ancestor and so are very much within the prohibition against marrying a sapinda, whatever be the number of prohibited degrees for marriage that are accepted. Kumārila in his Tantravārtika while discussing the scope and validity of sadācāra (on Jaimini I. 3.7) enumerates many lapses from good conduct attributed to great men and heroes of the past and tries to explain away those violations of good conduct. The charge brought against Vāsudeva (Krsna) and Arjuna, the central heroes of the Mahābhārata, is that they respectively married Rukmini and Subhadrā who were their maternal uncle's daughters (this being forbidden). Kumārila makes very scathing remarks against this practice 1085 prevalent among southerners and then refutes this charge by saying that although in the Mahābhārata (Adiparva 219. 17-18) Subhadrā is described as the daughter of

^{1081.} शातातपः। मातुलस्य सुतामृद्धा मातृगोत्रां तथैव च। समानप्रवरां चैव द्विज-श्वाम्द्रायणं चरेत्॥ सुमन्तुः ... पितृपत्म्यः सर्वा मातरस्तद्भातरो मातुलास्तरस्ता मातुलस्तास्त-स्मान्ता नोपयन्तरया द्वति। हरदन्त on आप. ध. स्. II. 5. 11. 16.

^{1082.} स्वमातुलसुतां पाष्य दाक्षिणात्यस्तु तुष्यति । अन्ये तु सय्यलीकेन मनसा तक्ष कुर्वते ॥ तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 204.

Vasudeva and sister 1083 of Krana, she was really not so, but that she was Vasudeva's mother's sister's daughter. the daughter's daughter of the sister father of Vasudeva's mother (or step-mother Rohini). 1084 Kumārila argues that such female cousins one several degrees removed are often spoken of as sisters. Vide notes to the Vyavahāramayūkha pp. 200-202 where this matter is fully explained. This reply of Kumārila well illustrates the method of dealing with inconvenient texts adopted by mimāmsakas like Kumārila when the texts run counter to their cherished views. Visvarūpa on Yāj. III. 254 quotes Manu XI. 172 and verses of Samvarta prescribing the penance of Parāka for carnal intercourse with one's maternal uncle's daughter. 1085 Medhātithi on Manu II. 18 refers to this practice as prevalent in some countries, and says it is opposed to the rule of Gautama (IV. 3) about prohibition on the ground of sapindya and explains how such practices might have arisen. making love to the handsome daughters of their maternal uncles married them for fear that they might otherwise be punished by the king; it may be that others literally following the words of Manu IV. 178 held by the practice which their forefathers resorted to for fear of punishment. 1086 Among medieval writers, some condemn this practice, others justify it. Apararka (pp. 82-84) after a lengthy discussion condemns marriage with maternal uncle's daughter. The Nirnayasindhu also does the same (p. 286).

Among those who support marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter the most prominent are the Sm. C. (I. pp. 70-74) and the Par. M. (I. 2. pp. 63-68). They both admit that there are

^{1083.} जूर had a son वसुदेव and a daughter पूपा (who being given in adoption to कुन्तिभोज was called कुन्ती). Vide आदिपर्व 111. 1-3. The son of पूपा (कुन्ती) was अर्जुन. समद्रा is described in the आदिपर्व as the daughter of वसुदेव and sister of वासुदेव (कुष्ण). If these words are literally understood सभद्रा would be Arjuna's maternal uncle's daughter.

^{1084.} यद्यपि वासुदेवस्वसेति सुभद्राख्याता तथाप्युत्पत्तौ बलदेववासुदेवयोरेकानं-शायाश्च निजत्वान्वाख्यान्मातृष्वस्रीया सुभद्रा तस्य मातृपितृस्वस्रीयादुहिता वेति परिणयाभ्यः सुज्ञानाद् विज्ञायते । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 210.

^{1085.} मातुरानीं तथा श्वश्चं सुतां वे मातुरुस्य च । एता गत्वा स्त्रियो मोहात्यराकेण विद्युक्ष्यति ॥ संवर्त quoted by विश्वस्त्रप on या. III. 254.

^{1086.} किं च कारणग्रहाच्चेत्रमादेराचारस्य । क्षपवतीं मातुलकम्यां कामयमाना राज-भयादृढवन्तः कन्यागमनदृण्डो माभूदिति । अन्ये त्वविद्वांसो 'येनास्य पितरो याताः ' इत्यस्य यथाश्चर्यमर्थे महीत्वा धर्मोयमिति प्रतिपक्षाः । मेधा॰ on मनु II. 18.

passages of Manu, Śātātapa, Sumantu (all quoted above) and others condemning marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter, yet they say that there are passages of the Veda and some smrtis in support of it and sists (learned and respectable persons) observe this practice and so such marriages and not forbidden. sadācāra They rely upon two Vedic passages; one is from the Sat. Br. I. 8. 3. 6 (S. B. E. vol. XII. p. 238) "thus the separation (of the eater and the eaten) is effected in one and the same act; hence from one and the same man spring both the enjoyer (the husband) and the enjoyed (the wife); for now kinsfolk live sporting and rejoicing together saying 'in the fourth or third man (generation) we shall unite'. And this is so in accordance with that (separation of the spoons)." 1087 The mention of the union in the third generation is understood by the Sm. C. as referring to the marriage of a person with his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. Viśvarūpa also refers to this passage (on Yāj. I.53), but he does not draw the inference that such marriages are authorized by the Veda. Another Vedic verse is relied upon by the Sm. C. and Par. M and other works. It is a verse from a Khila sūkta 'Come, O Indra, by commended paths to this our sacrifice and partake of your portion. They (the priests) have offered the fat seasoned with ghee that is thy portion, as the maternal uncle's daughter or the paternal aunt's daughter (is one's lot in marriage)'.1688 This verse is referred to by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (I. 53) but his explanation of it is different viz. that it really indicates one out of four different alternatives

1087. समान एव कर्मन् ज्याकियते तस्मात्समानादेव पुरुषादत्ता चाद्यश्च जायेते इदं हि चतुर्थे पुरुषे तृतीये संगव्छामहे इति वि देवं दीव्यमाना जात्या आसते। एतस्मादु तत्। शत्यथा 1. 8. 3. 6; उत हि तृतीये पुरुषे इत्याह। अनेन दीहिज्यीत्रयोर्मातुलदुहितृपैतृष्वसेयी-परिणयनसुक्तं भवति। तयोः कूटस्थमारभ्य तृतीयत्वात्। संगव्छामहे विवहामहे इत्यर्थः। स्मृतिच० 1. p. 72.

1088. Vide Aufrecht's Rgveda vol. II. p. 672. The verse is आयाहीन्द्र पथिभिरीळितिभिर्यज्ञमिमं नो भागधेयं जुबस्व। तृप्तां जहुर्मातृत्रस्थेव योषा भागस्ते
पैतृष्वसेयी वपामिव ॥. Aufrecht reads तृप्ता जुहु: for तृप्तां जहुः. This occurs also
in the निरुक्तपरिशिष्ट (XIV. 31 ed. by Roth, though some Mss omit it),
where the reading is जुहु: for जहु: अपरार्क reads 'तृप्तां जहुर्मातृत्रस्थेव ते तव भागः
पैतृष्वसेयीमपामिवीधः।'. The text as printed in अपरार्क seems to be corrupt.
अपरार्क takes जहु: as meaning त्यक्तवन्तः and adds यथा पैतृष्वसेयीं भगिनीं भार्यास्वेनात्यन्तानभित्रवर्णायां त्यजन्ति &c. (p. 83).

as regards prohibited degrees for marriage. 1089 Aparārka (p. 83) on Yaj. I. 53 reads the latter half somewhat differently and so interprets it as to spell out of it a prohibition against marrying a maternal uncle's daughter. This text is quoted in I. L. R. 7 Mad. 548 at p. 550. The Smrticandrikā relies upon a passage of the Caturvims timata that allows a marriage of persons who are third or fourth in descent from a common ancestor on both sides (on the mother's or father's side). There is also a text of Brhaspati which prescribes that the practices of the countries, castes and families should be guarded (or enforced) by the king as they have been in vogue from past times, otherwise the subjects become inflamed and among such practices he instances 'Brahmanas in the south marry the maternal uncle's daughter'. 1090 So there is smrti authority for such marriages. Besides southern sistas deeply read in the Vedas and acting according to the meaning of the Veda practise marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter. Here both Sm. C. and Par. M. are on very firm ground. The Smrtimuktaphala of Vaidvanātha says 'among the Andhras sistas deeply read in the Vedas follow the practice of mātulasutā-pariņayana and among the Dravidas respectable people allow marriage of a person with a girl who is fourth in descent from the common ancestor'. 1091 Among several castes in the Deccan and the Madras Presidency, not only is marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter allowed, but it is highly commended. Even certain brahmana castes like the Desastha brahmanas of the Karnātaka and Karhādā brāhmanas observe this practice in modern times. The Sainskärakaustubha (pp. 616-620) and the Dharmasindhu support mātulasutā-parinayana.

Both the Sm. C. and Par. M. say that though the Vedic passage from the Satapatha is a mere arthavada (a laudatory statement) in praise of a Vedic act, yet on the analogy of the words 'he holds (the samidh) above (the sruc) for gods', which

^{1089.} ते चामी श्रुतिस्मृत्यनुसाराज्ञत्वारः कल्पाः । ऊर्ध्व सप्तनात् पञ्चमाद्वेत्येकः। पञ्चम मानृतः सप्तमे पिनृत इति द्वितीयः। उभयतः पञ्चम इति नृतीयः। चतुर्थेपीति चतुर्थः। पूर्वः भ्रेयान् । स्नीविषयश्चान्त्यः कल्पः एवं च वरचतुर्थे न विवाहः। मन्त्रवर्णो- एयेक्मेव ग्याख्येयः। विश्वरूप on या. I. 53.

^{1090.} देशजातिकुलानां च ये धर्माः प्राक्र्यवर्तिताः। तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजाः प्रश्चम्यतेऽन्यथा ॥ ... उदुद्धाते दाक्षिणात्यैर्मातुलस्य सुता द्विजैः । बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 10, ध्यवहारमयूख p. 7.

^{1091.} दाक्षिणारयानां मध्ये आन्ध्रेषु त्रैविद्यदृद्धाः वेदार्थानुष्ठातारः शिष्टा अपि मातुला-विदुदितृपरिणयनमात्र्यस्ति । द्रविद्येषु तथाविधाः शिष्ठाः चतुर्थ्यादिविदाहमाचरन्ति । स्मृतिस् (धर्णाश्रम p. 131).

are construed by Jaimini (III. 4.15) as a vidhi (as a positive rule) on account of their apūrvatva (not being known from any other source), these words of the Satapatha are also to be construed as a vidhi (of the marriage with maternal uncles daughter). The Sm. C. also presses into service the Vedic verse (Rg. X. 16.5) addressed by Yami to Yama. But that mantra does not clearly refer to cross-cousin marriages.

The smrti passages that condemn cross-cousin marriages are explained in a peculiar manner by the Sm. C. and the Par. M. When a woman is married in one of the four forms, brahma &c., she passes into the gotra of her husband, becomes a sapinda in the husband's family and so she is severed from her father's family (as to gotra and sapinda relationship); but when a woman is married in the asura, gandharva and other forms. she does not pass over into the gotra of her husband, but remains in the gotra of the father and her sapinda relationship with her father and brother continues. Therefore the son of such a woman, if he marries the daughter of his mother's brother, would be marrying a girl who is a sagotra and sapinda of his mother. The Sm. C. and the Par. M. and other works say that the smrti texts forbidding marriage with maternal uncle's daughter refer to a person whose mother was married in the gandharva, asura and the other two forms, but not to a person whose mother was married in the brahma and the three other approved forms. This is the reasoning of the Sm. C. and the Par. M. 1098

^{1092.} Jaimini's sutra is विधिर्वा धारणेऽपूर्वत्वात् III.4.15. This is not commented upon by Sabara; but the Tantravartika, which notices this fact, assigns several reasons for this omission and explains it as follows: in the herifuquant there is a passage अधस्तात्माभधं धारचल्चमुचेदुपरि हि देवेश्यो धारचित. In the homa for pitys the samidh is held below the srue in which the havis has been placed; in this passage it is said that when the oblation is to be offered to the gods the samidh is to be held over the srue (in which the oblation is placed before being thrown into the fire). Here though the particle 'hi' (showing reason) is employed and though the present 'dhārayati' is used (and not the potential as is usual in vidhis), it is not a mere arthavāda but a vidhi. So also in the Sat. Br. there is a vidhi about 'mātula-sutāpariņayana.' तेनोपश्चिरणम्मासम्। न चामसं हत्विज्ञिदेन वर्तमानापदेशेन बाज्यित्वं क्वयम्। पिट्ये होमे अधस्तात् खान्यव्यस्य समिद्धारियत्व्या देवे च युनक्परिष्टादिति। तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 899.

^{1093.} गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु कन्यापदाभावेन पितृगोत्रसापिण्ड्यरोरानिष्टृत्तेः। तथा मार्क-ण्डेयपुराणम्। ब्राह्मादिषु विवाहेषु या तूढा कन्यका भवेत्। भर्तृगोत्रेण कर्तथ्या तस्याः पिण्डोद्क-क्रिया ॥ गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु पितृगोत्रेण धर्मवित्। एतेन मातुलसुताविवाहिषयोपि विवादः परास्तः। तथाहि तक्षिषेधवचनानि गान्धर्वादिविवाहोढजिषयाणि तत्र सापिण्ड्य-निवृत्तेरभावात् तद्नुग्राहकश्चतिस्मृतिसद्गाच।रात्। न ब्राह्मादिविवाहोढजिषण्याणि । परा. मा. 1.2. p. 63-64.

These rules about prohibition on the ground of sapinda relationship cause great difficulties in modern times, when owing to the rapid spread of co-education and the rise in the marriageable age of girls, love marriages have become somewhat frequent. Lovers do not stop to consider such (to them) trivial matters as sapinda relationship, but the law is often inexorable. The narrowing of the limits of sapinda relationship is permitted by the authors of commentaries and digests only on the ground of immemorial family, caste or local usage. For example, the same authors, who hold that marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter is sanctioned by Vedic texts and custom, condemn and forbid marriage with one's paternal aunt's daughter or with one's maternal aunt's daughter (vide below). There are a few verses cited from the smrtis which favour the narrowing down of sapinda relationship. For example, the Caturvimsatimata 1093a states 'According to Sākatāyana there is no blame in marrying a girl who is 7th or 6th or 5th (from the common ancestor); similarly Manu, Pārāśarva, Yama and Angiras say that one may marry a girl who is third or fourth (from the common ancestor) on both sides (i. e. from her father's side or mother's side). Whoever enters into such marriage alliances by relying on the usage of his country or of his family is always entitled to associate with people and this is seen from the Veda'. Parāsara (as quoted in the Nirnayasindhu and other works) says 'a man who is himself fourth or fifth (from the common ancestor) may according to Parāśara's view marry a girl who is 4th or 6th (from the common ancestor), but one who is himself fifth cannot marry a girl who is also fifth (from the common ancestor).' The Samskarakaustubha, the Sāpindvadīpikā and a few digests hold these verses authoritative and allow such marriages provided they are in accordance with local or family usage. As against this the following facts have to be remembered. One of the maxims of interpretation is that where there is conflict between smrti texts, the preferable rule is to follow the opinion of the majority. 1093b Gaut. Manu.

¹⁰⁹³ त. सप्तमीं च तथा षष्टीं पञ्चमीं च तथैव च। एवसुद्वाहयेत्सन्यां न दोषः शाकटायनः। तृतीयां वा चतुर्थी वा पक्षयोरुभयोरिप । विवाहयेन्मतुः माह पाराशयों क्षिरा यमः।
यस्तु देशानुरूपेण कुलमार्गेण चोद्वहेत्। नित्यं स व्यवहार्यः स्याद्वदाचैतत्यष्ट्वस्यते। इति चतुः
विश्वतिमतात्। चतुर्थीसुद्वहेत्सन्यां चतुर्थः पञ्चमोपि वा। पराशरमते षष्टीं पञ्चमो न तु पञ्चमीम्। इति पराशरोक्तेश्व । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 285.

¹⁰⁹³ b. विरोधो यत्र वाक्यानां प्राप्ताण्यं तत्र भूयसाम् । तुल्यप्रमाणसस्वे तु न्याय एव प्रवर्तते ॥ quoted in मलमासतस्व p. 767.

Yaj, Marici and numerous other smrtikaras are opposed to these The second rule is that Manu has the highest authority among smrtis and that smrti which is opposed to the dicta of Manu is not commended. 10930 The above passages are opposed to the words of Manu on sapinda relationship and about marrying a maternal uncle's daughter (Manu V. 60, III. 5, XI. 171-A third point about the above texts is that several eminent works like the Nirnayasindhu and the Dharmasindhu 10984 hold that some of these verses are baseless and not genuine and that they really refer to persons adopted or persons descended from wives of different castes of the same common ancestor: and lastly even those works that support such narrowing of sapinda relationship for marriage do not advocate it for all and sundry, but only where there is a local or family usage to that effect. Therefore, marriages among persons who are 3rd or 4th or 5th from the common ancestor cannot be regarded as valid in general, but only on the ground of usage. The following diagram will furnish some examples of the narrowing down of sapinda relationship.

A (common male ancestor)



Here ordinarily there can be no valid marriage between D (4) and S (4) or S (5) because they are both not beyond even the fifth degree from the common ancestor; but if the verses of the Caturvimsatimata and Parāsara be followed the marriages are valid. It should be noted that even under the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) marriage between D (4) and S (4) or S (5)

े 1093 c. वेदार्थोपनिवन्द्भृत्वात्प्राधान्यं तु मल्लस्मृतौ । मन्वर्थविपरीता या स्मृतिः सा न प्रशस्यते ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क on या. II. 21 and कुल्लक on मल्ल I. 1.

1093 d. यानि तु चतुर्थीसुद्वहेरक्रन्यां चतुर्थः पश्चमो वरः । इत्यादिवचनानि तेषु कानिचिक्रिर्मूलानि कानिचिद्धत्तकसापत्न्यादिसंबन्धानिषयतया विपाणां क्षत्रियादिषु सापिण्ड्यविषयतया वा नेयानि-इति निर्णयसिन्धुमतम् । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 228. येषां कुले देशे चातुकल्पत्वेन सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोच्चेन परंपरया समागतस्तेषां सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोच्चेन विवाहो न दोषाय स्वकुलदेश्चिक्रदेत सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोच्चेन विवाहे दोषो भवत्यय । धर्मसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p. 228 summarizing the view of the संस्कारकोस्त्रभ.

will not be valid according to the 2nd proviso to sec. 2. The Nirnayasindhu 1093 o was not prepared to concede that such marriages, though not the best, were at least allowable as inferior (anukalpa). The Dharmasindhu 10981 stated that only in calamities when one is unable to secure a girl one may enter into a marriage where sapinda relationship is narrowed down, but that those who can secure another girl should not go in for it, as the sin of incest would be incurred. Such marriages did not take place except during the last few years and so the courts have not yet pronounced on their validity. The preceding remarks are made by way of caution only and it is quite possible that courts may find out some way to uphold the marriages when they come before them many years after their celebration. But it is well to remember that the validity of such marriages in castes that have no usage to that effect is, to say the least, doubtful.

There is a great 1094 deal of discussion in the smrtis and nibandhas on the gotra of a woman. Āśv. gr. S. I. 8. 12 is interpreted by some as laying down that husband and wife become of one gotra one year after marriage. Laghu Hārīta appears to refer to this and also proposes an option that she takes up the husband's gotra immediately after marriage. Yama 86 and Likhita 25 say that after marriage on the 4th night a bride becomes one with her husband as to gotra, pinda and āśauca; while Yama 78 and Likhita 26 state that she loses her father's gotra on taking the seventh step. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 254 has a long note on this subject, states that there are two views and finally reaches the conclusion that a woman retains her father's gotra even after marriage for pindadāna, if she was a putrikā or was married in the āsura and the following forms; but if she was married in the brāhma and other approved

¹⁰⁹³ e. न स्वनुकल्प इति भ्रमितव्यम् । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 285.

¹⁰⁹³ f. अयं सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचेन विवाहः सङ्कटेण्वशक्तेन कार्यः कन्यान्तरलाभे शक्तेने कार्यो गुरुतत्थादिदोषरमृतेः । सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचवानयानामशक्तविषयत्वस्य स्पष्टत्वात् । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 229.

^{1094.} संवत्सरं चैक ऋषिर्जायते। आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 12; नारायण notes अन्ये खाहुः वतान्ते एक ऋषिः संपद्यते। पितृगोत्रं विद्याय पतिगोत्रं भजत इत्यर्थः।; संवत्सरे ज्यतीते त तद्दीत्रं नीयते पुनः। त्रिः परिग्रहणादग्रेहंद्यालम्भनात्तथा। स्वामिगोत्रेण कर्त्वणा पिण्डदानो-दक्तिया। लघुहारीत v. 62-63; विषाहे चैव निर्तृते चतुर्थेहिन रात्रिषु। एकत्वं सा गता भर्तुः पिण्डे गोत्रे च स्तके ॥ स्वगोत्राद् अत्यते नारी विषाहात् सप्तमे पद्दे। भर्तृगोत्रेण कर्त्वणा दानापिण्डोद्कक्रियाः। लिखित 25-26 and यम 86, 78. The words एकत्वं...स्तके are quoted by विश्वस्त्य on या I. 254 and the verse स्वगोत्राद्र is quoted by the मिता, on या I. 254.

forms, there was an option viz. pinds may be offered to one's mother by one's father's gotra or by her father's gotra according to family usage. Vide also Aparārka pp. 432, 542, Sm. C. I. p. 69.

Both of them allow a person's marriage with his paternal aunt's daughter. Certain inscriptions at Nagarjunikonda (of about the 3rd century A. D.) establish that the king Siri Virapurisadata, son of Siri Chantamula who had performed the Vājapeya, Aśvamedha and other sacrifices, married a daughter of his paternal aunt (E. I. vol. 20 at p. 4). There are other authors, however, who, while allowing marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter, disallow it with a paternal aunt's daughter. For example, the Nirnayasindhu says that, though it follows from the same Vedic passages that one's paternal aunt's daughter may be married, yet such a marriage should not be contracted as it is hateful to the people, as there are no other passages laying down the advisability of such marriages. 1095 Similarly the Sm. C. (I. p. 71) and Par. M. (I. 2. p. 65) say that though marriage with one's mother's sister or mother's sister's daughter also should be allowed on the same grounds as those urged in favour of the marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter, yet it is forbidden since it is condemned by sistas and is hateful to the people and both again rely on Yaj. I. 156.1096

Another and a very striking instance of the limits of sapinda relationship not being observed is the practice among certain sections of even brāhmaņas (such as some Dešasthas in Karnāṭaka and Mysore) marrying their own sister's daughter (i.e. their own niece). Vide Mandlik's Hindu Law p. 425. In Ramangavda v. Shivaji, the Bombay High Court held that marriage with one's sister's daughter was invalid among brāhmaṇas; but in that case no custom as to the validity of

1095. यद्यपि पितृष्वसुकन्योद्वादोपि प्राप्तस्तथाण्यस्वर्गे लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमण्याचरेस्र हु इति निषेधाद्वचनान्तरेण तदुद्वाहस्याविधानाद्य न कार्यः। निर्णयसिन्धु III, पूर्वाध p. 286. Tho half verse अस्वार्थ चरेस्र हु is या. I. 156.

1096. नद्ध च यदि मातुरसपिण्डतया मातुळसुता परिणेया तथाविधा मातुष्वसा तद्भु-हिता च किमिति न परिणेया । उच्यते । सत्यम् । न नुमः शास्त्रतो न परिणेयेति किं तु लोक-विरुद्धत्वात् । यद्ध धर्म्यमपि लोकविरुद्धं तक्षानुष्ठेयम् । यदुक्तं महुना । अस्वर्ग्य लोकविद्धिष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेक तु ॥ स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 71; vide स्मृतिसु (वर्णाश्रम p. 131) for almost the same words. such marriages was alleged ¹⁰⁹⁷. In Vellanki Ramakrishna v. Kolagiri Subbamma 43 Mad. 830 at p. 834 it is stated that in the Velama caste a man may marry his sister's daughter.

On account of these divergences about the limits of prohibited degrees for marriage it appears that the remarks of the Samskārakaustubha (p. 620) and of the Dharmasindhu (p. 228) are most sensible and practical. They say that even in the Kali age ¹⁰⁹⁸ those, in whose families or countries the limits of sapinda relationship are narrowed down and marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter has been in vogue for ages, may do so, that they incur no blame by such marriages, that others (among whom there is no such custom) may without blame invite such persons for śrāddhas and may take girls from their families in marriage and that the passages quoted by Hemādri forbidding their being invited at śrāddhas only apply to those who marry a maternal uncle's daughter even though they have no such family or local usage. ¹⁰⁹⁹

Another question is how far sapinda relationship holds good in the case of girls belonging to the family from which one's step-mother comes. The Udvāhatattva (p. 118), the Nirnayasindhu (p. 289), the Sain. Pr. (pp. 695-699), Sainskāra-Kaustubha (pp. 621-630) and the Dharmasindhu (p. 230) deal with this matter. They all rely on a text of Sumantu 1100 'all the wives of one's father are mothers, the brothers of these are one's maternal uncles, their sisters are one's mother's sisters, the daughters of these are one's sisters and the children of these

^{1097.} Vide Printed Judgments (of the Bombay High Court) for 1876 p. 73.

^{1098.} The स्मृतिच. I. p. 12 and the निर्णयसिन्धु (p. 367) include मातृ-सिपण्डाविवाह among कॅलियर्ज.

^{1099.} अतः सिद्धमेतत् । कलाविष येषां कुले देशेऽनुकल्पत्वेन सापिण्ड्यसंकोचः परंपरया समागतः तेषां ताहुशसंकोचेन विवाहे न दोषः । अस्ति च भार्यात्वोत्पात्तः । अन्येषां तैः सह ग्यवहारे नेव दोषः । स्वयं तु कुलदेशविषद्धसापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन विवाहे भवत्येव दोषः । न च भार्यात्वोत्पात्तिः । हृश्यन्ते हि स्वयं सापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन विवाहमकुर्वन्तोऽपि ताहुशसंकोचेना-सक्कजातविवाहेग्यः कुलेग्यः कन्याः स्वीकुर्वन्तस्तत्कुलीनान् आद्धादौ भोजयन्तश्च बहवः शिष्टाः । अत एव मातुलकन्योद्वाहिनां हेमाद्यादौ आद्धानिषेधोपि स्वकुलदेशपरंपरयानागत-सापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन कुतिवाहिवषय एवेति बोध्यम् । संस्कारकीस्तुभ p. 620.

^{1100.} पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरस्तद्भातरो मातुलास्तद्भगिन्यो मातृस्वसारस्तद्भृतिरश्च भगिन्यस्तव्पस्यानि भागिनेयानि । अन्यथा संकरकारिणः स्युः । गुमन्तु. There are various readings in this passage in all works. स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 70 and परा. मा. I. 2. p. 64 also quote it. Vide note 1091 where सुमन्तु is somewhat differently quoted by हरवन्त.

latter are one's sister's children; otherwise there would be samkara (confusion)'. Two interpretations are placed on this, one view (and that is held by most) is that this lays down sāpiṇḍya only with the persons specifically mentioned, 1101 while another view (this is held by the Sam. Pr.) is that there is sāpiṇḍya for four generations from the father of one's stepmother. According to the first view a man cannot marry the daughter or grand-daughter of his step-mother's brother or sister, but his own daughter can marry the son of his stepmother's brother; while according to the second view the latter marriage also would contravene the rule about this extension (atideśa) of sāpiṇḍya.

Marriages with certain girls were forbidden by certain writers on the ground of what is called 'viruddhasambandha'. although there is no question of sapinda relationship in such cases. The Grhya-parisista 1102 (quoted in the Nirnayasindhu p. 289) prescribes 'one should marry a girl with whom there is no viruddhasambandha, e.g. the daughter of one's wife's sister or the sister of one's paternal uncle's wife (these should not be married). Viruddhasambandha (incompatible relation) occurs where the standing of the proposed bridegroom and the bride would resemble that of father or mother to the other (or of brother and sister). In modern times such marriages take place as a matter of course and no court would declare them to be invalid. I. L. R. 20 Mad. 283 and I. L. R. 43 Mad. 830 where marriage with one's wife's sister's daughter was held to be valid, among brāhmanas as well as śūdras in the Telugu and Tamil districts. relying on Mandlik's Hindu Law pp. 484-485 and other authorities. In Ramchandra v. Gopal 32 Bom. 619 at pp. 630-631 the court approves of the decision in 20 Mad. 283 and holds that the dicta as to viruddha-sambandha are only recommendatory.

^{1101.} अत्र याषद्वचनं वाचिनिकामिति न्यायेन परिगणितेष्वेव सापिण्डमं न त सप्तमा- विपर्यन्तमिति भद्वचरणप्रभूतयो बहवः । सं. कौ. p. 621. For the maxim याबद्वचनं वाचिनिकं vide Sabara's भाष्य p. 1324 (on जै. V. 3. 12) 'याबद्वचनं वाचिनिकं न सहुशसुपसंकामिति । and p. 1339 (on जै. V. 4. 11) 'याव निकं तत्र न न्यायः क्रमते ।

^{1102.} वरो अविरुद्धसंबन्धासुपयच्छेत्।..... दुम्परयोर्मिधः पितृमातृसाम्ये विरुद्धः संबन्धः। यथा भार्यास्त्रसुर्दुहिता पितृष्यपत्नीस्वसा चेति परिशिष्टोक्तेः (आश्वलायन-पृक्कपरिशिष्ट 22)। निर्णयसिन्धुः,। बौधायनः। मातुः सपल्या भगिनीं तत्सुतां च विवर्जयेत्। पितृष्यपत्नीभगिनीं तत्सुतां च विवर्जयेत्। पर्मिसन्धु p. 231; 'पितृमातृसाम्ये इत्युपलक्षणम्। तेन भ्रातृभगिनीसाम्ये स्तुषाश्वश्चरादिसाम्येपि नोद्वादः।..... तद्यथा पितृष्यपत्नीस्वसुः सुता भगिनीसमा भवति। सं. प्र. p. 725.

About the sapinda relationship of the adopted son as regards marriage, āśauca and śrāddha a good deal is said in many works such as Sam. K. (pp. 182-186), Nirnayasindhu (pp. 290-291), the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Sam. Pr. (pp. 688-694), Sam. R. M. (pp. 453-456). Sāpindya for āśauca and śrāddha will be dealt with later on. As to sapindy a for marriage in the case of adoption there is great divergence of views. The Sain. Pr. (p. 690) says that the son given in adoption has sapindya for seven generations with his genitive father and for three generations with the adoptive father (pp. 693-694). The Sam. K. appears to hold, after quoting several views, that if the upanayana of the adopted boy was performed in the family of birth, then he has sapindya with the genitive family for seven generations. if the ceremonies from jātakarma to upanayana are performed in the adoptive family then he has sapindya in the adoptive family for seven generations, but only for five generations if only upanayana is performed in the family of adoption. Nirnayasindhu gives its own view that there is sapindya in both families for seven generations. The Vvavahāramayūkha holds (following Gautama IV. 3) that in the case of kevala dattaka (the ordinary adopted son) sapinda relationship extends to seven degrees in the adoptive father's family and five degrees in the adoptive mother's family. 1104 The Dharmasindhu follows the Sam. K. generally but it makes one significant remark. It says that several writers hold that in the case of dattaka, sapindya is to be observed for a lesser number of degrees (than seven or five) in both families. 1105 The Sam. R. M. (p. 454) says that the limits of sapindy a spoken of as applying to an adopted person extend to his children also. 1106 As the limits of sapindya for marriage are very much narrowed down when marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter or one's niece is allowed, on the other hand certain communities extend such limits too much. The Desastha brāhmanas of the Mādhyandina śākhā in the Deccan do not

^{1103.} तस्मादेषा दत्तकसिपण्डता त्रिपौरुषीति सिद्धम्। यद्यपि निर्वाप्य-पिण्डास्वयेन सापिण्ड्यं प्राङ्ग्निरस्तं तथाप्यगत्या दत्तकस्य प्रतिग्रहीत्रा सह तदेवाश्रयणीयम्। अविन्छिषाशिष्टाचारातुरोधात्। सं. प्र. pp. 693-694.

^{1104.} अत्र च केवलद्त्तकस्य पालकपितृकुले साप्तपौरुषं मातृकुले च पाञ्चपौरुषं साप्तिपञ्चम् । व्यवहारमयूख (p. 119, my edition).

^{1105.} केषित् दत्तकप्रवेशे कुलद्वयेपि सर्वथा न्यूनमेव सापिण्ड्यमित्याहुः। धर्मसिन्धु p. 161.

^{1106.} याष्ट्रशस्य वृत्तकस्य यथा सापिण्ड्यमुक्तं तत्संततेरपि तथैव तब् बोध्यम्। संस्काररानमाला p. 454.

marry a girl whose father's gotra is the same as the gotra of the bridegroom's maternal grandfather. Manu III. 5 lays down 'that girl who is not a sapinda of the mother (of the bridegroom) and who is not a sagotra of the father (of the bridegroom) is commended in the case of twice-born classes'. Many commentators and digests like Kullūka, the Madana-pārijāta (p. 132), the Dipakalikā, the Udvāhatattva (p. 107) understand the word asagotra (in Manu III. 5) after 'mātuḥ' also, and thus forbid marriage with a girl whose gotra is the same as that of one's mother (i. e. of one's maternal grandfather). Medhātithi 1107 on Manu III. 5 quotes a text of Vasistha which prescribes the penance of candrayana for marrying a girl who has the same gotra as the bridegroom's mother (i. e. his mother's father) and abandonment of her. Haradatta on Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16 quotes a similar verse from Śātātapa. Kullūka, the Sm. C. (I. p. 69). Haradatta on Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16, the Gr. R. (p. 10). Udvāhatattva p. 107 and other digests quote a verse of Vyāsa some do not desire for marriage a girl who has the same gotra as one's mother; but one may marry without question (or fear) a girl when her birth and name (as connected with one's mother's original gotra) are unknown'. A woman on marriage loses her original gotra and passes over into the gotra of her husband; so the words 'sagotra' of the mother simply mean 'having the same gotra as one's mother once had in her maiden state'. The Sm. C. (I. p. 69) takes this verse to refer only to a woman who was made an appointed daughter (putrika) by her father. Halayudha also held the same view. But other writers do not approve of this (vide the Gr. R., p. 10). The Nirnayasindhu 1108 (III. pūrvārdha p. 302) forbids marriage with a girl who is sagotra of one's mother, but the Sam. K. (p. 693) and the Dharmasindhu both say, after quoting a text of Satyāṣādha, that this restriction applies only to those who study the Madhyandina śākhā.

^{1107.} परिणीय सगोत्रां तु समानप्रवरां तथा। कृत्वा तस्याः समुत्सर्गे द्विजश्वान्द्रायण चरेत् ॥ मातुलस्य सुतां चेव मातृगोत्रां तथैव च। वसिष्ठ quoted in मेधाः. Manu III. 5 presents various readings, viz. 'दारकर्माण मैथुने', 'दारकर्मण मैथुनी', 'दारकर्मण मेथुने'. Vide मेथाः thereon.

^{1108.} ब्राह्माविविवाहोढासुतानां सर्वेषां मातृगोत्रतं न वर्ज्यम् , किं तु माध्यन्दिनीया-नामेव । मातृगोत्रं माध्यन्दिनीयानामिति सत्याषाढोक्तेः । सं. की. p. 693; 'इदं मातृगोत्र-वर्जनं माध्यन्दिनीयानामेव मातृगोत्रं माध्यन्दिनीयानामपुत्रायाश्चेति सत्याषाढोक्तिरिति कश्चित्ताक्वर्मूलम् । । निर्णयसिन्धु III, पूर्वार्ध p. 302.

The Bengal school represented by the Dayabhaga and Raghunandana differ from the Mitaksara in the interpretation of the word 'sapinda'. In this system the word 'pinda' is taken to mean 'the ball of rice' that is offered in sraddhas to deceased ancestors &c. (while under the Mit. interpretation 'pinda' means body or particles of body). Sapinda means 'one who is connected with another through oblations of food'. The author of the Dayabhaga propounds his theory with reference to inheritance and he himself says that with reference to asauca 1109 sapinda relationship is to be differently understood. Further Jimūtavāhana does not set forth his theory of sapinda relationship with reference to marriage. His theory is that in matters of inheritance the guiding principle is the spiritual benefit (upakārakatva) conferred on the deceased through oblations of food. and he relies on Manu (IX. 106) for this proposition. sapinda theory he principally relies on two passages, Baud. 1110 Dh. S. I. 5. 113-115 and Manu IX. 186-187. Baudhāyana's words are 'the paternal great-grand-father, the paternal grandfather, the father, the man himself, his full brothers, his son, grandson and son's son from a woman of the same varna: all these participating in undivided $d\bar{a}ua$ (heritage) are called Those who participate in divided $d\bar{a}ua$ are called sapindas. sakulyas. Thus issue of the body existing, wealth goes to them; on failure of sapindas, the sakulyas'. The text of Manu (IX. 186-187) is 'To three, libations of water must be given; towards three pinda proceeds; the fourth is the giver of these (of water and pindas), there is no fifth properly (concerned in this). Whoever is the nearest among sapindas, his becomes the wealth of him (who dies). After him the sakulva becomes (the heir) &c'. Jimūtavāhana's explanation of this text is as follows: 'A man when living offers pindas to his three male ancestors; but when he himself dies, his son performs

^{1109.} तथोपकारकत्वेनैव धनसंबन्धं मसुरप्याह । दायभाग chap. 11. sec. 32; इद् च सिपण्डत्वं सकुल्यत्वं च दायग्रहणार्थमुक्तम् । अशोचाद्यर्थे तु पिण्डलेपभुजामिष तङ्क्तिपण्डलेपभोक्तृत्वेन सिपण्डलं मार्कण्डेयपुराणे निर्दिष्टं यथा-पिण्डलेपभुजश्चान्ये पितामह-पितामहात् । पशुरसुक्तास्त्रयस्तेषां यजमानश्च सप्तमः। इत्येवं सुनिभिः पोक्तः संबन्धः साप्तपौरुष इति । अशौचकर इत्यर्थः । दायभाग chap. 11 sections 39-41 (Jivananda's ed.). The passage occurs in मार्कण्डेयपुराण 28. 3-4 and also in ब्रह्मपुराण 112.17-18.

^{1110.} प्रिपतामहः पितामहः पिता स्वयं सोव्यां भ्रातरः सवर्णायाः पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्रः। एतानविभक्तव्यादान् सपिण्डानाचक्षते। विभक्तव्यायादान्सकुल्यानाचक्षते। सत्स्वङ्गजेषु तत्राभी हार्थो भवति। सपिण्डाभावे सकुल्यः। बौ. ध. सू I. 5. 113-115 quoted in दायभाग XI. 37. The text printed in the Ann. ed. is slightly different.

the sapindikarana 1111 śrāddha for him, he is made one with the pitrs and he then begins to participate along with his father and grandfather in the three pindas offered by his son to the latter's three ancestors. Thus those to whom he offers pindas and those who offer pindas to him are called, since they share in undivided oblations, avibhaktadāyāda sapindas,' Several objections can be raised against the theory of Jimūtavāhana. In the first place he assigns the meaning of pinds to the word dāya in Baudhāyana's passage for which there is no warrant. Baudhāyana really means that those enumerated by him are called sapindas who take undivided wealth i. e. who constitute an undivided family. In the next place on his interpretation the word sapinda has to be interpreted in entirely different ways for āśauca and marriage. Besides he himself is not sure of his ground, since he says that although learned men may not approve of his theory that spiritual benefit is the guiding principle in taking property by inheritance they must admit that the order of heirs as stated by him relying on Manu IX, 186-187 is the proper one. 1112

The following table illustrates the sapindas expressly so stated by the Dāyabhāga where P stands for the *propositus*, S for son and F for father:

1111. In the Sapindikarana rite four pindas are made, one for the deceased person whose sapindikarana is to be effected and three for that person's three paternal ancestors and the pindas are mixed up, thereby indicating that from being a mere preta (one belonging to the region of the unredeemed dead) he becomes one of the pitrs and dwells in pitrloka. अस्यार्थ: । पित्रादिषण्डत्रये सर्षण्डनेन भोकृत्वात् पुत्रादिभिश्च त्रिभिः तत्पण्डस्यैव दानात् यश्च जीवन यत्पिण्डदाता समृतः सन् सर्पण्डनात् तत्पिण्डभोक्ता एवं च सित मध्यस्थितः पुरुषः पूर्वेशं जीवन् पिण्डदाता समृतः तत्पिण्डभोक्ता च परेषां जीवतां पिण्डसं-पदानमूत आसीत् मृतेश्च तैः सह दोहित्रादिद्येषिण्डभोक्ता अतो येषामयं पिण्डदाता येषास्य पिण्डदातारं ते अविभक्तपिण्डरूपं दायमदन्तित्यविभक्तदायादाः सिपण्डाः । दायभाग chap, XI. 1. para 38.

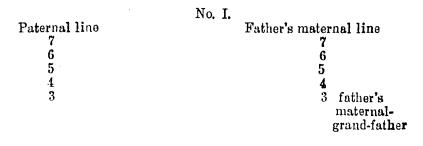
1112. अत्रापरितोषो विदुषां वाचनिक एवायमर्थः, तथापि यथोक्त एव वचनयोरथीं आह्य इत्यस्तु किं विस्तरेण। दायभाग XI. 6. para 38.

Śrikrsna, a commentator of the Dāyabhāga and author of Dāyakramasamgraha, and Raghunandana, author of Smrtitattva, and others elaborate these rules. The Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court in Guru Govind Shaha Mandal 1113 v. Anand Lal Ghose Mazumdar gives an elaborate statement of the several sapindas. But as those rules have reference only to succession, they are passed over here. Raghunandana in his work on marriage called Udvahatattva 1114 quotes the famous verse of the Matsyapurana, 'the fourth and (two beyond him) among ascendants are partakers of lepa (the leavings of the boiled rice that become attached to the hand of him who offers pindas), the father and the rest (i. e. two more beyond him) are partakers of the pinda; he who offers the pinda to them is the seventh; sapindya extends to seven generations' and refers the readers to his Suddhitattva for elucidation. Raghunandana does not give any definition of sapindas for marriage, but discusses the conflict about the several texts such as '7th on the father's side and 5th on the mother's side '. He expressly says (p. 110 of Udvāhatattva) that the words 'who is not a sapinda of one's mother' are still applicable even if several females intervene between the common ancestor and the girl proposed to be married. He then adds a special rule that descendants of what are called pitrbandhus and matrbandhus also are forbidden if they are within 7 degrees and 5 degrees respectively from these bandhus. The pitrbandhus 1115 of a person are his paternal grand-father's sister's sons, his paternal grandmother's sister's sons and his father's maternal uncle's sons; while mātrbandhus are a person's mother's father's sister's sons, mother's mother's sister's sons, mother's maternal uncle's sons. These two latter may be illustrated by two diagrams.

^{1113. 5} Bengal Law Reports p. 15.

^{1114.} Vido pp. 117-118 of the उद्घाहतत्त्व for a summary of the rules about सापिण्ड्यनिवृत्ति; about पितृबन्धु and मातृबन्धु he says 'एवं पितृबन्धुप्रभृति-संबन्ध्ययकानां सतानां संततिः सप्तभीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाद्या । एवं मातृबन्धुप्रभृतिसंबन्ध्ययकानां पञ्चानां संततिः पञ्चमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाद्या । एवं च मनुबन्धने यद्सपिण्डेति पृथ्यक्तं तत्सपिण्डकन्यापरंपराजावाया अपि पञ्चमीसप्तमीपर्यन्ताया निषेधार्थम् । उद्वाह-तन्त्व p. 110.

^{1115.} पितुः पितृष्वसुः पुत्राः पितृमातुःष्वसुः सुताः । पितृमातुःरपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः पितृष्वान्धवाः ॥ मातुः पितृष्वसुः पुत्रा मातुमातृष्वसुः सुताः । मातुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृ-वान्धवाः ॥ वृद्धज्ञातातप according to मद्मनपारिजात p. 674 and बौधायन according to पराः मा.

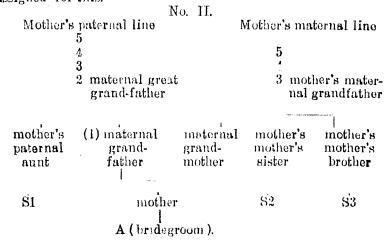


Father's paternal
aunt (2) Grandfather=Grandmother father's grand
maternal mother's
uncle sister

S (1) (1) father S (3) S (2)

A (bridegroom)

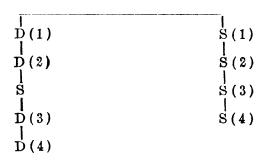
N. B.—Here S1, S2 and S3 are the three pitrbandhus of A, the bridegroom, and they are the starting points for calculating prohibited degrees among paternal cognates. In the ascending line only the descendants of the common ancestors are excluded. For example, S1 is a pitrbandhu and his descendants up to 7 degrees are excluded; but S1's father is not a bandhu of the bridegroom; therefore S1's father's sister may be married by the bridegroom. Under this rule the 6th descendant (a girl) of S1 will be ineligible for marriage with A: but she will be 9th from A's grandfather's father who is the common ancestor. So it will be seen that this goes far beyond the limits of sapindya generally prescribed and there is no valid reason assigned for this.



N. B.—Here S1, S2 and S3 are mātrbandhus of the bridegroom. The maternal great-grandfather is the starting point in calculating prohibited degrees in the mother's paternal line. In the mother's maternal line the starting points are S2 and S3. In the ascending lines of the mātrbandhus the descendants of only the common ancestor are excluded. For example, the girl descended from S3's maternal ancestors may be married by the bridegroom and so also a girl descended from the paternal ancestor of S2 or S1.

Another rule propounded by Raghunandana is that even within prohibited degrees a valid marriage may be contracted if three gotras intervene. In the case of girls descended from pitrbandhus and mātrbandhus the computation of gotra must be made from them. For want of space it is not thought advisable to illustrate this by citing several examples. But one example is given to illustrate this rule.

A (common ancestor)



Here according to the Bengal school S (4) can marry D (4) because three gotras intervene between her and the common ancestor, although S4 is only 5th in descent from the common ancestor; for according to the Bengal school it is not necessary that both the bridegroom and the bride be beyond the limits of sapindaship, but only the bride need be so; while according to many writers of the Mitākṣarā school both must be beyond the limits of sapindaship from the common ancestor. 1116

1116. The निर्णयसिन्धु summarizes the views of Gauda writers: अञ्च बन्धुभ्य इति पञ्चमीनिर्देशात् पितुःपितृष्वसृषुत्रात्सप्तमीं मातुःपितृष्वसृषुत्राञ्च पञ्चमीमिपि त्यजेत्। एवमन्ययन्धुषु ज्ञेयम्। तत्रापि त्रिगोत्रात्ययेऽर्वागपि विवाहं छुर्यात् वश्यमाणवच-नात्। त्रिगोत्रगणना च मातामहगोत्रापेक्षया न तु स्वापेक्षया अन्यथा पितुः पितामहदुहितु-देशिहत्रीपुत्री परिणेया स्यात्। वश्वा मातामहगोत्रापेक्षया तु त्रिगोत्रान्तर्गतेन विवाहत्रसङ्ग इति संबन्धतस्वादयो गौडग्रन्थाः। pp. 283–284, where a passage of बतन्मन् is quoted

The Dāyabhāga does not rely upon any Vedic passages for its theory of sapinda relationship. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 52) relies upon three Vedic passages only in propounding the theory of sapinda relationship viz. 'indeed the man himself is born from himself (as son, Ait. Br. 33.1); 'thou art born again (or reproduced) in the offspring '(Tai. Br. I. 5.5) and 'this body is made of six kośas (sheaths); three are derived from the father, three from the mother; bones, muscles and marrow from the mother' (Garbhopanisad). These passages at the most say that particles of the bodies of the parents continue in their offspring; but they do not say anything about the meaning of sapinda or the limits of the sapinda relationship for marriage or inheritance. Even in the Rg. the words jñāti and bandhu which occur in the dharmasūtras (e. g. Ap. Dh. S. I. 3, 10, 3, I. 5, 11 17. and Gaut. II. 44, IV. 3 and 5, VI. 3) frequently occur (vide Rg. VII. 55, 5 and X. 85, 28 for jñāti and Rg. I. 113, 2, V. 73, 4, VII. 72. 2, VII. 67. 9 for bandhu). All that we can say is that both meanings of sapinda were implicit in the word pinda from the earliest times and that the sutra writers were conscious of both meanings.

As to the grounds on which marriages between near sapindas were prohibited various theories have been advanced by anthropologists. Vide Westermarck in his 'History of Human marriage' (ed. of 1921, vol. II. pp. 71-81) and Rivers on 'Marriage of cousins in India' in J. R. A. S. for 1907 pp. 611-640. Some think that the prohibition was due to the abhorrence which men in the primitive times felt for incest. To me it appears more probable that in India at least the prohibition was due to two causes; firstly, the observed fact that, if near relatives marry, their defects are transmitted with aggravation to their offspring and secondly the fear that, if marriages between near relatives by blood were allowed, there may be clandestine love affairs and consequent loss of morals and it would be difficult to secure husbands for girls who would

(Continued from last page)

from शूलपाणि's संबन्धविवेक 'शूलपाणिरप्याह । पश्चमात्ससमाञ्चार्गणि त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता विवाह्या । असंबद्धा भवेन्मातुः पिण्डेनेबोद्केन वा । सा विवाह्या द्विजातीनां त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता च यति बृहन्मन्तिः ।.' The निर्णयसिन्धु notes that southern writers (daksinatya) do not subscribe to this view about three gotras intervening being an exception to sapindya in marriage. The संस्कारमकाश p. 710 also notes the view of Sulapani about त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता which means 'मूलपुरुषगोत्राञ्चतुर्धन्योत्रोक्ति ?

be living under the same roof with several near or distant cousins.

The Par. M. I. part 2, p. 59 expressly says that only such a girl who is not a sapinda of the bridegroom within the prohibited degrees on any of the two theories of sapindya (viz. by connection with particles of the body or with the balls of rice) is eligible for marriage.

The question what support Vedic Literature lends to the two interpretations of the word sapinda may now be briefly discussed here.

The word pinda occurs ¹¹¹⁷ in the Rgveda (I. 162. 19) and the Tai. S. IV. 6. 9. 3 where it seems to mean 'a part of the body of the sacrificial animal thrown into fire as an offering'. Here it is clear that the word pinda is not used in the sense of 'ball of rice'. But in the Tai. S. II. 3. 8. 2 and in the Sat. Br. II. 4. 2. 24 the word pinda means 'ball of rice' offered to the Manes. The Nirukta III. 4 and 5 twice employs the words 'pindadānāya' (for offering balls of rice). But the word sapinda hardly ever occurs in the Vedic literature and we have no means of judging in what sense it was used in the Vedic literature. In the dharmasūtras the word sapinda occurs frequently and the dharmasūtras show a close connection between offering pinda and the taking of inheritance (vide Gaut. 14. 13, 28. 21, Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 2, Vasiṣṭha IV. 16-18, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15. 40).

It was shown above (pp. 436-37) that some sages prohibit marriage with a sagotra girl while others prohibit it with a sapravara girl. A number of sages and works like Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 9, Yāj. I. 53, Nārada (strīpumsa, verse 7) require that the girl to be married must not be a sagotra nor a sapravara. Therefore it is necessary to understand the meaning of gotra and pravara. A detailed treatment of the topics of gotra and pravara would extend to a large treatise. Only a few salient points can be gone into here. The subject of gotra and pravara in the Vedic Literature has been treated at length by me in the J. B. B. R. A. S. (New series vol. II. for 1935). Only the conclusions there drawn will be set out here.

^{1117.} एकस्त्वब्दुरश्वस्या विशस्ता द्वा यन्तारा भवतस्तथ ऋतुः। या ते गात्राणामृतुथा कृणोमि ताता पिण्डानां प्र जुहोम्यग्नो ॥ ऋ. I. 162. 19 = ते. सं. IV. 6. 9. 3. The word sagotra is equal to samana-gotra as stated by Paņini VI. 3.85 and sapinda and sapravara are similarly formed.

The word gotra in the Rg. means 'cow-stable' or 'herd of cows' in a few passages (I. 51. 3, II. 17, 1, III. 39. 4, III. 43, 7, IX. 86. 23, X. 48. 2, X. 120. 8). By a natural metaphor 'gotra' was applied to a cloud (in which waters are pent up as cows in a cow-stable) or to a cloud demon and also to a mountain range or peak which conceals water-yielding clouds. Vide Rg. II. 23. 3 (where Brhaspati's car is styled 'gotrabhid'), Rg. X, 103. 7 (=Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 2, Atharva-veda V. 2. 8. and Vaj. S. 17. 39), Rg. VI. 17. 2. X. 103. 6. In some of these verses it is possible to take 'gotra' in the sense of 'fort'. In some cases 'gotra' probably means only "assemblage' (samuha) e. g. Rg. II. 23. 18, VI. 65. 5. From this last sense of 'assemblage' the transition to the meaning of 'a group of persons' is both easy and quick. There is no positive instance of the word 'gotra' being unchallengeably used in the sense 'descendants of a common patriarchal ancestor' in the Rgveda; but the conception underlying the idea of gotra was, it is plain, quite familiar even in the age of the Rgveda. In the Atharvaveda V. 21. 31118 the word 'visvagotryah' (belonging to all families) occurs. Here the word 'gotra' clearly means 'a group of men connected together' (by blood). The Kausika sūtra IV. 2 quotes a mantra in which gotra undoubtedly means 'a group of persons'.

Several passages of the Tai. S. show that descendants of great sages were called after those sages. In Tai. S. I. 8. 18. 1 it is said 'the Hotr is a Bhargava' (descendant of Bhrgu). The commentator explains that this is so only in the Rajasuya. It is quite possible that in those days descent was traced through teacher and pupil as well as through father and son. But there being a very few occupations only it is most probable that the son generally learnt from his father the lore of the latter. In Tai. S. VII. 1. 9. 1 we read 'therefore one does not find (or know) two Jamadagniyas (in succession) who are poor (or greyhaired)'. From this it is clear that in the times of the Tai. S. Jamadagni was regarded as a very ancient sage, that several generations of Jamadagni's descendants had passed away by that time, that they were all known as Jāmadagnyas (or-gniyas) and that no two descendants were found to be poor (or greyhaired) in succession.

^{1118.} वानस्पत्यः संभृत उम्लियाभिर्विश्वगोऽयः । प्रत्रासमित्रेग्यो वदाज्येनाभि-यास्ति: ॥ अधर्ववेद V. 21. 3.

In numerous mantras of the Rgveda the descendants of well-known sages are denoted by the plural form of the names of those sages. In Rg. X. 66. 14 we read 'the Vasisthas have raised their voices like their father'. In Rg. VI. 35, 5 the Bharadvājas are referred to as Angirases. According to Asv. Śrautasūtra Bharadvāja is a gotra falling under the Angirogana. the Brahmana Literature there are ample indications that priestly families had come to be formed into several groups named after their (real or supposed) founders and that such families differed in details of worship according to the group they belonged to. The Tai, Br. (I.1.4) prescribes that the consecration ($\bar{a}dh\bar{a}na$) of the sacred Vedic fires is to be performed for Bhrgus or Angirases with the mantra 'bhrgunam (or angirasām) tvādevānām vratapate vratenā-dadhāmi.' that for other brāhmaņas with the words 'ādityānām tvā devānām vratapate' &c. The Tai, Br. II. 2. 3 speaks of the 'Angirasi praja' (people of the Angiras group). The Tandya Brahmana 1119 prescribes that the camasa (cup) made of udumbara was to be given as daksinā to a sagotra brāhmans.' The Kausitaki Br. 1120 (25, 15) says that one who has performed the Viśvajit sacrifice (in which everything that the sacrificer owned was gifted away) should stay for a year with a brahmana of the same gotra. The Ait. Br. (30, 7) contains the story of Aitasa and his son Abhyagni and it is stated that the Aitasayanas Abhyagnis are the most sinful of the Aurvas. In the Kausitaki Br. where the same story occurs it is said that the Aitasayanas became lowest among Bhrgus, as they were cursed by their father. According to Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra the Aitaśāyanas are a sub-section of Bhrgugana. Sunahsepa, when he was accepted as a son by Viśvāmitra, came to be called Devarāta and the Ait. Br. (33.5) says that the Kāpileyas and Bābhravas were affiliated to Devarāta. According to Baud, śrauta-sūtra Devarāta and Babhru are sub-sections of Viśvāmitra gotra. Śunahśepa is said to have been an Angirasa by birth (Ait. Br. 33.5). 1121 So this makes it clear that gotra relationship was by birth in the times of the Ait. Br. (and not from teacher to pupil). In the Upanisads the sages when expounding the knowledge of brahma

^{1119.} सगोत्राय ब्रह्मणे देयः सोमपीथस्याविदोहाय। ताण्ड्य. 18, 2, 12,

^{1120.} ब्राह्मणे समानगोत्रे वसेद्यत्समाने गोत्रेऽन्नाद्यं तस्योपारुये संवत्सरं चरेद्धः संवेश्य। कौषतिकि ब्रा. 25. 15.

^{1121.} आङ्किरसो जन्मनास्याजीगर्तिः श्रुतः कविः । ऋषे पैतामहात्तन्तोर्मापगाः पुनरे-हि माम् ॥ ऐ. ना

addressed their pupils by the gotra names e.g. by the Bharadvāja, Gārgya, Āśvalāyana, Bhārgaya and Kātvāyana gotras in Praśna I. 1, Vaiyāghrapadya and Gautama in Chāndogya V. 14. 1 and V. 16. 1; Gautama and Bharadvāja, Visvāmitra and Jamadagni, Vasistha and Kasyapa in Br. Up. II. 2. 4. All this shows that the system of gotras with several sub-sections was well established in the times of the Brahmanas and the ancient Upanisads. But the gotras are in these works referred to in connection with sacrifices or education. There is hardly any distinct reference in these to gotra or sagotra in relation to marriage. In the Lātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra 1122 VIII. 2. 8 and 10 it is prescribed that one who has given away everything in the Viśvajit sacrifice should stay three nights with nisādas and may partake of their jungle diet and then again three nights with 'jana' and then the sūtra gives several views about the meaning of 'jana' one of which, that of Dhananjapya, is that 'jana' means a person with whom (i.e. with whose daughter) marriage is possible while one who is sagotra is called 'samānajana'. This clearly proves that long before the Latyayanaśrautasūtra marriage with a sagotra had been forbidden. Besides several of the grhya and dharma sūtras prohibit marriage with a sagotra girl. It is impossible to hold that this was a new conception that arose only about the time of these sūtras. Therefore, it must be supposed that prohibition as to sameness of gotra in marriage had its origin long before the period of the sūtras in the times of the Brāhmana works (if not earlier).

Gotra was of supreme importance in several fundamental matters and it largely entered into several practices of the ancient Aryans. A few examples may be given here. (1) In marriage sagotra girls were forbidden, vide above pp. 436-37. In the Lājāhoma at marriage two offerings were to be made by all except Jāmadagnyas, who had to make three (Āsv. gr. I. 7. 8-9).

- (2) In matters of inheritance the wealth of one dying without issue went to his near sagotras (Gaut. 28. 19).
- (3) In śrāddha the brāhmaņas to be invited should not belong as far as possible to the same gotra as the person inviting (Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 4, Gaut. 15. 20).

^{1122.} विवाह्यो जनः संगोत्रः समानजन इति धानंजण्यः । लाट्यायनश्रीत VIII. 2. 11.

- (4) In pārvana sthālīpāka and other pākayajñas, all were to cut off oblations from the middle and fore-half of the havis, but for Jāmadagnyas (who are pañcāvaltins) they were to be cut off from the middle, the fore-part and the hind part (vide Āśv. gr. I. 10. 18-19). 1123
- (5) In offering water to a *preta* (a person recently dead) his gotra and name were to be repeated (Āśv. gr. IV. 4. 10).
- (6) In the caula ceremony tufts of hair were to be left in accordance with the gotra and practice of the family (Khādira gr. II. 3, 30).
- (7) At the time of performing one's daily samdhyā prayer, one has to repeat even in modern times one's gotra and prayara, the Vedaśākhā and sūtra which one studies.

As regards śrauta sacrifices a few interesting examples may be given. Jaimini establishes that saltras (sacrificial sessions extending over 12 days and more) could be performed only by brāhmaṇas and that among brāhmaṇas the Bhṛgus, Śunakas and Vasiṣṭhas are not entitled to perform them (VI. 6. 24-26). Those of the Atri, Vadhryaśva, Vasiṣṭha, Vaiṣya (Vainya?), Śaunaka, Kaṇva, Kaṣyapa and Saṅkṛti gotras took Nārāśaṃsa as the second prayāja, while others took Tanūnapāt as the second (vide Śabara on Jaimini VI. 6. 1).

The conception of pravara is closely interwoven with that of gotra from very ancient times. The two have to be studied together. 'Pravara' literally means 'choosing' or 'invoking' ($pr\bar{u}rthan\bar{u}$). As Agni was invoked to carry the offerings of a sacrificer to the gods by taking the names of the illustrious rsis (his remote ancestors) who in former times had invoked Agni, the word pravara came to denote one or more illustrious rsis, ancestors of a sacrificer. A synonym of pravara is $\bar{u}rsis$, or $\bar{u}rsis$ (as in Yāj, I. 52). Pravara entered into several domestic ceremonies and practices according to the grhya and dharma sūtras. For example:

- (1) a bride was to be chosen whose father's pravara was not the same as that of the bridegroom's father. Vide above p. 437.
- 1123. मध्यात्पूर्वार्धाञ्च इविषोऽत्रद्यति । मध्यात्पूर्वार्धात्पश्चार्धादिति पञ्चावतिनाम् । आश्व. मृ. I. 10. 18-19.
- 1124. समानप्रवराः ज्यार्षेयः प्रवरः इत्यादिषु प्रवरशब्दः प्रवियते इति कर्मः व्यूत्पक्त इति प्रवरमञ्जरीकारः । सं. प्र. p. 598.

- (2) In upanayana the girdle ($mekhal\bar{u}$) was to have one, three or five knots according to the number of rsis constituting the boy's prayara ($vide \acute{S}$ ān, gr. II. 2).
- (3) In Caula the tufts of hair to be left on the head depended on the number of sages constituting the prayara of the boy's family (Ap. gr. 16.6).

The mass of material on gotra and pravara in the sūtras, the purāṇas and digests is so vast and so full of contradictions that it is almost an impossible task to reduce it to order and coherence. The learned author of the Pravara-mañjarī (which is the leading work on the subject) wrote in despair 'Here, in the parts of sūtras that have been quoted there is a great divergence in the order (of the names of pravaras) of the texts of the several sūtrakāras, this being specially so in the text of Aśvalāyana (śrauta)-sūtra. Thus, though divergence is clearly established, yet following the order of the texts of the majority of writers such as Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Kātyāyana we shall declare (the rules) about marriage or no marriage'.

We have first to understand what gotra in the sūtras and digests means and how it is inter-related to pravara. Among the sūtras that treat of gotra and pravara the śrauta sūtras of Āśvalāyana (Uttaraṣaṭka VI, khaṇḍas 10-15), Āpastamba (24th praśna) and Baudhāyana (B. I. ed. vol. III pravarādhyāya at end) are the most important. The Pravaramañjarī (p. 5) has a verse to the effect that Baudhāyana's pravarādhyāya is the best on the subject.

The Śrautasūtra of Satyāṣādha Hiranyakeśi (21st praśna) has a section on this subject, which is the same as Āpastambaśrauta with a few omissions and variations. The Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra says 1126 'Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa are the seven sages and Agastya is the eighth; the progeny of these eight sages is declared to be gotra'. These seven sages are probably derived from what is stated in the Br. Up. II. 2. 3-4 (=Śat. Br.

^{1125.} अत्रोदाहृतेषु सूत्रकाण्डेषु सूत्रकाराणां पाठकमध्यत्यासो महानस्ति विशेषतश्चा-श्वलायनसूत्रपाठे । एवं भेदे सिद्धे सत्यपि बौधायनापस्तम्बकात्यायनादीनां बहूनां पाठकमानुसारेण विवाहाविवाहो वक्ष्यामः । प्रवरमञ्जरी p. 72 (ed. by Chensalrao).

^{1126.} विश्वाभित्रो जमद्ग्निर्भरद्वाजोऽथ गौतमः । अत्रिर्वामिष्टः कश्यप इत्येते सप्त ऋषयः । तेषां सप्तर्षाणामगस्त्याष्टमानां यद्यत्यं तद्गोत्रमुत्र्यते । षो. श्रो. प्रवराध्याय 54 ; and गोत्राणां तु सहस्राणि प्रयुतान्यर्द्वदानि च । ऊनपश्चाशदेषेषां प्रवरा ऋषिदर्शनात् ॥

XIV. 5. 2. 6) where these very seven sages are enumerated as those intended in the śloka 'arvāg-bilascamasa1127 &c.' quoted The same work (Baud, śrauta) states that there are thousands, tens of thousands and arbudas (millions of millions) of gotras, but the pravaras are only 49. Besides the sūtra works, some purānas like the Matsya (chap. 195-202), the Vāyu (chap. 88 and 99. Anan. ed.), Skanda III. 2 (Dharmaranya kanda) contain elaborate enumerations of gotras and pravaras. The Mahābhārata sets out at length the subdivisions (such as Madhuc chandas. Devarāta) of Viśvāmitragotra in Anuśāsanaparva 4. 49-59. Digests like the Smrtyarthasara (pp. 14-17), the Sam. Pr. (pp. 591-680), the Sam. K. (pp. 637-692), the Nirnayasindhu, the Dharmasindhu, the Bālambhattī contain a vast material on this topic. There are also special works like the Pravaramañjari on this topic. The general conception about gotra is that it denotes all persons who trace descent in an unbroken male line from a common male ancestor. When a person says 'I am Jamadagni-gotra' he means that he traces his descent from the ancient sage Jamadagni by unbroken male descent. As stated by Baud. cited above, from very ancient times these male founders were supposed to be eight. This enumeration of eight primary gotras seems to have been known to Panini. Patanjali says 'there were eighty thousand sages who observed celibacy. The accepted opinion is that the spread of progeny was due to eight sages including Agastya. The offspring (apatya) of these eight are gotras and others than these are called gotrāvayava'. 1128 Pānini

1127. Vide Nirukta XII. 38 for another interpretation of the verse অধানিৰস্থানন &c. In the Nirukta 'the seven sages' are explained either as 'seven rays of the Sun' or as 'the seven indrivas'. The Br. Up. explains the 'seven sages' as the pranas (the two ears, eyes, the two holes of the nose and the tongue) and identifies them with the seven sages, Visvamitra and others. The Atharva-veda X. 8. 9 reads the verse as 'বিশ্বিকস্থানন &c.'.

1128. अष्टाज्ञीतिः सहस्राणि जध्वरितसामुषीणां बभूषुस्तज्ञागरत्याष्टमैर्क्साणिः प्रजनोऽभ्रुपगतः। तत्रभवतां यद्पत्यं तानि गोज्ञाणि अतीन्ये गोजाषयषाः। महाभाष्य vol. II.
p. 233 on the sutra गोजावयषात् (पा. IV. 1. 78). The आप. ध. स्.
(II. 9. 23. 3-5) quotes passages from a purana about two sorts of 80000
sages (one group desiring offspring and the other not so desiring).
पाजः III. 186-187, सभापर्ष 11. 54 contain somewhat similar verses. सभापर्ष 11. 54 is 'अष्टाज्ञीतिसहस्राणि ऋषीणामूर्ध्मरेतसम् । प्रजावतां च पञ्चाजृद्वणिणामपि
पाण्डय॥ . The reference to fifty sages having progeny is probably to the pravara sages, just as Baud. speaks of 49 pravara groups.

defines gotra for grammatical purposes as 'apatyam pautraprabhrti gotram' (IV. 1. 162), which means 'the word gotra denotes (in my work on grammar) the progeny (of a sage) beginning with the son's son'. For example, the son of Garga would be called Gargi, but the grandson would be called Gärgyah and the plural Gargah would denote all descendants of Garga (downwards from Garga's grand-son). But this definition is a technical one in grammar and is meant to indicate how derived (taddhita) words are to be formed by means of terminations. Even Pānini makes use of this technical sense only in the apatyādhikāra, but elsewhere in his work he uses the word gotra in the popular sense as comprehending all descendants of a common male ancestor. Vide the Kāśikā on Pānini II 4. 63, IV. 2. 39 and IV. 3. 80. The Sam. Pr. (pp. 591-592) lucidly explains 1129 this. That a man belongs to a particular gotra is known by him only from tradition, from his father and other elders or from people about him, just as he knows that he is a brāhmana from the same source 1130. Medhātithi on Manu III. 5. 194 has a very lucid and interesting discussion on this topic. His argument is: just as, though all persons are men, some are called brāhmaņas, so among brāhmaņas certain persons are known by immemorial usage (or convention) as belonging to certain gotras like Vasistha and the sūtra-kāras lay down that a certain gotra has certain pravaras; so the word gotra is applied to Vasistha and other sages by $r\bar{u}dhi$ (by convention or long-standing usage). It cannot be supposed that a person called Parāśara was born at a certain time and then his descendants came to be called Parasaras. In that case the Veda would not be anadi (beginningless), as it is supposed to be, since it mentions Parāśara, Vasistha &c. So gotra is anadi like the brahmana caste and the Veda. The word is also secondarily used to denote a person, who is very illustrious on account of his learning, wealth, valour or generosity,

^{1129.} अत्र गोत्रभूतमपत्यमनन्तरमपि न तु पाणिनेरिन पारिभाषिकं पौत्रमभृत्येव। तथात्वे प्रमाणाभावात्। ... अपत्याधिकाराद्वन्यत्र स्रोकिकस्यैव गोत्रस्य ग्रहणमिति भाष्य-कैयटपदमक्षर्यादिषु स्थितम्। सं. प्र. pp. 591-92.

^{1130.} यथैव समाने पुरुषक्षेत्र माझ्राणक्षादिविशेषः, एवं समाने माझ्राणक्षे वसिष्ठादि-गोत्रभेदः प्रतिगोत्रं च समानार्षेयाणि । स्मरन्ति च सूत्रकारा गोत्रभेदसंबम्धेन प्रवरान् पस्पतद्वीत्रं तस्येमे प्रवरा इति । गोत्रभेदस्तु तद्वोत्रजैरेव स्मर्यते वयं पराशरा वयस्पमन्यव इति। पद्यपि गोत्रवत्मवरानपि स्मरन्ति तथापि पहुत्वात्कदाचिद्धिस्मरेयुरिति गोत्रसुपलक्षणीद्धार्य मवरस्युतिकपनिषद्धा । गोत्रं तु स्मरन्ति । न च तस्य क्षिंचिद्वपलक्षणमस्ति य एवंस्पस्तस्येदं गोत्रमिति । मेधा • on मन्नु III. 5.

who thereby gives a name to his descendants and then becomes the founder of the family. This is laukika gotra. is not the meaning of gotras which brahmanas have. The secondary meaning may apply to the word gotra when used in the case of ksatriyas'. 1131 The Mit. on Yāj. I. 53 says 'gotra is that which is known from tradition handed down in the family.' 1132 Each gotra is associated with one, two, three or five sages (but never four or more than five) that constitute the prayara of that gotra. 1183 The gotras are arranged in groups, e. g. there are according to the Aśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra four subdivisions of the Vasistha gana, viz. Upamanyu, Parāśara, Kundina and Vasistha (other than the first three). Each of these four again has numerous sub-sections, each being called gotra. the arrangement is first into ganas, then into paksas, then into individual gotras. The first has survived in the Bhrgu and Angirasa gana. According to Baud, the principal eight gotras were divided into paksas. The prayara of Upamanyu is Vasistha, Bharadvasu, Indrapramada; the prayara of the Parāśara gotra is Vasistha, Sāktya, Pārāśarya; the pravara of the Kundina gotra is Vasistha, Maitrāvaruna, Kaundinya and the prayara of Vasisthas other than these three is simply Vasistha. It is therefore that some define prayara as 'the group of sages that distinguishes the founder (lit, the starter) of one gotra from another '. 1134

Though the word pravara does not occur in the Rgveda, the word 'ārṣeya' occurs therein and the system of pravara goes back almost to the Rgveda. Rg. IX. 97. 51 has 'thereby may we acquire wealth and ārṣeya resembling Jamadagni's.' Sometimes the idea of invoking Agni is conveyed without using

^{1131.} किमेतद्रोत्रं नाम । आदिएरकः संज्ञाकारी विद्यावित्तशौर्याद्वायादिग्रणयोगेन स्थाततमी येन कुलं स्थपदिश्यते । बाह्मणानां च तैरेव (भृग्रगंगालवादिभः) गोत्रस्यपदेशी युक्तः। तानि हि मुख्यानि गोत्राणि रूढिरूपेण तत्र गोत्रशस्दः प्रवर्तते । न हि तेषां गोत्रत्वे एतल्लक्षणमस्ति आदिएरकः संज्ञाकारी गोत्रमिति । अनादित्वादेतद्वे।त्राणां बाह्मणा- विज्ञातिवत् । न हि पराशरजन्मत ऊर्ध्य पाशशरस्यपदेशः केषांचिल्लाह्मणानाम् । एवं सति आदिमत्ता वेदस्य प्रसज्यते । निह यथा बाह्मणो नित्यं गोत्रं समरित एवं क्षत्रियाद्यः। तस्मात्तेषां लोकिकमेव गोत्रं, आदिएरकः संज्ञाकारी ख्याततम इति। मेधाः on मह्य. III. 194.

^{1132.} गोत्रं वंशपरंपराप्रसिद्धम् । मिताक्षरा on या. I. 53 ; गोत्रं वंशपरंपराप्रसिद्ध-भेष यञ्च सुत्रादिषु गोत्रपरिगणनं तद्दिप प्रसिद्धिमूलकमेव । सं. प्र. p. 592.

^{1133.} एकं घुणीते द्वौ वृणीते त्रीन् घुणीते न चतुरी घुणीते न पञ्चाति घुणीत इति विज्ञायते। आप. औ. स्. 24. 6. 7.

^{1134.} प्रवर: गोत्रप्रवर्तकस्य सुनेग्यांवर्तको सुनिगण इत्यर्थ:। प्रा. मा. 1. part 2 p. 70. This is quoted in the उद्घाहतस्य p. 111.

the word pravara or arseys. In Rg. VIII. 102. 4 1188 it is said 'I invoke Agni just as Aurva, Bhrgu and Apnavana did.' It is remarkable that these are three of the five prayara sages of the Vatsa-Bhrgus according to Baud. (3). Rg. I. 45.3 has 'O Jātavedas (Agni), give heed to the summons of Praskanva, as in the case of Priyamedha, Atri, Virupa and Angiras. 1136 In Rg. VII. 18.21 it is said 'they who from house to house gladdened thee, being desirous of thee, viz. Parāsara, Satavātu and Vasistha. will not forget the friendship of a liberal patron (like thee)'. 1137 It deserves to be noted that this mantra mentions Parasara (who in later mythology is the grandson of Vasistha and son of Sakti). Satayātu (who is Sakti according to Sāyana), and Vasistha. Parāsara, Sakti and Vasistha constitute the pravara of Parāsara gotra (according to Asv. and Baud). In the Atharvaveda (XI. 1.16, XI. 1.25, 26, 32, 33, 35, XII. 4. 2 and 12, XVI. 8.12-13) argeya means 'descendants of sages or those who are related to sages'. In the Tai. S. both arseys and pravara occur in the sense of the sūtras. In the Tai. S. II. 5. 8. 7 (which refers to the recitation of the Samidheni verses) we read "he says 'choose (or invoke) ye the fire called havyavāhuna'; he chooses him (the fire) of the gods; he chooses the arseya; in so doing he does not depart from the relationship (by blood) and doing so serves for continuity. He chooses the later ones beginning from the remoter ones". In this passage 'arseyam' appears to be used in the sense of 'one or more illustrious ancestors of the sacrificer' and reference is made to one of the two modes of mentioning the sages constituting the pravara. 'Arseya' may also be taken here as an adjective (qualifying Agni), the meaning being 'he invokes Agni by the names of the illustrious ancestor sages of the yajamāna'. In one mode the remotest ancestor is named first in a taddhita (derivative) formation, then his descendant and so on, the sage nearest the sacrificer being mentioned last. For example, the prayara of Bhrgu Vatsa is 'Bhargaya-cyayanaapnavānaurva-jāmadagnyēti'. This method is employed by the Hotr priest when he invokes fire as the divine Hotr with the pravara-mantra 'Agne mahān-asi brāhmana bhārata deveddha

^{1135.} और्वभृग्धवच्छाचिममवानवदा हुवे। अग्निं ससुद्रवाससम् ॥ ऋ. VIII. 102. 4. According to the अनुक्रमणी this is a sukta of a भागव named प्रयोग.

^{1136.} प्रियमेधवद्त्रिवज्ञातवेदो विरूपवत् । अङ्गिरस्वन्महित्रत प्रस्कण्वस्य श्रुधी हवस् ॥ ऋ. I. 45. 3.

^{1137.} प्र ये गृहाद्ममदुस्त्वाया पराश्रर: शतयातुर्वसिष्ठ: । ऋ. VII. 18. 21. शतयातु may literally mean 'one who is master of a hundred magic tricks,' or 'on whom a hundred magic tricks were practised'.

manviddha reistuta &c.' (vide Tai, S. II, 5, 9, and Sat, Br. I. 4, 2, Asv. Sr. I. 2, 27-I. 3. 6). In the other mode the affix 'vat' is used after the name of each pravara sage and the remotest one is mentioned last (e.g. Jamadagnivat, Urvavat, Apnavanavat, Cyavanavat, Bhrguvat). This mode is employed by the adhvaryu when he chooses the Hotr priest. 1138 The Tai, S. II. 5. 11. 9 appears to refer to one (i.e. 2nd) mode. The Kausttaki brāhmana explains the purpose of taking the names of ancestors the gods do not partake of the offering of him who has no list of (illustrious) ancestors, therefore he pronounces the arseya of the sacrificer.' The Ait. Br. (34.7) has an interesting passage on pravara. When a brahmana is initiated for a sacrifice, that fact is announced in these words 'a brahmana has been initiated for a sacrifice.' How is the initiation of the ksatriya to be announced? The reply of the Ait. Br. is 'even in the case of the ksatriya the announcement is to be in the same form (viz. a brāhmaņa has been initiated); but with the prayara of the family priest. Therefore they should proclaim the ksatriya's initiation as a sacrificer with the arseya of his family priest and should invoke Agni with the pravara of his family priest.' 1139 The Asv. Sr. (Uttara satka VI. 15, 4-5) and Baud. Sr. (pravaraprasna 54) say that in the case of ksatriyas and vaisyas the pravara of their purchita was to be employed or the pravara 'Manava-Aila-Paururavasa' or simply 'Manuvat.' The origin of that rule is to be found in the above passage of the Ait. Br. There is another similar passage in the Ait. Br. (35.5). The Sat. Br.

1138. This rule is stated in Ap. Stauta (24. 5. 8) and Baud. Stauta (pravaradhy aya 2) 'अत उध्वीनध्य धूर्वणीते असती विश्वोदेश: '.

1139. अथ यद्यजमानस्यार्षयमाह न ह वा अनार्षयस्य देवा हविरञ्जन्ति तस्माव्स्यार्षयमाह। कौषीतिक जा. III. 2. After the words असे महाँ असि जाह्मण भारत are recited, the invoking of the arseya of the sacrificer by the Hotr priest takes place and then the remaining words of the formula देवेद्ध मन्विद्ध ऋषिस्तृत &c. are uttered. This is shown by the Tai. S. itself (II. 5. 7. 8) and by the Sat. Br. I. 4. 2. 2-5. Agni is styled by rsi names such as Bhargava, Cyavana &c. because fire was kindled by these ancient sages and oblations were thrown into it by them. The Adhvaryu recites the mantra अमिवृंबो होता देवाच यक्षद्धिमाश्विकत्वानमञ्जवद्भरत्वन्त् and then recites the pravara of the yajamāna with 'vat' added to each name and then proceeds जह्मण्यदा च वक्षद् जाह्मणा अस्य यज्ञस्य प्राचितार: (vide Śat. Br. I. 5, 1. 5-13, Ap. Śr. II. 16. 5-11). It is on account of this that the Samskararatnamālā (p. 416) explains pravara as पश्चियन्ते अमिवृश्वणालेन्तिकरियन्ते इति प्रवरा: The names of the ancient illustrious sages become the attributes of Fire that is invoked by the hots.

I. 4. 2. 3-4¹¹⁴⁰ shows that the illustrious ancestors to be invoked were supposed to be related as father and son and not by apostolic succession.

The Mahābhārata says that the original gotras were only four viz. Angiras, Kasyapa, Vasistha, Bhrgu. 1141 The verses are rather abruptly introduced in the epic and there is nothing to show on what this statement was based and it appears that it is due to the imagination of the writer. Baud, as shown above states that the original gotras are eight. But it is remarkable that Bhrgu and Angiras (whose divisions and sub-divisions are many) are not included by him in these eight. Therefore, it appears that even Baudhayana is not correctly stating the number of original gotras. Gautama and Bharadvāja are stated to be two out of the original eight, but both of them instead of being separately dealt with are grouped under the comprehensive Angirasagana, So even Baud, is not to be implicitly followed. The Balambhatti mentions eighteen principal gotras (eight as in Baud. plus ten more some of which are names of mythical kings 1142). Baud, himself says that there are millions of gotras and in the Baud. Pravarādhvāva there are over 500 names of gotra and prayara sages; while the Prayaramañjari quotes a verse that 'there are three crores of them 1143 and so the gotra system is difficult to comprehend', and it mentions about 5000 gotras. Therefore, as the Smrtyarthasara says the nibandhas endeavour to place the innumerable gotras under groups and distribute them among 49 prayaras (mentioned by Baud.) 1144. Some idea of these

^{1140.} अर्थाषेयं प्रवृणीते। परस्ताद्वांक प्रवृणीते परस्ताद्वांच्याः प्रजाः प्रचेति । इत्या प्रजाः प्रजाः प्रजाः प्रजाः । प्रजाः प्रजाः । प्रजाः प्रजाः । प्रजाः प्रजाः प्रजाः प्रजाः । प्रजाः । प्रजाः प्रजाः । प्रजाः । प्रजाः । प्रजाः प्रजाः । प्रजाः । प्रजाः प्रजाः । प्रजाः ।

^{1141.} मूलगोत्राणि चत्वारि ससुत्वज्ञानि पार्थिव। अङ्गिराः कश्यपश्चेव वसिष्ठो भृष्ठरेव च ॥ कर्मतोन्यानि गोत्राणि ससुत्वज्ञानि पार्थिव। नामधेयानि तपसा तानि च ग्रहणं सताम् ॥ ज्ञान्तिपर्व 297. 17-18.

^{1142.} अथ संग्रहकुद्वनतसंग्रह उच्यते। जामद्ग्न्यो वीतहच्यो वैन्यो ग्रन्समदाह्वयः। वाभ्रचश्वो गौतमाख्यश्व भरद्वाजाह्वयः कपिः॥ हारता मौद्रत्यकण्यो विख्णो विष्णुवृद्धकः। अत्रिविश्वामित्रको च वसिष्ठः कद्दयपाह्नयः॥ अगस्त्यश्चेति सुनयो ह्यष्टाद्शगणाः सम्रुताः। बाळम्भद्वी on मिताः on या. I. 53 (p. 176, ed. by Gharpure).

^{1143. &#}x27;गोत्राणां कोटिसंख्यात्रितयमितिमतां दुर्घहत्वाञ्च तस्मात् । प्रवरमञ्जिति p. 2.

^{1144.} सुनिप्रणीतप्रवेरस्रनपञ्चाशता वयम् । अनन्तान्यपि गोत्राणि वर्गीकृत्याभिद्-ध्महे ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 15.

gotras and their distribution among the pravaras is given below. The appendix under note No. 1144 collects together the 49 pravara groups.

The Bhrgugana and the Angirogana are very extensive. The Bhrgus are of two sorts, Jāmadagnya and non-Jāmadagnya. The Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are again towfold, Vatsas and Bidas (or Vidas); the non-Jāmadagnya Bhrgus are fivefold viz. Ārstisenas, Yāskas, Mitrayus, Vainyas and Sunakas (these latter five are called kevala Bhrgus). Under each of these sub-divisions there are many gotras, on the names and number of which the sutrakāras are not agreed. The pravara of Jämadagnya Vatsas is constituted by five sages according to Baud, and by three according to Kātyāyana. The pravara of the Bidas and the Arstisenas also has five sages. 1145 These three (viz. Vatsas, Bidas and Arstisenas) are styled pancavattin (Baud. 5) and they cannot inter-marry (the reason will be explained below). The five non-Jamadagnya Bhrgus have each of them numerous sub-divisions. divisions of Bhrgus are given here according to Baud. Ap. has only six of them (and not seven as he excludes Bidas from this group). According to Kātyāyana, Bhrgus have twelve subdivisions (vide Sam. Pr. p. 625).

The Angirogana has three divisions, Gautamas, Bharadvājas and kevalāngirases; out of whom Gautamas have seven sub-divisions, Bharadvājas have four (Rauksāvanas, Gargas, Kapis and Kevala-Bharadvājas), and Kevala-Āngirases have six sub-divisions and each of these again is sub-divided into numerous gotras. This is according to Baud. Other sūtrakāras differ as to the subdivisions. Atri (one of the eight primary gotras) is subdivided into four (Atris proper, Vādbhūtakas, Gavisthiras, Mudgalas). Viśvāmitra is sub-divided into ten, which are further sub-divided into 72 gotras. Kasyapas are subdivided into Kasyapas, Nidhruvas, Rebhas, and Sandilas. Vasistha has four sub-divisions (Vasisthas with one pravara only, Kundinas, Upamanyus and Parāśaras) which are further subdivided into 105 gotras. Agastya has three sub-divisions (Agastyas, Somavāhas and Yajñavāhas), the first of which is further sub-divided into twenty gotras.

^{1145.} इत्येते वत्साः । तेषां पञ्चार्षेयः प्रवत्तो भवति भार्गवच्यावनामवानौर्वजामदृग्न्येति होता जमद्भिवदूर्ववद्मवानवच्च्यवनवद् भृगुवद्गित्यभ्वर्थः । बौ. (3); इत्येते बिद्यस्त्रषां पञ्चार्षेयः प्रवते भवति भार्गवच्यावनामवानौर्ववैदेति होता बिद्वदूर्ववद्मवानवच्च्यवनवद् भृगुवदित्यभ्वर्थः । बौ. (4); आधिषेणानां भार्गवच्यावनामवानार्थिणान्येति । आश्व॰ (also बी. 5.)

When it is said that marriage with a sagotra or a sapravara girl is forbidden, each of these is separately an obstacle to marriage. Therefore, a girl, though not saprayara, may be yet sagotra and so ineligible for marriage or though not sagotra may yet be sapravara and not eligible. For example, the gotras of Yaska, Vādhūla, Mauna, Mauka are different, yet a marriage between persons belonging to these gotras is not possible, because the pravara of all these is the same, viz. 'Bhārgava-Vaitahavya-Sāvetasa-iti'. 1146 So also though the gotras Samkrti, Pūtimāsa, Tandi. Sambu and Samgava are different, there can be no marriage between them as the pravara is the same, viz. 'Angirasa, Gaurivita. Sāmkrtya' (acc. to Āśv. Śrauta). When it is said that samānapravaras cannot marry, sameness may be due to only one sage being the same in the pravaras of two gotras or there may be two or three or more sages that are common. The general rule is that if even one sage is the same 1147 in the pravaras of two different gotras, then they are sapravara, except in the case of the Bhrgu group and the group of Angirases. In these two latter unless there are at least three sages common (when the pravara is constituted by five sages) or at least two sages are common (when prayara consists of only three sages), there is no sapravaratva and no bar to marriage. It will be noticed that among the five pravara sages of the Vatsas, Bidas and Arstisenas quoted above there are three sages that are common and so they cannot inter-marry.

Though the vast majority of gotras have three pravara sages, a few have only one pravara sage or two sages or five. Those who have only one sage are Mitrayus (pravara Vādhrya-śva according to Āśv.), the Vasiṣṭhas (other than Kuṇḍina, Parāṣʿara and Upamanyu) have only one pravara Vāsiṣṭha, the Śunakas have one pravara Gṛtsamada (according to Āśv.) or Śaunaka or Gārtsamada (according to Baud. 9); the Agastis have one pravara Āgastya (according to Āp. Sr. 24. 10. 9); Āśv. optionally allows three pravaras to Mitrayus (Bhārgava-Daiyodāṣa-Vādhryaśva) and to Śunakas (viz. Bhārgava-

^{1146.} आश्वलायनश्रीत says 'यास्कवाधूलमीनमीकशार्कराक्षिसार्धिसार्विशालं कायन-जैमिनि-दैवन्त्यायनानां भार्गववैतहत्यसावेतसेति।; vide also स्मृतिच I. p. 68, मदनपारिजात p. 138.

Śaunahotra-Gārtsamada) and Āp. also allows to Agastis three pravaras (Viz. Āgastya-Dārdhacyuta-Aidmavāha-iti). According to Āp. and the purāṇas, Dhāpayantas have two pravaras (Vaiśvāmitra-Pauraṇa-iti), Astakas Lohitas have two (Vaiśvāmitra-Āṣṭaka iti), and Śaṇḍilas also have two (Daivala-Asita iti). But he says that according to some the latter have three pravaras also (Kāśypa-Daivala-Asita-iti), while Baudhāyana gives four optional groups of three sages each for Śāṇḍilas (Baud. 43). For Vāri-Dhāpayantas Āśv. prescribes three only (Vaiśvāmitra-Devarāta-Pauraṇa) and also for the Aṣṭakas. According to Baud. the Vatsas, Bidas and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas (among the Bhṛgus) have five pravara sages; so also among Aṅgirases, the Kaumaṇḍas, Dirghatamasas, Raukṣāyaṇas and Gargas have five pravara sages, though the last have optionally three also.

The Ap. śr. ¹¹⁴⁸ (24. 5 6) says 'the sages to be invoked were to be three and they were to be seers of mantras'. It is therefore that the number of pravara sages is limited; there was no such requirement for a gotra and so gotras multiplied to an unlimited extent.

There are certain families that are dvigotras (i. e. have two gotras). Asv. uses the word 'dvipravācanāḥ' for them 1149. They are principally three viz. Śaunga-śaiśiris, Sankṛtis and Laugākṣis. From a Śunga, a sub-division of Bharadvāja gotra, was born a son to the wife of a Śaiśiri, a sub-division of Viśvāmitra (by niyoga); the son, therefore, came to be called Śaunga-Śaiśiri. Therefore Śaunga-Śaiśiris cannot marry in both Bharadvāja and Viśvāmitra gotras. Their pravaras are given below 1150. They have to select one pravara sage from one gotra and two from the other gotra or two from the first and three from the other. A pravara of four sages is not allowed nor of one beyond five. For the other dvigotras, the Sam. K. (pp. 682-686), Nirṇayasindhu p. 300 ff. may be consulted. In the case of the adopted son also, on the analogy of the Śaunga-śaiśiris,

^{1148.} त्रीन्द्रणीते मन्त्रकृतो वृणीते यथापि मन्त्रकृतो वृणीत इति विज्ञायते। आए श्री. 24. 5-6.

^{1149.} अथ य एते द्विपवाचनाः यथैतच्छौङ्गशैशिरयः। भरद्वाजा ह छङ्गाः कताः शौशिरयः। आश्व. श्रो. (Uttaraṣaṭka VI).

^{1150.} According to आश्व. the प्रवर of श्रीङ्गशैशिर is आङ्किरसवाईस्पत्य-भारद्वाजकात्यात्कीलेति।. According to others it is आङ्किरसवाहस्पत्य-भारद्वाज-शोङ्गशैशिरीत or they are only विषवर, आङ्किरसकात्यात्कीलेति। vide सं. प्र. p. 642 and सं. की. p. 682.

both gotras and the pravaras of both gotras have to be considered and the dictum of Manu (IX. 142) that 'the son given does not share the gotra and inheritance of the genitive father and the $svadh\bar{a}$ (śrāddhas etc.) of the giver ceases', is restricted only to matters of inheritance, śrāddha and the like and does not apply to marriage. ¹¹⁵¹

A few words must be said about the gotra and pravara of kings and other ksatriyas. It appears from the Ait.Br. quoted above (p. 488) that in the case of ksatriyas the pravara of their purchita was employed in religious acts where pravara had to be recited. This leads to the inference that most ksatriyas had forgotten their gotras and prayaras by that time. The Śrauta sūtras allow 1152 an option to ksatriyas (to kings according to Aśv.). 'They may employ the pravara of their purchitas or all ksatriyas may employ the same pravara viz. Mānava-Aila-Paurūravasaiti'. Medhātithi on Manu III. 5 states that the distinctions of gotras and pravaras concern primarily brahmanas alone and not ksatriyas and vaisyas and quotes Asv. Sr. (I. 3) in support. The Mit, and other nibandhakāras rely on the first alternative mentioned in the sūtras and say that in marriages of ksatriyas and vaisyas the gotras and pravaras of their purchitas should be considered, as they have no specific gotras of their own 1153. This is carrying the doctrine of atideśa (extension) too far or with a vengeance. The Sam. K. (pp. 689-690) assigns reasons for this attitude of the Mit. but they are not satisfactory. literature and epigraphic records show that kings had gotras of their own. In the Mahabharata it is said that when Yudbisthira

^{1151.} एकं च पारिजाते संग्रहे-द्वचामुण्यायणका ये च दत्तकक्षीतकाद्यः। गोन्नद्वये-प्यमुद्वाद्धाः शोङ्गश्रीश्वरयो तथा॥ तथा नारायणवृत्तौ। दत्तकीताद्दीनो जनकपारकयोगोन्न-निषेधः शोङ्गश्रीश्वरस्य प्रदर्शनार्थत्वादिति। सं. को. p. 688; विवाहे हु दत्तकमात्रेण चीजि-प्रतिग्रहीत्रोः पित्रोगोन्निप्रवर्शनं कार्यम्। प्रवरमक्ष्यपिद्निबन्धेषु त्रक्षिषेधोक्तः। सं. को. p. 182; compare सं. प्र. pp. 656-657, संस्काररत्नमाला pp. 451-456 (where the rules about marriage, asauca and offering of pinda as to adopted sons are considered).

¹¹⁵². पुरोहितमबरो राज्ञाम्। अथ यदि सार्ष्टं प्रवृणीरच् मान्वेळपीस्त्रवसेति। आश्वः औः, अथ क्षत्रियाणाम्। यद्यह सार्ष्टं प्रवृणीरक्षेक एवेषां प्रवरः मान्वेडपीस्त्रवसेति। युक्त्रवोवदिडावन्मन्नविदिति। आपः श्रौ. 24. 10. 11-12; क्षत्रियाणां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति मान्वेडपीस्त्रवसेति होता युक्तः ... मन्नविद्तियध्यर्थः। ... क्षत्रियवेद्देयानां पुरोहितप्रवरो भवतीति विज्ञायते। चौ. (प्रवराध्याय 52-54).

^{1153.} यद्यपि राजन्यविशां प्रातिशिकमो ज्ञाभावात्मवराभावस्तथापि पुरोहितगो ध्रवदौ वेदितन्यो । तथा च 'यजमानस्यार्षेयान् प्रतृणीते । इत्युवत्या 'पौरोहित्यान्राजन्यविशां प्रतृणीते । इत्याहाश्वलायनः । मिता॰ on या. I. 52. The quotation is from आश्व. श्रो, I. 3. The मिता॰ passage is quoted in the उद्घाहतस्व p. 111.

went to the court of Virāta in the guise of a brāhmaņa and was asked by the king to state his gotra he said that he was of the Vaiyāghrapadya gotra (Virāta-parva 7. 8-12). That this was the getra of the Pandavas also follows from the fact that in the Bhismatarpana 1154 that is performed on the eighth day of the bright half of Māgha, Bhīṣma's gotra is given as Vaiyāghrapāda or-padya and pravara as Sāmkrti. Jaimini (VI. 6. 12-15) establishes that the Kulayayajña was to be performed jointly by a king and his purchita (and so they could use different pravaras it appears). The Pallavas of Kāñci had Bhāradvāja as their gotra (vide E. I. vol. I p. 5). The Calukyas are often described as 'manavya-gotra' (vide E. I. vol. VI. p. 337). In a copper-plate grant of Jayacandradeva (dated samvat 1233 i. e. 1176 A. D.) the doneo was a ksatriya described as Rāuta-śri-Rājyadharavarman of the Vatsa gotra and of five pravaras viz. Bhargava-Cyavana-Apnavāna-Aurva-Jāmadagnya. In the Garra (Bundelkhand) plate of the Candella king Trailekyavarma of Kālanjara a village is granted to Rāuta Sāmanta of the Bhāradvāja gotra in recognition of his father's death in battle with the Turuskas (E. I. vol. 16, p. 274).

In many inscriptions and copper-plate grants hundreds of doness with their gotras and pravaras occur and it would be an interesting study to compare the latter with the material derived from the satras and nibandhas. For example, vide E. I. vol. 19, pp. 115-117 and 248-250 for about 205 doness and their gotras in the plates of Bhāskaravarman, E. I. vol. 14, p. 202ff (500 doness with gotras in the time of Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla, sainvat 1150), E. I. vol. 13 p. 237, E. I. vol. 8 pp. 316-317 (śake 1346), E. I. vol. 9 p. 103 (32 doness with gotras, pravaras, śākhās &c.), E. I. vol. 12 pp. 163-167 (120 doness with gotras, śake 1508), Gupta Ins. No. 55 Chammak plate of Pravarasena &c. Even the Buddhists kept the system of gotras (vide E. I. vol. 10, Lüder's list, No. 158).

According to Ap. Sr. the vaisyas had 1156 a single pravara 'Vātsapra', while according to Baud. they had three, viz.

^{1154.} The मन्त्र in the भीष्मतर्पण is वैयाष्ट्रपात्राय सांकृतिप्रवराय चः गङ्गापुत्राय भीष्माय प्रदास्येहं तिलोदकम्। अपुत्राय द्वाम्येतत्सालिलं भीष्मवर्मणे । स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 198; vide also कृत्यरत्नाकर pp. 509-10.

^{1155.} Vide I. A. vol 18 pp. 136-138.

^{1156.} एकार्षया विशः। वात्सभिति होता। बत्सभविद्वस्वर्थः। आए. 24. 10. 16; वेश्यानां व्यार्षयः भवते भवति भालन्द्वनवात्सभमाङ्कृतिकलेति होता। माङ्क्वितलबद्धत्सभवद्भ-लन्द्वनविद्वयध्वर्थः। बो. (भवराध्याय 53).

Bhālandana-Vātsapra-Mānktila'. They could also employ the pravara of their purchitas. The Sam. Pr. (p. 659) says that Bhālandana is the gotra of vaisyas.

If a person does not know his own gotra and pravara he should take those of his ācārya (teacher of Veda), according to \overline{Ap} . Though he takes his teacher's gotra, it is only the teacher's daughter that is forbidden to him in marriage and not other girls of the same gotra as the ācārya's. Both Sam. K. and Sam. Pr. (p. 650) quote a verse that when one does not know one's gotra one should call oneself of Kāśyapa gotra. This is so when he does not know even his teacher's gotra. The Sm. C. (śrāddha section p. 481) says that this is so even when one does not know the gotra of one's maternal grand-father (i.e. he should offer pinda with Kāśyapa gotra to his maternal grand-father).

The word gotra also came to mean any family name (surname). In the inscriptions we find this usage very often. For example, in the Bannahalli plate of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarma II (E. I. vol. VI, p. 18) a śreṣthin (a merchant) is said to have been of the Tuthiyalla gotra and pravara. The Reddi king (a śūdra) Allaya Vema of Rajahmundry was said to have been of the Polvola gotra (E. I. vol, XIII. p. 237, of śake 1356).

A few interesting matters about pravaras are noted below. It is noteworthy that even as to the same gotra, there is great divergence among the sütrakāras about the sages constituting the pravara e. g. as to Śāṇḍilyagotra. Āśv. gives two groups of the sages 'Śāṇḍila-Asita-Daivala-iti' or 'Kāśyapa-Asita-Daivala-iti', but Āp. states his own view that there are only two sages in the pravara viz. 'Daivala-Asita iti' and that some say they are three, Kāśyapa-Daivala-Asita-iti; while Baud. states four groups, 'Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Daivala-iti, Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Asita-iti; Śāṇḍila-Asita-Daivala-iti; Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Śāṇḍila-iti.' No adequate reasons can be given why even at so early an age as the sūtras, not only the order of the names in the pravara, but the very names in the pravara and their number should have varied so much. Baud. 1158 (pravarādhyāya sec. 44) notes that

^{1157.} अधासंप्रज्ञातवन्धुराचार्यासुण्यायणमनुप्रवदीताचार्यप्रवरं प्रवृणीत । आप. श्री-

^{1158.} इरयेते लोकाक्षयोऽहर्वसिष्ठा नक्तं कश्यपास्तेषां ज्यार्षेयः मनरो भनति काश्यपावत्सारवासिष्ठेति होता काश्यपावत्सारासितेति वा । बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 44). वसिष्ठैः काश्यपेनित्यं लोगाक्षीणामनन्वयः । अहर्वसिष्ठोक्तिस्तु प्रयाजाह्यादिगोत्त्वरा ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 15; अथ वीतहृष्या यास्कवाधूलमौनमौकाः । तेषां ज्यार्षेयः । भार्गव-वैतहृष्य-सावेद्सेति।... अथ वैन्याः पार्थाः तेषां ज्यार्षेयः । भार्गववैन्यपार्थेति । आप. श्री. 24. 6. 1-2 and 7-8.

the Laugākṣis (or Laukākṣis) are Vasiṣṭhas by day and Kaśyapas by night and their pravaras also show this double relationship. The Smṛṭyarthasāra says that this picturesque description of them has reference to the $pray\bar{a}jas$ and the like i. e. by day they follow the procedure of prayājas peculiar to Vasiṣṭhas and by night that peculiar to the Kaśyapas.

Among the gotras there are names of mythical kṣatriyas and kings like VItahavya and Vainya and among the names of pravara sages many legendary kings like Māndhātr, Ambariṣa, Yuvanāśva, Divodāsa appear. Vītahavya figures even in the Rgveda as closely connected with the Bhṛgus (Rg. VI. 15. 2-3). In the Mahābhārata it is narrated that Vītahavya, being a king, attacked Divodāsa, whose son Pratardana pursued Vītahavya, whereupon Vītahavya took shelter with Bhṛgu and that when Pratardana asked Bhṛgu whether there was any kṣatriya in the hermitage, Bhṛgu replied that there were all brāhmaṇas and that by this Vītahavya became a brāhmaṇa (Anuśāsana chap, 30).

Similarly the pravara of the Haritas is either Angirasa-Ambarīsa-Yauvanāsva-iti or Māndhātr-Ambarīsa-Yauvanāsva-These are mythical royal sages. Among 1159 the Bhrgus is a sub-division called Vainya which is further subdivided into Pārthas and Bāskalas. The story of Prthu who milked the earth is well-known (Drona-parva 69); he is called 'ādirāja' in Anuśasana 166. 55. The Vayupurana in several places narrates that some kṣatriyas became the pravaras of brāhmanas. chap. 88. 72-79, (about Visnuvrddha, 1160 descended from Purukutsa, whose son was Trasadasyu), chap. 88. 6-7, 92. 6, 99. 158-161, 99. 169-170 (Anan. ed.) for other examples 1161. How and why ksatriya names were adopted as brahmanical pravaras is obscure and difficult to understand. If one may hazard a guess, it is probably due to the fact that the puranas retain very ancient traditions of times when there were no water-tight varnas and that ancient kings were learned in the

^{1159.} वेन्याः पार्था बाण्कलास्तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति भार्गववेन्यपार्थति होता। बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 8).

^{1160.} The मनर of निष्णुवृद्धगोत्र is आङ्किरसपौरकुत्सत्रासदस्यनेति (vide Band. sec. 20).

^{1161.} अम्बरीषस्तु नाभागिर्विस्तपस्तस्य चात्मजः । पृषद्श्वी विस्तपस्य तस्य पुत्री रथीतरः। एते क्षत्रप्रस्ता वै पुनश्चाङ्गिरसः स्मृताः। रथीतराणां प्रवराः क्षात्रोपेता द्विजातयः॥ बाग्र 88. 6-7.

Vedic lore and maintained śrauta fires also, becamo famous as sages in whose name fire was to be invoked to carry offerings to Gods even by brāhmaņas who came ages after them.

The connection of gotra and pravara may be stated thus: Gotra is the latest ancestor or one of the latest ancestors of a person by whose name his family has been known for generations; while pravara is constituted by the sage or sages who lived in the remotest past, who were most illustrious and who are generally the ancestors of the gotra sages or in some cases the remotest ancestor alone.

It has been seen (pp.437–38) that marriage between parties that are sagotra or sapravara is no marriage and the woman does not become the man's wife. What were the consequences of such a void union? Baud. 1163 (pravarādhyāya 54) says that if a man has intercourse with a sagotra girl he should undergo the penance of candrayana, after that he should not abandon the woman, but should only maintain her as if she were a mother or a sister: if a child is born it does not incur sin and it should take the gotra of Kaśyapa. Aparārka quotes (p. 80) Sumantu and another smrti to the effect that if a person inadvertently marries a sagetra or samāna-pravara woman he should give up intercourse with her, should maintain her and undergo candrayana. 1163 if he knowingly marries a sagotra or sapravara girl the penance was heavier (viz. that for incest) and if he has intercourse with her or begets a child from her he loses his caste and the child will be a candala 1164. The rule of Baud, that there would be no blemish and the child will be of Kasyapa gotra is restricted to inadvertently marrying such a girl. 1165 The Sam. Pr. quotes a verse of Kātvāvana to the effect that if a marriage is gone

^{1162.} सगेद्यां गत्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेद्र वर्ते परिनिष्टिते ब्राह्मशीं न त्यजेनमातृवद्भविनी-वद् गर्भों न दुष्यति कश्यप इति विज्ञायते । बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 54).

^{1163.} परिणीय सगीत्रां तु समान वर्षा तथा । त्यागं कृत्वा द्विजस्तरयास्ततश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत्॥ र्थागश्चीपभीगस्य न तु तस्याः । यथाहः सुमन्तुः । मातुलसुतां पैतृष्वसेयीं समान्नार्षगोत्रां च परिणीय चान्द्रायणं चरेत् । परित्यज्येनां विश्वयादिति । एतच्चामतिपूर्वे वेदित-व्यम् । अपरार्क p. 80. The verse परिणीय is ascribed to ज्ञातातप by सं. प्र. p. 680 and other writers; सुमन्तु is quoted in उद्घाहतस्य p. 111.

^{1164.} समानगोत्रप्रवरां कन्यामुद्धोपगम्य च। तस्यामुत्पाद्य चण्डालं बाह्मण्यादेव हीयते ॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted in सं. प्र. p. 680 and उद्घाहतस्व p. 112.

^{1165.} यदि कश्चिण्ज्ञानतस्तां कन्यामुहुापि गच्छति। ग्रस्तत्त्पवताच्छ्रध्येदूर्भस्तज्ञोन्स्यतां वजेत् ॥ भोगतस्तां परित्यज्य पालयेज्ञननीमिव । अज्ञानादैन्द्वैः शुध्येब्रिभिर्गर्भस्तु कञ्चपः । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 16.

through with a sagotra, the girl may be again given in marriage to another. But the Sam. Pr. gets rid of that inconvenient text by saying that it does not apply to the present age. So the poor girl for no fault of hers had to pass her whole life in enforced celibacy, being neither an unmarried woman nor a widow. 1166

Questions about the validity of sagotra or sapravara marriages have not yet come before the courts; but it is likely that in the near future courts will have to deal with such cases. If a marriage takes place under the Special Marriage Act of 1872 (as amended in 1923) no difficulty will arise; but recently several marriages have been celebrated under the old Sastric procedure between persons who are sagotra or sapravara. Upon the strict letter of the dharmasastra texts such marriages are absolutely void. But it seems that the legislature should intervene and declare sagotra and sapravara marriages valid. Whatever may have been the case thousands of years ago when there were no means of communication and when there were small communities, the prohibition of sagotra relationship had some plausibility and real feeling of close kinship about it: but now the prohibition has become meaningless. A man from Kashmir may marry a girl from Madras and the parents of both may have the same gotra. Granting for argument that the gotra sage was a common ancestor, one does not know how many generations have intervened between that remote ancestor and the intending spouses and particles of the ancestor's body, if they have survived at all in the intending spouses of the same gotra, must be in the present generation in the most attenuated state. The prohibitions based upon gotra and prayara are said by orthodox people to be prescribed upon unseen (adrsta) grounds and so they argue that they must be held to be absolute and not admitting of any evasion by any one calling himself a Vedic Hindu. One may be permitted to reply to these people that when almost every-body has given up the ancient cult of the śrauta and grhya fires and when hundreds of other innovations in ancient practices have been accepted without demur, there is hardly any justification for sticking to this one remnant of ancient practices. As a matter of fact many brahmanas now do not remember their pravara themselves but have to be told by the priests what their pravara is. Certain prohibitions against

^{1166.} विकर्मस्थः सगोत्रो वा दासो दीर्घामयोऽपि वा । ऊढापि देगा सान्यस्मै सपा-वरणभूषणा । इति कात्यायनीयं सगोत्रोढायाः पुनर्विवाहस्मरणं तथुगान्तरविषयम् । सं. प्र. p. 681.

marriage between near sapinda relations may be respected on account of their universal acceptance. Even the Special Marriage Act of 1872 prescribes that there can be no marriage between parties when they trace descent to a common ancestor who is the great-grandfather or great-grandmother (or who is nearer even than these) of any one of them.

Sagotra relationship is in one direction wider than sapinda relationship and narrower than it in another so far as marriage is concerned. A man cannot marry the daughter of any sagotra. however distant the sagotra may be. Similarly even an adopted man cannot marry the daughter of a sagotra of his genitive father for two reasons, firstly because, though on adoption he becomes severed from his natural family for inheritance and offering of pinda (vide Manu IX. 142), his other relationships with the natural family remain intact; and secondly because Manu (III. 5) says that the girl must not be a sagotra of the bridegroom's father (and so even if by adoption a man goes into another gotra, it is the father's gotra that is to be considered). Sapinda relationship prohibiting marriage extends only to seven or five generations, but prohibitions on the ground of sagotra relationship extend to any number of generations. On the other hand sapindas may be either of the same gotra(i. e. sagotra) or of a different gotra (i.e. bhinnagotra). Thus up to a certain limit sapindas include both sagotras and bhinnagotras. The latter are called bandhus by the Mit.; they are all cognate relations and have an important place in inheritance. We have seen (p. 436-37) that sagotra marriages were totally forbidden in the sūtras (in the śrauta sūtras like Lātyāyana śrauta and in grhya and dharma sūtras). A passage of the Sat. Br. (quoted above at p. 461) is relied upon by Professors Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index vol. I. p. 236) for holding that marriages within the third and fourth degrees on both maternal and paternal sides were allowed in the days of the Satapatha and that therefore a man could marry in those days his paternal uncle's daughter. This latter is a startling proposition. The passage in the Sat. Br. is no doubt expressed in general words ('one may be united in the third or fourth generation'). But that passage is generally applicable even if only a marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter is meant. The passage does not expressly allow paternal cousins' marriages. dharma-sūtras prohibit sagotra marriages. Both the learned Professors, as most western scholars do, probably hold that

the Satapatha is not separated from the sutras by more than a few centuries. If a paternal uncle's daughter had been eligible for marriage in the times of the Satapatha, but became forbidden in the times of the sūtras we shall have to suppose that an usage died out from one end of the country to another and an opposite usage became prevalent throughout within a few centuries. The smrtis are not afraid of stating ancient practices which they themselves do not accept (i. e. niyoga). The smrtis do not say that marriages with paternal uncle's daughters were ever allowed anywhere. So it appears that the Satapatha is not referring to marriage with naternal uncle's daughter, but to marriage with maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. It must however be pointed out that Apararka (pp. 15.63), the Sm. C. (I. p. 13). Par. M. I. part 1 p. 133 and other digests quote a passage from the Brahmapurāna 1167 that sagotra and sapinda marriages are forbidden in the Kali age. It may be argued with some force that this implies that sagotra marriages once took place. But there are various ways of explaining this. It is possible that in the purana the word gotra is not used in the technical sense. but only in the sense of family or surname. Among śūdras there is no gotra in the strict sense, but they also do not marry a girl who is believed to be of the same family. though the exact relationships or generations are not known. Besides it has been shown above that if a woman was a putrikā or married in the Gandharva or Asura form she retained the gotra of her father and the son of the putrika would have the gotra of his maternal grand-father and yet being of a different family his marriage with the daugther of a sagotra of the maternal grand-father might have taken place in ancient times and was forbidden in the Kali age by the purana. Similarly the implied reference to marriages of sapindas as taking place in former ages has probably marriage with maternal uncle's daughter in view. When in the kalivariya texts it is said 'these dharmas are declared to be prohibited by the sages in the Kali age' (vide Vyavahāra-mayūkha p. 242), it is not proper to argue that everyone of the practices forbidden in the kali age was valid in former ages. All that is meant seems to be that most of them were allowed in former ages and these along with others enumerated are not to be practised in the Kali age, just

^{1167.} सगोत्राद्वा सपिण्डाद्वा विवाहो गोवधस्तथा। नराश्यमेधौ भयं च कलौ वज्ये द्विजातिभि: ॥ अद्वापुराण quoted in अपरार्क pp. 15 and 63 &c.

as when in a crowd many have umbrellas and a few have not, a speaker still says with reference to the whole crowd 'chatrino gacchanti' (here go persons with umbrellas).

There are certain other prohibitions about marriage. The Smrtimuktāphala 1168 quotes a verse of Hārīta that one should not give one's daughter in exchange to another's son and receive that other's daughter in marriage for one's son, one should not give two daughters to the same man (at the same time), nor should one give one's two daughters to two persons who are brothers. But these dicta will now certainly be held as merely recommendatory. Besides there is no objection in India in modern times to marrying the deceased wife's sister, though even in England the deceased wife's sister could not be married until 1907 (when the Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act. 1907, Edw. 7 chap. 47 legalised such marriages).

The next question is as to who have power to arrange for the marriage of a girl and to give her away. The Visnu Dh. S. (24, 38-39) specifies the order of persons who are entitled to exercise this right of guardianship in marriage 'the father, the paternal grand-father, a brother, a kinsman, a maternal grandfather and the mother are the persons, by whom the girl may be given away in marriage. In the absence of the preceding one (the right) devolves upon the next in order, in case he is able'. Yāj. (I, 63-64) gives a slightly different order viz. he omits the maternal grand-father and adds that the right can be exercised only when the guardian is not affected by lunacy and similar defects and that in the absence of these the girl should perform svayamvara (i. e. choose a husband herself). Nārada 1169

^{1168.} पत्युद्वाहो नैव कार्यो नैकस्मै दृहिनृद्वयम्। न चेक्षजातयोः पुंसोः प्रयच्छेद्वहिनृ-हरम् ॥ स्मृतिम. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 148); vide also सं. प्र. 725-26 quoting प्रयोग-पारिजात for similar verses; सं. की. p. 694 quotes almost the same verse as नारताड. We know from the Mahabharata Adiparva that Bhisma carried off the three daughters of the king of Kāśī for his protégé Vicitravīrya and got two of them married to him. Similarly the Sinda chief Cavunda appears to have married Lakemadevi and Siriyadevi, the two daughters of Kalacurya Bijjala, at the same time (E. I. vol. 20 pp. 109, 111, dated sake 1109).

^{1169.} पिता द्यात्स्वयं कन्यां भ्राता वानुमते पितुः। पितामहो मातुलश्च सकुल्या षान्धवास्तथा ॥ माता त्वभावे सर्वेषां प्रकृतौ यदि वर्ततः। तस्यामप्रकृतिस्थायां द्यः कन्यां सना-भयः । यदि त नैव कश्चित्स्यात्करया राजानमाश्रयेत् । अनुज्ञया तस्य वरं प्रतीरय वरयेत्स्वयम् ॥ नारड (श्रीपुंस 20-22).

(stripumsa verses 20-22) gives the order as father, brother (with father's consent), paternal grand-father, maternal uncle, agnates, cognates, mother (if sound in mind and body), then distant relations, then the maiden may perform svayamvara with the king's permission. To give away a girl in marriage was not only a right but was rather a heavy responsibility, as (Yāj. I. 64) and others declare that if a girl is not got married by the guardian at the proper time the latter incurs the sin of the murder of an embryo. The practice of syavamyara is well known from the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, but it was confined mostly to the princely families. Manu (IX. 90-91) required a girl to wait for three years after she became marriageable before she could choose her husband herself. But Visnu Dh. S. 24. 40 says that a girl should wait only for three monthly periods after she attains puberty and that after that period she has full power to dispose of herself in marriage as she thinks best.

There are no rules in the smrtis as to who is to arrange the marriage of a male, since in ancient times they did not contemplate the marriages of minor males.

The mother has been put low in the order of guardians probably because of the dependent status assigned to women and because of the fact that in the ceremony of kanyadana she cannot personally engage but has to get it done through some male relative. The courts in modern India, however, have held that the mother is entitled to select a husband for her daughter even when the girl's paternal grand-father is living, though the actual gift may be made by a male. Vide Bai Ramkore v. Jamnadas, I. L. R. 37 Bom. 18, where Yaj. I. 63 is interpreted as only laying down who are to make a gift of the girl and as not intended to take away altogether the mother's right of selecting a bridegroom in favour of even distant relations. also Indi v. Ghania (I. L. R. 1 Lahore 146), Jawani v. Mula Ram (I. L. R. 3 Lahore 29, where it was held that, after the father, the mother of a girl has the preferential right to select a bridegroom for her and that she is under no obligation to consult the girl's paternal kindred such as a paternal uncle), Ranganaiki v. Ramanuja I. L. R. 35 Mad. 728, (where all the authorities are examined). The Dharmasindhu states important proposition that when the girl performs svayamvara or when the mother is to give away the girl in marriage, the girl or mother should perform the Nandiśraddha and the principal samkalpa is to be pronounced by her and the rest of the

rite is to be performed through a brāhmana. 1170 Nārada states the general rule that if anything is done by one who is afflicted with lunacy or similar defects, what he does is as if not done. So a marriage settled even by the father if he is a lunatic need not be performed. 1171 If an unauthorized person (like a maternal uncle) were to give away a girl in marriage though her father is alive and fit, what is the result? The digests state 1171a that if the marriage has been completed by the performance of saptapadi, it cannot be set aside merely on the ground of the want of authority in the giver, since marriage rites are the principal matter and the authority to give is a very subsidiary matter, the absence of which cannot affect the principal matter. before the marriage takes place a person who wants to give away a girl, though persons better qualified exist, can be prevented from doing so. Courts in modern India have followed these rules, relying on the doctrine of 'factum valet quod fieri non debuit' (what ought not to be done when done is valid) and holding that when once a marriage is duly solemnized and is otherwise valid, it is not rendered invalid because it was brought about without the consent of the proper guardian for marriage or in contravention of an express order of the court. Vide Khuskalchand v. Bai Mani (I. L. R. 11 Bombay 247) and Bai Diwali v. Moli (I. L. R. 22 Bom. 509).

A few words must be said about the sale of girls in marriage. We read in the Maitrāyanīya S. I. 10. 11 'she indeed commits falsehood (or sin) who being purchased by her husband roams about with other males.' There is another passage of the Veda relied upon along with the above by the $p\bar{u}rvapakṣa$ (the plausible view-point) in Jaimini (VI. 1. 10-11) which denies that women have a right to

^{1170.} कन्यास्वयंवरे मातुर्वातृत्वे च ताभ्याभेव नान्दीश्राद्धं कार्यं तत्र माता कन्या वा स्वयं प्रधानसङ्करुपमात्रं कृत्वा अन्यद् बाह्मणद्वारा कारयेत्। धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 251. These words are taken from the प्रयोगपारिजात; vide निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 306.

^{1171.} यदाह नारदः । स्वतन्त्रोपि हि यत्कार्ये कुर्याद्मकृतिं गतः ।तद्प्यकृतमेव स्याद्-स्वातन्त्र्यस्य हेत्रतः ॥ अपुरार्क p. 92 on या. I. 63.

¹¹⁷¹ a. यदि तु विवाहो निवृत्तस्तदा प्रधानस्य निष्पन्नत्वेनाधिकारवैकल्यान तस्य पुनरावृत्तिरिति। उद्दाहतस्व p. 127; यदि तु सप्तपदीविवाहहोमादि प्रधानं जातं तदृङ्ग-वैकल्येनापि नावृत्तिर्विवाहस्य। गौहा अध्येवमाहुः। निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 307; vide also सं. र. मा. p. 497 to the same effect.

^{1172.} ऋतं वे सत्यं यज्ञोऽतृतं स्त्री अन्तृतं वा एषा करोति या पत्युः क्रीता सत्यथा-न्येश्वरति । मैत्रा. सं. I. 10. 11.

take part in Vedic sacrifices, viz. 'one should give to the daughter's father a hundred (cows) plus a chariot.' Jaimini replies (VI. 1. 15) that the giving of a hundred with a chariot is not for purchasing a bride, but it is only a duty and a hundred must be offered as a present (whether the girl is beautiful or not).1173 This shows that, even if some girls were purchased for marriage in the times of the Maitrayaniya S., there was a popular revulsion of sentiment about this practice and the sale of girls was severely condemned by the time of the sütrakāras. The Ap. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 10-11) also makes interesting remarks on this point 1174 "there is no gift and the incidents of purchase about one's children; in marriage the gift ordained by Veda to be made to the daughter's father in the words 'therefore one should give a hundred (cows) besides a chariot to the girl's father and that (gift) should be made to belong to the (married) couple' is due to the desire (of the father to give a status to the daughter and her sons) and is meant as a fulfilment of duty (and not as a sale transaction). The word 'purchase' applied to such a transaction is merely figurative, since the relationship (as husband and wife) arises (not from the so called purchase but) from dharma." Vas. Dh. S. (I. 36-37) quotes the two passages of the Veda (from Mait. S. and the other about the gift of one hundred cows) in support of the Manusa (i.e. Asura) form of marriage. The Nirukta VI, 9 1175 while explaining Rg. I. 109. 2 ('O Indra and Agni, I have heard you to be greater donors than a partially fit son-in-law or a brother-in-law') remarks that "the word 'vijāmātā' means among the southerners the husband of a woman who is purchased; what is meant is that he is a

^{1173.} इावर on जै. VI. 1. 10 puts the पूर्वपक्ष view as 'क्रयविक्रयसंयुक्ता हि ख्रिय:। पित्रा विक्रीयन्ते भर्त्रा क्रीयन्ते: विक्रयो हि श्रूयते 'शतमातिरथं दुहितृमते द्यात्। ' &c. and on जै. VI. 1. 11 he says 'या पत्या क्रीता सत्यधान्येश्वरतीति क्रीततां दर्शयति .. क्रयस्य धर्ममात्रत्वम्। जै. VI. 1. 15; शवर 'यत्तु क्रयः श्रूयते धर्ममात्रं तु तत्। नासौ क्रय इति। नियतं त्विदं द्यनम्। शतमतिरथं शोभनामशोभनां च कन्यां प्रति। ?.

^{1174.} दानं क्रयधर्मश्चापत्यस्य न विधते। विवाहे दुहितृमते दानं काम्यं धर्मार्थ श्रूपते तस्माद् दुहितृमतेऽतिरधं शतं देयं तन्मिथुया कुर्यादिति तस्यां क्रयशब्दः संस्तुतिमात्रं धर्माद्धि संबन्धः। आप. ध. सूत्र. II. 6. 13. 10-11. The words तन्मिथुया कुर्यात् are translated in S.B.E. II. p. 132 as 'that gift he should make bootless (by returning it to the giver)'.

^{1175.} अश्रवं हि भूरिदावत्तरा वां विजामातुरुत घा वा स्यालात्। (ऋ. I. 109. 2)... अश्रीषं हि षहुदानृतरो वां विजामातुः असुसमाप्ताज्ञामातुः। विजामाता इति शश्वद् दाक्षि-णाजाः क्रीतापतिमाचक्षते। असुसमाप्त इव वरोऽभिनेतः। निरुक्त VI. 9.

bridegroom who is deficient and not endowed with all good qualities." So Yāska implies that in the south girls were sold for substantial sums of money to persons who (either because they were old or wanting in some qualities desirable in a good bridegroom) were therefore really deficient as bridegrooms. In the Nirukta (III. 4) while discussing the several views about the obscure verse of the Rgveda III. 31. 1 (sāsad-vahnir &c.) one of the reasons assigned for the view that women do not inherit is that gift, sale and abandonment in the case of women exist, but not in the case of men, to which some reply that these (gift, sale &c.) can be made of males also as is seen in the story of Śunaḥsepa (in the Ait. Br. 33, Tai S. V. 2. 1, 3, Tai. Br. I. 7. 10.).

These passages lead to the inference that in ancient times girls were sometimes purchased for marriage, as was the case in many other countries. But gradually public feeling entirely changed and not only was the sale of daughters by the father or brother severely condemned, but even taking of presents by them was looked down upon. Ap. Dh. S. has already been quoted above (note 1174). The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 11. 20-21) 1176 quotes two verses 'that woman who is purchased with wealth is not declared to be a legally wedded wife (a patni); she is not (to be associated with the husband) in rites for the gods or manes and Kasyapa declares that she is a $d\bar{u}si$ (slave girl). Those, who, blinded by greed, give their daughters in marriage for a fee (śulka), are sinners, sellers of their own selves and perpetrators of great sin and they fall into hell &c.' In another place Baud. says 'he who gives his daughter (in marriage) by sale (as a chattel) sells his merit (punya)'. Manu (III. 51, 54-55) strikes 1177 a tender note about daughters when he says 'a father should not take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; if he takes a gratuity through greed he becomes the seller of his child; when relations do not take for themselves wealth given by the bridegroom as gratuity (but hand it over to the girl) there is no sale (of the girl); the wealth so taken is for

^{1176.} अधाष्युदाहरन्ति। क्रीता दृष्येण या नारी सा न पत्नी विधीयते। सा न देवे न सा पित्रये दासीं तां कद्दयपोब्रवीत् ॥ घुल्केन ये प्रयच्छन्ति स्वसुतां लोभमोहिताः । आत्मिष-क्रियणो पापा महाकिल्बिषकारकाः॥ पतन्ति नरके घोरे झन्ति चाससमं कुलम्। बो. ध. स्. I. 11. 20-22; सुकुत्तांशान्वा एष विक्रीणीते यः पणमानोः दुहितरं द्दाति। बो. ध. स्. II. 1. 79.

^{1177.} अनुशासन 46. 2-3 are the same as मनु III. 54-55.

honouring the maidens and is only taken from the bridegroom out of loving concern for them. Fathers, brothers, husbands and brothers-in-law desiring their own welfare should honour women and should give them ornaments'. Manu (IX. 98) further recommends that 'even a śūdra should not take a gratuity when giving his daughter (in marriage), since in taking a gratuity he clandestinely sells his daughter'. Yāj. III. 236, Manu XI. 61 include the sale of children among upapātakas. The Mahabhārata (Anusāsana 93.133 and 94.3) condemns the taking of a gratuity for giving a girl and Anusasana (45.18-19) speaks of gathas of Yama contained in dharma-sastras 'whoever sells his son for a price, or gives a daughter for the sake of his own liveli-hood in return for a gratuity, would fall into a most horrible hell called Kālasūtra'. Verse 23 of the same chapter says 'even a stranger cannot be sold, what of one's own children'. Verse 20 (= Manu III. 53) condemns even the arsa form of marriage as a sale because a pair of cattle is therein taken by the girl's father. In Kerala or Malabar it is believed that the great teacher Sainkara laid down 64 acaras, among which are prohibition of the sale of girls, prohibition of sali &c. Vide I. A. vol. IV, pp. 255-256 and also Atri v. 389 and Ap. (in verse) IX. 25 (ed. by Jivānanda). This practice, however, persisted till modern times. For example, in an inscription dated about 1425 1178 A. D. from Padaividu (North Arcot District) we find an agreement signed by the representatives of Karnāta. Tamil, Telugu and Lata (South Gujarat) brahmanas that they would give up taking gold for their daughters and get them married by the simple kanyādāna (the Brāhma form) and that the father who accepted gold and the bridegroom who paid gold were to be punished by the king and were to be excommunicated from the brāhmana caste. The Peshwa¹¹⁷⁹ issued orders (about 1800 A. D.) addressed to the brahmanas of Wai (in the Satara District) forbidding them to take money for giving their daughters in marriage and prescribing fines for the father

^{1178.} Vide South Indian Inscriptions (ed. by Hultzsch, 1890) No. 56.

^{1179.} Vide काश्येतिहाससंग्रह, पत्रें यादी No. 145, pp. 121-122 (of first edition) and No. 470 p 425 (of the 2nd edition of 1930). The most important portion is set out here 'प्रान्त वाई येथें ब्राह्मण ज्ञातींत कोणी कन्येचे रुपये घेऊन विवाह करूं नये, जो कन्येचा ऐवज घेईल त्याजपासून दुष्पट व जो देईल त्यानें कन्येचे वापास रुपये दिले असतील तितके व मध्यस्ती करून पैका घेईल तो ऐवज त्याजपासून सरकारांत घेतला जाईल. याप्रमाणें ज्ञातीस व जमीदार व धर्माधिकारी व उपाध्ये जोशी व पाटील कुलकर्णी यांस निश्चन ताकीद करांची '.

who took money, for the giver and the intermediary who brought about the marriage. Among certain castes and among the sūdras even now money or money's worth is often taken when a daughter is married, but generally the money is meant as a provision for the girl and for defraying the expenses of the girl's father.

The question of the sale of girls in marriage has been from the remotest ages bound up with the question of the father's power over his children Rg. I. 116. 16¹¹⁸⁰ and I. 117. 17 refer to the story of Rirāśva who was deprived of his eye-sight by his father because the former gave a hundred rams to a she-wolf. The verses refer to some natural phenomena under a metaphorical garb and cannot be used for drawing the inference that a father could in law deprive his son of eye-sight at his will. The story of Sunahsepa (Ait. Br. 33) shows that in rare cases the father did sell his son. The passage of the Nirukta about the power to sell, to gift away or to abandon daughters has been already cited (p. 505). The Vas. Dh. S. 1181 (XVII. 30-31) says 'Sunahsepa is an example of the son bought' (one of the twelve kinds of sons). The same sūtra (XVII, 36-37) defines the apaviddha kind of son as one, who being cast off by his parents, is accepted (as a son) by another. Manu IX. 171 also defines the 'apaviddha' in the same way. Vas. Dh. S. (XV. 1-3) propounds the absolute power of the parents over their children in the words 'man produced from seed and uterine blood springs from the father and the mother; (therefore) the parents have power to give, to sell or to abandon him; but one should not give nor accept an only son'. Here Vas. states the right of patria potestas several centuries before Justinian, who makes the vain boast (Institutes, Lib. I. Tit. IX. 2) that 'no other people have a power over their children such as we have over ours'. Manu (VIII. 416) and the Mahabharata 1182 (Udyoga 33. 64) both state that the wife, the son and the slave are without wealth and that whatever they acquire belongs to him whose they are. Manu (in V. 152) says that 'gift (by the father of the bride) is the source of (the husband's) ownership (over her)'. But gradually the

^{1180.} शतं मेषान्वक्ये चक्षदानमुजान्धं तं पितान्धं चकार। ऋ. I. 116. 16.

^{1181.} क्रीतस्तुतीयः। तच्छुनःशेषेन व्याख्यातम्। अपविद्धः पञ्चमः। यं माता पितृभ्यामपास्तं गृह्णीयात्। विशिष्ठ XVII. 30-31 and 36-37.

^{- 1182.} Sabara on जे. VI. 1. 12 quotes the verse भाषा दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्व एव ते, which is almost the same as Manu VIII. 416. Compare Narada VIII. 41.

rigour of the father's power was lessened by other competing considerations such as the ideas that the son was the father himself born again, and that the son conferred great spiritual benefit on the souls of the father and his ancestors by the balls of rice offered in śrūddha. So gradually the father's power over the son became restricted. Kautilya (III. 13) gives the interesting information that mlecchas incur no blame by selling or pledging their children, but an $\bar{a}rya$ cannot be reduced to the state of slavery. Yāj. II. 175 and Nārada (dattāpradānika 4) both forbid the gift of one's son or wife. Kātyāyana 1183 says that though the father has powers of control over the wife and the son, he has not the power to sell or make a gift of his son. Yāi. (II. 118-119) modified the rule about the son's acquisitions also. Manu VIII. 389 prescribes a fine of 600 panas for abandoning one's mother, father, wife or son when they are not sinners. Vide Yāj. II. 237, Visnu Dh. S. V. 113-114, Kautilya III. 20 (p. 199) for a similar provision. Manu (VIII. 299-300) restricted a man's power to award corporal punishment for misconduct to his wife, son cr slave to striking with a rope or a thin piece of bamboo.

One question discussed by dharmasūtra writers is whether one has ownership over one's wife and children. In Jaimini 1184 (VI. 7. 1-2) it is decided that in the Viśvajit sacrifice where one is to give away all that one has, one cannot give away one's parents and other relatives as one can make a gift only of what one is master of. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 175 says 'though one cannot make a gift of one's wife or child to another, one is still owner of them.' The Viramitrodaya 1185 (vyavahāra p. 567) is of the same opinion. On the other hand the Tantraratna (of Pārthasārathimiśra) says that the word gift with reference to the son and the like is used only in a secondary sense viz. that of passing to another the power of control over the son

^{1183.} सुतस्य सुतदाराणां पशित्वं त्वतुशासने । विक्रये चैव दाने च पशित्वं न सुते पितः । कात्यायन quoted in स्मृतिच॰ (स्य. p. 132) and परा. मा. III. p. 219.

^{1184.} स्वदाने सर्वमिवशेषात् । यस्य वा प्रभुः स्यादितरस्याशक्यस्वात् । जै. VI. 7. 1-2. शबर says तस्माक पित्राद्यो देयाः । तस्माद्यत्रैव प्रभुतवयोगेन स्वत्वं तदेव देयमिति ।

^{1185.} एतद्वेयत्वमात्राभिमायेण न पुनः स्वत्वाभावाभिमायेण । पुग्रदासर्वस्व-प्रतिश्चतेषु स्वत्वस्य सद्भावात् । मिता॰ on या. II. 175; अत एव पुग्रकन्यादानादिविधयो गुरुयार्था एव न पुगादिपरतन्त्रीकरणरूपगाणदानाद्यर्थाः । वीरमिशोद्य p. 567 (Jiv. व्यवहार); गवादाविव भार्यायां स्वत्वाभावेन तस्याग्रुव्यक्षेऽपत्ये तद्भावात् । व्य. म. p. 92 (my edition).

or the daughter. The Vyavahāramayūkha is also of the same opinion.

Afew words may be said about infanticide. Westermarck in his 'Origin and Development of Moral Ideas' vol. I. (1906) pp. 393-413 furnishes an exhaustive account of this practice in ancient and modern times among barbarous and civilised communities from various countries, e. g. in Sparta (for the purpose of securing strong and healthy fighters), among the Rajputs (from family pride and fear of the crushing burden of expenses at marriage). 1186 He is wrong in saving that in the Vedic times infanticide or exposure of children was practised. Rg. It. 29.1 1187 is of no use on this point; it says 'cast off from me sin as a woman who secretly gives birth to a child (casts it off).' This is not a reference to infanticide of children born in wedlock, but refers to the exposure of a child by an unmarried woman which is clandestinely practised everywhere and as regards which even in England a very lenient attitude is shown as manifested by the passing of the Infanticide Act (12 and 13 Geo. V. Chap. 18). The most important passage on which some European scholars like Zimmer and Delbrück rely upon for this proposition is Tai. S. VI. 5. 10. 3 'They go to the avabhrtha 1188 (the final sacrificial bath); they keep aside the sthālis (pots) and take up the vessels for vāyu: therefore they (the people) keep aside the girl when she is born and lift up (i. e. greet with pride and joy) the son '. This simply refers to the fact that a daughter was not greeted as much as the son. It has nothing to do with exposure or infanticide. That passage only expresses the sentiment contained in the Ait. Br. 1189 (33.1)

^{1186.} Vide Tod's 'Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan' (Calcutta edition) vol. I. pp. 659-665 (for infanticide among Rajputs), 'Indian Infanticide' by J. C. Browne (1857), Dr. John Wilson's 'History of the suppression of infanticide in Western India' (1855) in which he refers at length to a prize-essay of Dr. Bhau Daji, written in 1844. Winternitz 'Die Frau' pp. 24-25. Vide the Female Infanticide Prevention Act VIII. of 1873 (in India)

^{1187.} आरे मस्कर्त रहस्रियाण: । अर. II. 29. 1.

^{1188.} अवभूधभवयन्ति परास्थालीरस्यन्ति उद्घायस्थानि हरन्ति तस्मात् स्थियं जातां परास्यन्ति उत्युमांसं हरन्ति। तै. सं VI. 5. 10. 3. The निरुक्त III. 4 quotes this last sentence. Vide Vedic Index, vol. I. p. 487 for references to the views of Zimmer and others.

^{1189.} सला ह जाया कृषणं हि दुहिता ज्योतिर्ह पुत्रः परमे ग्योमन्। ऐ. जा. 33.1. आत्मा पुत्रः सन्ता भार्या फुच्छ्रं तु दुहिता किल। आदिपर्व 159. 11. Compare मनु TV. 184-185 'भार्या पुत्रः स्वका ततः॥ छाया स्वो दासवर्गश्च दृहिता कुपणं परम्।

'the wife is indeed a friend, the daughter is distress (or humiliation), the son is light in the highest heaven '. The Mahābhārata (Adi. 159. 11) in a similar vein says 'the son is one's self, the wife is one's friend, but the daughter is indeed a difficulty. But all the same the Grhyasūtras like Ap. (15.13) call upon the father to greet his daughter also with a mantra when he returned from a journey, the difference being that in the case of the son there is kissing of the son's head and muttering of certain mantras in his right ear. Manu (IX. 232) advises the king to award death sentence to him who kills a woman, a child or a brāhmana. Manu IX. 130 (= Anuśāsana 45.11) expressly says that 'just as the son is one's own self. so is the daughter like the son; how can another person take the wealth (of the deceased) when his daughter who is his own self is there to take it'? Nārada¹¹⁹⁰ (dāyabhāga v. 50) reasons that both the son and the daughter continue the line of the father and therefore in the absence of the son the daughter succeeds as heir. Brhaspati exclaims 'the daughter is born from the limbs of the parents as much as the son; when she is alive how can another take her father's estate'? Bana, who as a great poet had unparalleled sympathy with the emotions and feelings of the average man, makes even the king Prabhākaravardhana say about his daughter what every Indian father has felt for thousands of years 'this rule of law laid down by some one viz. that one's own children (daughters) sprung from one's body, fondled on one's knees and whom one would never forsake, are taken away all of a sudden by persons (husbands) who till then were quite unfamiliar. It is on account of this sorrow that although both (son and daughter) are one's own children the good feel sorrow when a daughter is born and who offer water in the form of tears to their daughters at the very time of their birth'. A daughter was not greeted at birth, not because the father had no love for her, but because

1190. पुत्राभाष तु दुहिता तुल्यसंतानदर्शनात्। पुत्रश्च दुहिता चोभौ पितः संतानकारको॥ मारद (दायभाग 50); अङ्गादङ्गात् संभवति पुत्रवद्द्विता चुणाम् । तस्यां पितृधनं त्वन्यः कथं गृह्वीत मानवः॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 743; केनापि कृता धम्यां नाभिमता मे स्थितिरियं यदङ्गसंभूतान्यङ्कलालितान्यपरियाज्यान्यपरयकान्यकाण्ड एवा-गत्यासंस्तुतैर्नीयन्ते।..... यद्परयत्वे समानेऽपि दूयन्ते सन्तः। एतद्धे जन्मकाल एव कन्य-काभ्यः प्रयच्छन्ति सलिलमश्चभिः साधवः। हर्षचिति 4th Ucchvasa. कन्यापितृत्वं दुःखं हि सर्वेषां मानकाङ्क्ष्मणाम्। न ज्ञायते च कः कन्यां वरयोदिति कन्यके॥ मातुः कुलं पितृकुलं यत्र चैव च दीयते। कुलत्रयं सदा कन्या संशये स्थाप्य विष्ठति ॥ रःमायण (उत्तरकाण्ड 9. 10–11.). उद्योगपर्व 97. 16 has मातुःकुलं कुलत्रयं संशयितं कुरुते कन्यका सताम्।

he felt that a daughter meant a source of anxiety all her life to him. It was the great concern felt for a daughter's well-being in life and her character that made the parents anxious that no daughter be born to them. Society expected a very high moral rectitude from women and treated lapses of men with leniency. This is finely expressed in the Rāmāyana (Uttara-kānda 9. 10-11). Ancient literature did not everywhere treat women with scorn and contempt. It has already been shown how highly the wife was regarded even in the most ancient days as a man's half. Rg. III. 53. 4 speaks of the wife as a haven of rest (jāyed-astam). The Chān. Up. 1191 looks upon the sight of a woman in a dream as very auspicious and as prognosticating success in religious rites already undertaken. Manu (III. 56 = Anuśāsana 46.5), though he has said, as will be shown later on, some very hard things about women, was not unmindful of the honour due to them and says in a chivalrous spirit 'where women are honoured there the gods love to reside; where they are not honoured, there all religious acts come to nought.' Maidens were regarded as pure (vide p. 296 above) and auspicious. When the king passed through his capital it was customary to greet him with fried grain showered by maidens (Raghuyamsa II. 10). The Saunaka-kārikā 1192 (ms. in Bombay University Library folio 22 b) includes a maiden among the eight objects which were auspicious. The Dronaparva (82. 20-22) mentions numerous objects which Arjuna looked at and touched as auspicious when starting for battle, among which well-decked maidens are mentioned. Gobhila-smrti II. 163 says that one that sees on rising from bed in the morning among others a woman whose husband is living is free from all difficulties. The Vāmana-purāna (14. 35-36) mentions several objects which are auspicious when one is about to leave home, among which figure brāhmana maidens. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 168.

Some remarks must be made about the times auspicious for marriage. In the marriage hymn (Rgveda 1193 X. 85. 13) the

^{1191.} स यदि स्त्रियं पश्येत्समृद्धं कर्मेति विद्यात् । तदेष श्रीकः । यदा कर्मसु काम्येषु स्त्रियं स्वरनेषु पश्यति । समृद्धि तत्र जानीयात्तरिमन् स्वमनिदर्शने ॥ छान्दोग्य V. 2. 7-8. This passage is the basis of वेदान्तसूत्र III. 2. 4.

^{1192.} दुर्पणः पूर्णकलशः कन्या सुमनक्षोऽक्षताः। द्वीपमाला ध्वजा लाजाः संशोक्तं चाष्टमङ्गलम् ॥ शीनककारिका.

^{1193.} अधासु हम्यन्ते गाचो फलग्रन्योः पर्युद्धाते । ऋ. X. 85. 13 and अधर्व XIV. 1. 13. कोशिकस्त्र 75. 5 quotes these words. मचाभिर्गातो गृह्यन्ते । फलग्रुनीम्यां व्युद्धाते । आप. गृ. 3. 1-2.

words occur 'the cows are killed on the Aghas and (the bride) is carried away (from her father's house) on the Phalgunis'. The cow was killed in Madhuparka which was offered to the bridegroom on the day of marriage. Or this may be a reference to the giving of cows by the bridegroom to the bride's father (as in the form later called arsa). So it appears probable that this is a reference to marriage being performed on the day when the moon was in conjunction with the constellation of Aghās (i. e. Maghā). The two Phalgunis follow immediately after the Magha naksatra. There is an echo of this in the Ap. gr. III, 1-2 which says 'cows are accepted on the Maghas and (the bride) is carried (to the bridegroom's house) on the Phalgunis'. This means that the marriage (probably in the ārsa form) is celebrated on the Maghas and the bride goes from her father's house on the next day after marriage or after one day more. The Asv. gr. (I. 4. 1) says 1194 that 'in the northward passage of the sun, in the bright half of a month and on an auspicious lunar mansion, cauls, upanayana, godāna and marriage are to be performed and that according to some teachers marriage may be celebrated at all times' (not necessarily in northward passage &c). The Ap. gr. (2.12-13) prescribes that all seasons except the two months of Sisira (i. e. Magha and Phālguna) and the last of the two months of summer (viz. Asādha) are fit for marriage and all naksatras which are declared to be auspicious (or holy). Ap. gr. further 1195 adds (3, 3) 'a father who desires that his daughter should be dear (to her husband) should give her in marriage on the Nistyā (i.e. Svāti constellation); thus she becomes dear (to her husband), she does not return (to her parent's house); this is a procedure based upon the Brāhmaņa passage.' The Brāhmaņa passage is Tai. Br. I. 5, 2. The Baud. gr. (I. 1. 18-19) is the same 1196 as Ap. gr. about months and adds that the naksatras for marriage are Rohini, Mrgasirsa, Uttarā Phalguni, Svāti: while Punarvasu.

^{1194.} उद्देगयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे कल्याणे नक्षत्रे चौलकर्मापनयनगोदानविवाहाः। सार्वकालमेके विवाहम्। आश्व. यृ. I. 4. 1-2; शाङ्कायनगृह्य I. 5. 5 is to the same effect.

^{1195.} यां कामयेत दुहितरं प्रिया स्यादिति तां निष्टचायां द्यात् प्रियेव भवति नैव तु पुनरागच्छति इति बाह्मणावेक्षो विधि: । आप. गृ. 3. 3. The words यां...गच्छति occur in ते. बा. I. 5. 2. भरद्वाजगृ. I. 12. quotes the बाह्मणवाक्य.

^{1196.} सर्वे मासा विवाहस्य । श्रुचितपस्तपस्यवर्जिमित्येके । रोहिणी मुगशिर्षसुत्तरे फल्गुनी स्वातीति विवाहस्य नक्षत्राणि । पुनर्वसू तिष्यो हस्तः श्रोणा रेवतीत्यन्येषां भूतिकर्मणाम् । वो. गृ. I. 1. 18-21,

Tisya (Pusya), Hasta, Sravana and Revatl are suitable for other ceremonies of an auspicious character. The Manava gr. (I. 7. 5) says that the naksatras Rohini, Mrgasiras, Śravana, Śravisthā (Dhanisthā) and the Uttarās (i. e. Uttarāsādhā, Uttarā Phalguni and Uttarā Bhādrapadā) are fit for marriage and for taking the bride from her parent's house and whatever other (naksatra) is declared to be auspicious. Kāthaka gr. 14. 9-10 and Vārāha gr. 10 are similar. The Rāmāyana 1197 (Bālakānda 72.13 and 71.24) speaks of marriage being performed on Uttara Phalguni, of which Bhaga is the deity. The Mahābhārata also speaks of marriage on a nakṣatra presided over by Bhaga (Adiparva 8, 16). The Kausika sūtra (75, 2-4) makes an approach to modern practice when it prescribes that marriage should be celebrated after the full moon of Kārtika and up to the full moon of Vaisākha or one may do as one likes but should avoid the month or half month of Caitra. 1198

Medieval digests introduce many detailed rules derived from astrology which it is not possible to set out here. A few only will be indicated. The Udvāhatattva (p. 124) quotes Rājamārtaṇḍa 1199 and Bhuja-balabhīma to the effect that all months are auspicious for marriage except Caitra and Pauşa and that when a girl is very much grown-up one should not wait for auspicious seasons, but she should be given away on any day when the moon and the zodiacal sign rising at the moment of marriage are favourable, and that one should go into questions of auspicious ayana, month, day &c. up to only the tenth year of girls. The Samskāraratnamālā (p. 460) says that as there is conflict among the dicta of sūtra and smṛti

^{1197.} मधा हाद्य महावाहो तृतीये दिवसे प्रभो। फल्गुन्यामुक्तरे राजंस्तरिमन्वैवाहिकं कुरु ॥ उक्तरे दिवसे ब्रह्मन् फल्गुनीभ्यां मनीविषाः । वैवाहिकं प्रशंसन्ति भगो यत्र प्रजापतिः ॥ बालकाण्ड 71. 24 and 72. 13. According to the ते. बा. 1. 1. 2. भग is the दिवता of उक्तराफल्गुनी.

^{1198.} ऊर्ध्व क्यार्तिक्या आ वैज्ञाख्याः । याधाकामी वा । चित्रापक्षं तु वर्जयेत्। कोशिकसूत्र 75. 2-4.

^{1199.} राजमार्तण्डीये। राजग्रस्ते तथा युद्धे पितृणां प्राणसंशये। अतिग्रीहा च या कन्या नाछकूल्यं प्रतीक्षते। अतिग्रद्धा च या कन्या कुलधर्मविरोधिनी। अविद्युद्धापि सा देया चन्द्रलग्नबलेन तु। भुजबलभीमे। ग्रह्युद्धिमन्द्रशुद्धि शुद्धि माप्तायनर्तुद्वित्रसानाम्। अर्वाक्-द्शवर्षभ्यो सुनयः कथयन्ति कन्यकानाम्। दशवर्षभ्यन्तरे शुद्धौ ग्रहान्द्विनां विशेषो-पादानात् तद्भुर्धे तावन्मात्रानियमः। अत्रैव विषये 'मङ्गल्येषु विवादेषु कन्यासंवरणेषु च। दशमासाः ग्रशस्यन्ते चैत्रयोषविवर्तिताः । इति राजमार्तण्डोक्तम्। उद्घाहतस्व p. 124.

writers about months one should follow the usage of one's country. One should not celebrate the marriage of the eldest son with the eldest daugter of a man in the month of Jvestha (or on Jyesthā naksatra) nor should one celebrate a marriage in the month of birth or on the day of birth or naksatra of birth (of the eldest son or daughter). Wednesday, Monday, Friday and Thursday are the best days of the week, but the Madanapārijāta says that any day is good if the marriage is celebrated at night. 1200 In marriage the moon must be in a strong position for girls. One should avoid Jupiter being the 4th, 8th or 12th from one's rāśi (zodiacal sign in which the moon was at the time of birth). The Nirnayasindhu quotes a verse that when the girl has reached puberty, then one should not wait till Jupiter is favourable, but marriage should be performed even when Jupiter is 8th from the zodiacal sign of birth, propitiatory rites however being performed for Jupiter. 1201 Upanayana and marriage cannot be performed when Jupiter is in the zodiacal sign called Leo (Simha), but this applies only to the tract between the river Godāvarī and the Ganges. 1202 From the nakṣatra and zodiacal sign at the time of birth (in the case of both the girl and the bridegroom) certain astrological calculations were made in eight ways 1203 called kūtas. They were Varna, Vasya, Naksatra, Yoni, Graha (planets governing the twelve rāsis), Gana, Rāśi, and Nādi, each later one of which was more powerful than each preceding one and marks (guna) from 1 to 8 were respectively assigned to each of these if the conditions laid down were satisfied. Two of these viz, gana and nadl are attached great importance even now among brahmanas and other classes also and so they may be illustrated here, though very briefly. The 27 naksatras are arranged in three groups of nine each, each group being assigned to Devagaņa, Manusyagana and Rāksasagana as follows:

^{1200.} सं. र. मा. p. 464 न वारदोषाः प्रभवन्ति रात्रौ इति मदनपारिजाते.

^{1201.} रजस्वलायाः कन्याया ग्रह्युद्धि न चिन्तयेत्। अष्टमीपि प्रकर्तव्यो विवाह-श्चिगुणार्चनात्॥ निर्णयसिन्धु III Purvardha p. 304.

^{1202.} लहाः। गोदावर्युत्तरतो यावद्भागीरधीतदं याम्यम्। तत्र विवाहो नेष्टः सिंहस्थे देवपतिपूज्ये॥ भागीरध्युत्तरे कृले गौतम्या दक्षिणे तथा। विवाहो व्रतबन्धो वा सिंह-स्थेज्ये न दुष्यति। इति वासिष्ठेन गङ्गागोदान्तरालातिरिक्तदेशे विवाहव्रतबन्धयोरभ्यत्रज्ञानात्। सं. प्र. p. 806.

^{1203.} See सं. प. p. 773 ff. and सं. र. सा. 519 ff. for दूटा.

Devagana	Manuṣyagaṇa	Rāksasagaņa
Aśvinī	BharapI	Kṛttikā
Mrgasiras	RohipI	$ar{\mathbf{A}}$ śles $ar{\mathbf{a}}$
Punarvasu	Ārdrā	Maghā
Pusya	Pū rv ā	Citrā
Hasta	Ut t arā	Viśākhā
Svāti	Pūrvāṣādhā	${f J}$ yeşth $ar{{f a}}$
Anurādhā	Uttarāsādhā	Müla
Śravana	Pürvābhādrapadā	Dhanisthā
Revati	Uttarābhādrapadā	Śatatārakā

If the bride and bridegroom are born on naksatras that belong to the same class out of these three groups it is the best thing but if their naksatras of birth belong to different groups, then the rules are: it is middling if their naksatras belong to the deva group or the human group respectively, or if the bridegroom's naksatra being of the devagana or rāksasagana, the bride's is of the manusyagana, while if the naksatra of the bride is of the rāksasa group and the bridegroom's of the manusyatype, then death would result. Similarly if the naksatras of the pair respectively belong to the deva and rāksasa groups, there would be quarrels and enmity between the two.

For the purpose of nadl the naksatras are divided into three groups of nine each, adyanadl, madhyanadl and antyanadl, as follows:

Ādyanādī	Madhyanādi	Antyanādī
Aśvinī	Bharaṇi	Krttikā
Ārdrā	Mṛgaśiras	\mathbf{Rohin}
Punarvasu	Puşya	$ar{\mathbf{A}}$ śle $ar{\mathbf{s}}$ ā
Uttarā	Pūr vā	Maghā
Hasta	Citrā	Svāti
Jyesthā	An urā d hā	Viśāk hā
Mūla	Pūrvāsādhā	Uttarāṣāḍhā
Śatatārakā	Dhanisthā	Śravaņa
Pūr v ābhādrapadā	Uttarābhādrapadā	Revati

If the nakṣatras of the intended pair belong to the same nādī, then that portends death and so there is to be no marriage in such a case. The respective nakṣatras of birth in the case of the two should belong to different nādīs.

The anxieties of the girls' father did not end here. If after the marriage was settled but before it actually took place any relative in any of the two families died, then the marriage agreement was to be broken off according to some writers, but Saunaka 1204 mercifully states a more sensible and reasonable rule viz. if the father or mother or paternal grand-father or paternal grand-mother or paternal uncle, brother or unmarried sister of the intended bride or bridegroom dies, or the bridegroom's first wife or his son from another wife dies, then only it is pratikūla and the marriage should not be performed, but the death of any one else presents no obstacle.

If before the rites of marriage begin (i. e. before the performance of nāndīśrāddha), the mother of the bride or of the bride-groom has her monthly illness then the marriage has to be postponed till she becomes pure (till the fifth day after the illness).

Forms of marriage: From the times of the grhya sūtras, dharmasūtras and smrtis the forms of marriage are said to be eight, viz. Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārsa, Daiva, Gāndharva, Āsura, Rāksasa and Paiśāca (vide Āśv. gr. I. 6, Gaut. IV. 6-13, Baud. Dh. S. I. 11, Manu III. $21 = \overline{A}$ di-parva 73, 8-9), Visnu Dh. S. 24, 18-19, Yāj. I. 58, Nārada (strīpumsa, verses 38-39), Kautilya III. 1, 59th prakarana, Adi-parva 102. 12-15 (they are described but not named); some of these arrange the first four differently, e. g. Aśv. gr. arranges them as Brāhma, Daiva, Prājāpatya and Ārsa, while Visnu arranges them as Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsa and Prājāpatya; Āśv. gr. I. 6 places Paiśāca before Rāksasa. The Mānava gr. speaks of only two Brāhma and Saulka (i. e. Āsura). probably because these two were the forms most current. Dh. S. (II. 5. 11. 17-20-II. 5. 12. 1-2) speaks of only six. omitting Prājāpatya and Paišācs; while Vas. Dh. S. I. 28-29 expressly says that there are only six forms of marriage viz. Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Gāndharva, Ksātra and Mānusa (the last two being the same as Rāksasa and Āsura). It is impossible for want of space to set out the various definitions of the several forms given by the several authors. There is general agreement on the special characteristics of each and it is sufficient to point out these as given in Manu III. 27-34.

^{1204.} शौनकः । पिता पितामहश्चैव माता चैव पितःमही । पितृव्यः श्ची सुतो आता भगिनी चाविवाहिता । एभिरत्र विपन्नैश्च प्रतिकृतं बुधैः स्मृतम् । अन्यैरपि विपन्नैस्तु केचिन्नुचुर्न तद्भवेत् । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 311.

The gift of a daughter, after decking her (with valuable garments) and honouring her (with jewels &c.), to a man learned in the Vedas and of good conduct, whom the father of the girl himself invites, is called Brahma. When the father gives away his daughter after decking her (with ornaments &c.) to a priest, who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance, it is the Daiva form. 1205 When there is a gift of one's daughter, after taking one pair of cattle (a cow and a bull) or two pairs only as a matter of fulfilling the law (and not as a sale of the girl), that is named the arsa form. The gift of a daughter, after the father has addressed (the couple with the words 'may both of you perform your religious duties together') and after he has honoured the bride-groom (with Madhuparka &c.), is declared to constitute the Prajapatva form. Yāj, I. 60 calls this 'kāya', because in the Brāhmana works 'ka' means 'Prajāpati'. When the girl is given away at the father's will after the bride-groom gives as much wealth as he can afford to pay to the relatives of the girl and to the girl herself, that is called the Asura form. The union of a girl and the bride-groom by their mutual consent is known as Gandharva. which springs from the passion of love and has intercourse as its purpose. The forcible abduction of a maiden from her house, while she weeps and cries aloud, after her kinsmen have been slain (or beaten), wounded and (their houses or fortresses) are broken open, is called the Raksasa form. When a man has intercourse with a girl stealthily while she is asleep or intoxicated or disordered in mind (or unconscious), that is the Paisaca form, which is the basest and the most sinful of all forms.

In the first four forms there is the gift of the girl (kanyādāna) by the father or other guardian to the bride-groom. The word 'dāna' here is used in a secondary sense (as stated above on p. 504) viz. in the sense of transfer of the father's right of guardianship and control of the maiden to the husband. All gifts are to be made with water in the case of brāhmaṇas as stated by Manu

1205. Baud. Dh. I. 11. 5 दक्षिणासु नीयमानास्वक्योंदि ऋत्विजे स देव: 1 According to him the girl becomes part of the dakṣiṇā (fee) for officiating. But in the Vedas and Srauta sūtras a bride is nowhere spoken of as dakṣiṇā. Medhātithi on Manu III. 28 is against the idea of the bride being part of the sacrificial fee. Viśvarūpa also says so; but Aparārka p. 89 holds that the girl is given as fee.

(III. 35) and Gaut. V. 16-17. 1206 Similarly in all the four forms where there is kanyādāna the girl is to be well dressed and decked with ornaments. The essence of the brahma form is that the girl is given without receiving anything from the bride-groom, who is invited and honoured by the girl's father. It is called brahma either because brahma means the holy Veda and this mode being sanctioned by the most ancient texts it is the holiest and best form, or brahma means dharma and being the best of all forms it is called brāhma (vide Smrtimuktaphala part I. p. 140). In the arsa form a pair of cattle is received from the bride-groom and it is somewhat inferior to the brāhma form. But the pair is given not as a price (i. e. there is no purchase), but because that is one way of effecting a marriage laid down by the sastras (vide the passage quoted above at p. 504 'therefore one should give a hundred cows &c' and Ap. Dh. S. II, 6, 13, 11, which is opposed to Vas. Dh. S. I. 36) and the gift is made to show one's regard for the girl (vide Manu III. 53-54). The daiva form is only appropriate to brahmanas as only 1207 a brāhmana could officiate at a sacrifice. It is so called because the bridegroom is engaged at the time in rites for the gods and it is inferior to the brahma inasmuch as in it there is some trace of benefit to the father (that the priest may do his best in the rite for the gods). Govindasvāmin on Baud. Dh. S. says 'the bride is in this form part of the sacrificial fee'. In all forms of marriage the husband and wife have to perform all religious acts together, as forcibly put by Ap. Dh. S. 1208 (there is no separation between husband and wife, since from the time of taking the hand of the wife there is joint performance of all religious actions). But in the Prajapatya the words used indicate according to the commentators (vide Sam.

^{1206.} स्वस्तिवाच्य भिक्षादानमध्यूर्वम् । द्दातिषु चैवं धम्येषु । गौतम V. 16-17. Strabo (XV. 1. 54) refers to purchase of a wife in exchange for two oxen.

^{1207.} देवा ऋत्विजस्ते एनमईन्तीति देवः।..... दक्षिणातिरिक्तं चैतद् दानं फल-श्रवणात्।.... मन्त्रद्रष्टारो ब्राह्मणा ऋषयः। ते एनमईन्तीत्यार्षः। प्रजोत्पाद्नेच्छासामा-न्यात्प्रजापतिः स्नातकः स एनमईतीति प्राजापत्यः। विश्वस्त् on या I. 59-60.

^{1208.} जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते। पाणिग्रहणाद्धि सहत्वं कर्मसु। तथा पुण्यकलेषु द्रग्यपिग्रहेषु च। आप. ध. II. 6. 13. 16-18. About प्राजापत्य the सं. की. (p. 732) quotes the पारिजात "अत्र विशेषं पारिजाते भगवान् ॥ अन्येष्वपि विवाहेषु धर्मस्याचरणं सह। यद्यट्युक्तं तथाप्यत्र विशेषोक्तिर्गृहाश्रमात्। आश्रमान्तरसंप्राप्तेनिषेधार्थोति गम्यते। न चात्र तस्यां जीवन्त्यां विवाहस्य परिग्रहः। आश्रमान्तरयोगो वा मृतायां भवतस्तु तौ ॥ इति। अन्ये तु पूर्वादावनश्रिसाध्येषु साहित्यनियमार्था सेति ।, the सं. प्र. p. 852 quotes the first two views as those of देवस्वामिन.

Pr. p. 852 and Haradatta on Gaut. IV. 5) one or more of several things, viz. that the husband will remain a house-holder all his life and will not become a recluse while the wife is living or that he will not marry another wife i. e. it will be a strictly monogamous marriage which is defined in Hyde v. Hyde (1866), P. and M. p. 130 as 'the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others' (p. 133), or that he will associate the wife with himself not only in sacrifices but also in works of charity (like building tanks, wells &c.). This form is inferior to brāhma in that the father, as it were, makes a special stipulation with the bride-groom, while in the brāhma there is no such special stipulation, but the bride-groom promises that he will not break faith with his wife in the matter of the three puruṣārthas, dharma, artha, kāma. 1209

In the asura form there is practically a sale of the girl for money or money's worth and so it is not approved. The arsa is distinguished from asura in this that in the latter there is no limit to what is taken from the bride-groom, while in the former a pair of cattle is offered as a matter of form. In the gandharva there is no gift by the father; on the contrary the father's authority is set at naught by the girl for the time being. Marriage was a sacrament according to ancient sages, and its principal purposes as stated above (pp. 428-29) were the acquisition of merit by the performance of religious duty and of progeny. gandharva form the principal object was gratification of carnal desires and so it is held inferior to the first four forms and is disapproved. This kind of marriage is so called because it is prompted by mutual love and the Gandharvas were known to be libidinous, as the Tai. S. VI. 1. 6. 5 (strikāmā vai Gandharvāh) and Ait. Br. V. 1 state. In this form at least the girl's feelings are consulted. In the raksasa and the paisaca, there is no gift by the father and both are or may be against the wish of the girl. The forcible carrying of the girl is the essence of the raksasa (even if there is no fight because the girl's father takes no retaliatory steps in fear of the abductor's strength). called rāksasa because rāksasas (demons) are known from legends to have been addicted to cruel and forceful methods. The paisaca is so called because in it there is action like that of $pi\dot{s}\bar{a}cas$ (gobling) that are supposed to act stealthily by night.

1209. 'एवं हि स्मरन्ति। धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितन्येति। श्रायर on जैमिनि VI. 1. 17. The सं. प्र. (pp. 848 and 852) says that these words occur in the काठकगृह्यपरिशिष्ट on बाह्यविधि

It is not to be supposed that when ancient sages held that rākṣasa and paiśāca were forms of marriage, they legalized marriage by capture or stealth. What they meant was that these were the means of securing 1210 wives and that there are not really eight kinds of virāhas, but rather there are eight ways in which wives may be secured. It is for this reason that Vatsa says that if a fine girl cannot be secured by any means she may be approached even in private by stealth and The sages condemned in no measured terms the paisaca. From the fact that Apastamba and Vasistha both ignore the Paisaca and Prajapatya it may be inferred that these two had ceased to be recognised by their time and that the other sages enumerated them only because they appeared in ancient works and for the sake of completeness of treatment. Vasistha (17.73) expressly repudiates the idea that legal wifehood can arise by forcible seizure of a girl 'if a damsel 1211 has been abducted by force and not wedded with sacred texts she may lawfully be given to another man (in marriage); she is just as good as a maiden'. The smrtis out of regard for the future welfare of the girl preferred to blink at the wrong done, but insisted upon the abductor or stealthy seducer performing the rites of homa and saptapadi in order to confer on the girl wronged the status of a legally married wife. But if the wrong-doer was unwilling to do this they recommended that the girl may be given to another in marriage and pronounced very heavy punishments for the abductor or seducer of a girl (vide Manu VIII. 366 and Yāj. II. 287-288). Sir Banerjee 1212 rightly expresses surprise at Macnaughten's saying that fraud was legalised by the Hindu Law in the case of the paisāca form. Manu VIII. 366 says that if a man has intercourse with a girl of his own caste with her consent, he will have to give a fee to the father if the latter so desires and

^{1210.} न चेच्छासंयोगमात्रं विवाहः स्वीकरणोपायभेदादष्टी विवाहा न पुनर्विवाह-भेदात्। मेधा॰ on मनु VIII. 366; सर्वोपायैरसाध्या स्यात्सुकन्या पुरुषस्य वा। चौर्यणापि विवाहेन सा विवाह्या रहः स्थिता॥ वत्स quoted in स्मृतिमु॰ (वर्णा॰) p. 142; सं. प्र. p. 861; सं. कौ. p. 735; माधव allows the गान्धर्व only to kşatriyas and others (not to ब्राह्मणड).

^{1211.} बलाचेत्प्रहृता कन्या मन्त्रैर्यदि न संस्कृता। अन्यस्मै विधिवद्देया यथा कन्या तथैव सा॥ बसिष्ठ 17. 73. This is also बी. ध. IV. 1. 17 and it is quoted and explained by विश्वरूप on या. I. 69.

^{1212.} Vide 'Marriage and strīdhana' (5th ed. of 1923 p. 94). Macnaughten in his 'Principles and Precedents of Hindu Law' p. 60 said so in a note.

Medhātithi ¹²¹⁸ adds that if the father does not desire money the lover will have to pay a fine to the king, that the girl may be given to him or if she has lost her love for him, she may be given to another and if the lover himself wants to discard her he should be forced to accept her (as a wife). Nārada (strīpumsa, verse 72) similarly says that if a man has sexual intercourse with a maiden who is a consenting party, then there is no offence, but he must marry her after decking her (with ornaments) and treating her with honour.

The Sm. C. and other digests state that in the gāndharva, āsura, rākṣasa and paiśāca homa and saptapadī are necessary and they quote Devala and the Grhyapariśiṣṭa in support. The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 195. 7)¹²¹⁴ expressly says that even after svayamvara religious rites had to be performed. Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa VII describes how after the svayamvara of Indumati the principal religious rites of madhuparka, homa, going round the fire, pāṇigrahaṇa took place. Since Āśvalāyana first speaks of eight forms and then prescribes the performance of homa and saptapadī, he implies that these are necessary in all forms.

The smrtis contain several views about the suitability of these eight to various varnas. All are agreed that the first four, brāhma, daiva, ārsa and prājāpatya, are the approved forms (prasasta or dharmya). Vide Gaut. IV. 12, Ap. Dh. S II. 5. 12. 3, Manu III. 24, Nārada (strīpumsa, verse 44) &c. Most say that each preceding one out of the first four is superior to each succeeding one and that thus brahma is the best (vide Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 4, Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 11). Almost all are agreed that paisaca is the worst. Manu III. 23-26 refers to several views. One view is that the first four (brahma &c.) are the proper forms for brāhmanas (Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 10, Manu III. 24). Another view was that the first six (out of the eight i. e. all except rāksasa and paišāca) are allowed to brāhmanas and the last four to kṣatriyas, and the gandharva, asura and paisāca to vaisvas and sūdras (Manu III. 23). A third view was that prājāpatya, gāndharva and āsura may be resorted to

^{1213.} अथवा ऋतुद्र्शनकालोत्तरं गान्धर्वः । प्राग्नतोः श्रुल्को दण्हो वा । अथ कन्यायाः का प्रतिपत्तिः । तस्मा एव देया । निवृत्ताभिलाषा चेत्काममन्यत्र प्रतिपाद्या । ...वरश्चे- किवृत्ताभिलाषो हठाद्र प्राहिपतन्यः । मेधा on मनु VIII. 367; सकामायां तु कन्यायां संगमे नास्त्यतिक्रमः । कित्वलंकृत्य सत्कृत्य स एवनां ससद्वहेत् ॥ नारद् (स्त्रीपुंसः verso 72).

^{1214.} ध्रवं विवाहकरणमास्थास्यामि विधानतः । आदिपर्व 195. 7.

by all varnas and paisaca and asura should not be resorted to by any one of any varna (Manu III. 25 = Anuśasana 44.9-10). but in another verse (III. 24) Manu allows āsura to vaisyas and sūdras 1214a. Manu mentions the view that the gandharva and rāksasa are proper (dharmya) for a ksatriya or a mixture of these two viz. where the girl loves the bride-groom, but her parents or guardians disapprove or cause obstacles and the lover takes away the girl after a fight with her relations (Manu III. 26 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 13). Baud. Dh.S. 1215 (I. 11. 14-16) recommends asura and paisaca to vaisyas and sudras and assigns the interesting reason 'for the vaisyas and sūdras do not keep their wives under restraints, they having to do the work of ploughing and waiting upon (the other varnas)'. Nārada (strīpumsa, verse 40) says that gāndharva is common to The Kāmasūtra (III. 5. 28) first speaks of the brāhma as the best (following the view of the dharmaśāstra writers) and then, true to its own particular subject, gives its own opinion that gandharva is the best (Kamasutra III. 5. 29-30).

The gāndharva form was very much in vogue among royal families. In the Śākuntala, ¹²¹⁶ Kālidāsa gives expression to this practice. In the Mahābhārata ¹²¹⁷ Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna who was in love with Subhadrā that carrying away by force one's lady-love is commended in the case of valiant kṣatriyas. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa (dated śake 793) it is stated that Indrarāja married the daughter of the Cālukya king at Kaira by the rākṣasa form of marriage (E. I. vol. 18, p. 235 at p. 243). Another and a very famous historic example of the rākṣasa form is the forcible abduction after a most dashing and valiant fight by Pṛthvīrāja Cohan of the daughter of

¹²¹⁴ a. न चासुरादिविवाहेषु सप्तपदादिकमणाद्यभावेन पतित्वभार्यात्वयारद्यप्पत्तिरिति शङ्कनीयम् । तत्रापि स्वीकारानन्तरमेव संस्कारिविधानात् । तथा च देवलः । गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु पुनर्वेवाहिको विधिः । कर्तव्यश्च त्रिभिर्वर्णेः समयेनाग्निसाक्षिकः ॥ गृह्यपरितिष्टेपि गान्धर्वासुरपेशाचिववाहा राक्षसश्च यः । पूर्व परिणयस्तेषां पश्चाद्धोमो विधीयते । परिणयः स्वीकारः । स्मृतिच् । I. p. 87; the same words occur in स्मृतिमुक्ताफल p. 145; vido उद्वाहतस्व p. 129 also.

^{1215.} पञ्चमाष्टमी वैश्यशूदाणाम् । अयन्त्रितकलत्रा हि वैश्यशूदा भवन्ति । वःर्षण-शुश्रुणाधिकृतत्वात् । बौ. गृ. I. 11. 14-16.

^{1216.} गान्धवेण विवाहेन बह्वचो राजर्षिकन्यकाः । श्रूयन्ते परिणीतास्ताः पितृभिश्वाभि-नन्दिताः ॥ शाकुन्तल III.

^{1217.} प्रसह्य हरणं चापि क्षत्रियाणां प्रशस्यते। विवाहहेतुः श्रूराणामिति धर्मविदो बिदुः ॥ आदिपर्व 219. 22.

Jayacandra, the king of Kanoj. 1218 It is said that the daughter of Jayacandra was a consenting party; in that case this would be a mixture of the two forms of gandharva and raksasa (compare Manu III. 26).

The svayaiwara very often spoken of in the dharmasastras was practically the gandharva as stated by the commentary Viramitrodaya. 1219 It had several varieties. The simplest form of svayamvara occurs when, as described by Vas. Dh. S. 17. 67-68, Manu IX. 90, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 13, a girl, who attains puberty and whose father does not find a proper husband for three years, herself seeks her husband (or after three months from puberty according to Gaut. 18. 20, Visnu Dh. S. 25. 40-41). Yāj. I. 64 also recommends svayamvara to every girl when there is no parent or other guardian who can find out a worthy husband for her. When a girl chose her own husband as above she had to return all ornaments given to her by her parents or brother and the husband who married her had to pay no sulka (dowry) to the father as the latter lost his power over her by not giving her away in time (vide Gaut. 18, 20 and Manu IX. 92). This simple svayamvara was applicable to girls of all castes. Savitri indulged in this kind of svayamvara, when she went about in a chariot to find out a suitable husband for herself. But the syavamyaras described in the two great epics are often most elaborate and spectacular affairs and were confined to royal families. The Adiparva says that ksatrivas commend svayamvara and resort to it. but they prefer a girl who is carried off after subduing her relatives. Bhisma carried off the three daughters of the king of Kāśi and got two of them (Ambikā and Ambālikā) married to his ward Vicitravirya. 1220 The svayamvara of Sītā or Draupadi did not depend upon the will of the bride, but the bride was to be given in marriage to whomsoever showed a certain skill as a In the case of Damavanti it was a real choice of her husband by her (Vanaparva 54 ff.) though she chose Nala in a vast and splendid assembly of royal suitors. Kālidāsa also

^{1218.} Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. II. pp. 314-315 (in 1908); Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. II. p. 834.

^{1219.} स्वं मे पतिस्त्वं मे भार्येत्येवं कन्यावरयोः परस्परं नियमवन्धात् पित्राद्दिकर्तृक-दाननिरपेक्षाच्यो विवाहः स गाम्धर्व इत्यर्थः । ...एवं च स्वयंवरोपि गान्धर्वविवाह एष । वीरमित्रोदय on या. I. 61.

^{1220.} स्वयंवरं तु राजन्याः प्रशंसन्त्युपयान्ति च । प्रमध्य तु हृतामाहुज्यायसीं धर्म-वादिनः ॥ आदिपर्व 102. 16.

gives us a fine description of the svayamvara of Indumati in the Raghuvamśa. Bilhana in his Vikramānka-devacarita (canto IX) gives a description of the historic svayamvara of Candralekhā (or Candaladevī) daughter of the Śilāhāra prince of Karahāṭa (modern Karad), when she chose Āhavamalla or Vikramānka, the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa (latter half of 11th century). Such a svayamvara, it appears, was thought to be unsuitable to brāhmaṇas according to the Ādiparva. ¹²²¹ In the Kādambarī (Pūrvabhāga, penultimate para) Pattralekhā says that svayamvara is ordained in the Dharmaśāstras. ¹²²²

The Ap. Dh. S. II. 5, 12, 4 makes a general statement that the progeny of a couple partakes of the character of the form in which they were married 1223 (i. e. if the marriage is in the best or in an approved form the son is good; if the marriage is in a condemned form, the son bears a low character). Manu (III. 39-42) expands the same idea by stating that sons born of marriages in the brahma and other three forms are full of spiritual eminence and are endowed with beauty, virtues, wealth, fame and very long life, while sons of marriages of the other four forms are cruel, are liars, haters of the Veda and of Some sutras and smrtis state how many generations are rendered holy by a son born in one of the first four forms. For example, Asv. gr. (I. 6) says that a son born of parents married in the brāhma, daiva, prājāpatya or ārṣa forms respectively brings purification to twelve descendants and twelve ancestors on both sides (i. e. his father's and mother's), to ten descendants and ten ancestors on both sides, to eight descendants and ascendants on both sides and to seven descendants and ascendants. Manu (III. 37-38) and Yaj. (I. 58-60) put the matter somewhat differently. According to them the son of a brāhma marriage brings purification to ten paternal ancestors. to ten male descendants and to himself (in all 21), of the daiva marriage to seven paternal ancestors and seven male descendants, of the prajapatya marriage to six male ancestors, to six male descendants and to himself (in all 13), of the arsa marriage to three male ancestors and three male descendants. Gant.

^{1221.} न च विप्रेष्वधीकारो विद्यते वरणं पति। स्वयंवरः क्षत्रियाण।मितीयं प्रधिता श्रुतिः। आदिपर्व 189. 7.

^{1222.} किमिव कथयामि ते याः स्वयं वृतवत्यः पतीन् । यदि चैवमनर्थक एव तर्हि धर्मज्ञास्त्रोपदिष्टः स्वयंवरिविधः । कादम्बरी, पूर्वभाग, para 225 (of my edition).

^{1223.} यथायुक्तो विवाहस्तथायुक्ता मजा भवति । आए. ध. सु. II. 5, 12. 4.

(IV. 24-27) has similar provisions. Commentators like Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi explain that these verses are not to be taken literally. They merely praise the extreme desirability of the brāhma form. Viśvarūpa, however, alternatively proposes that one may accept the texts of the holy sages as literally true, following the dictum of Śabara that there is nothing too heavy (or impossible) for a holy text. 1224 One may laugh at these texts about the virtues of the several forms of marriage, but they are really intended to emphasize the high importance to the future of the race and to society of noble ideals of marriage, of morals and of a decent and peaceful mode of life.

The forms of marriage have their roots deep down in the Vedic Literature. Rg. X. 85 gives expression to a marriage in the brāhma form (there is kanyādāna and so forth). The āsura form (by payment of money) is referred to in Rg. I. 109. 2 and Nirukta VI.9 (quoted above in note 1175). The gāndharva form or svayamvara is indicated by Rg. X. 27. 12 (quoted above p.439) and Rg. I. 119.5. The story of Śyāvāśva narrated in the Bṛhaddevatā (V. 50) in connection with Rg. V. 61 makes an approach to the daiva form. It is related in the Bṛhad-devatā that Ātreya Arcanānas who officiated as a priest at a sacrifice for king Rathavīti asked for his son Śyāvāśva the hand of the king's daughter.

In modern times two forms are in vogue, the brāhma and āsura. In the brāhma form it is a gift of the girl pure and simple; in the āsura form it is like the sale of the bride for pecuniary consideration paid to the father or other guardian for his benefit. If this element of pecuniary consideration paid to the guardian exists, its effects cannot be undone by the form of a gift being gone through. 1225 The gāndharva form is said to be obsolete now, yet in some cases before the courts it has been held that it is still in vogue. 1226 There can be no gāndharva if the girl is a minor. Further if a widow remarries, that marriage

^{1224.} स्तुतिमाञ्चमेतत्। भूतानां भाविनां पावनात्तुपपत्तेः। उपपत्तौ वा कृतनाञ्चाकृता-गमप्रसङ्गात्। यद्वास्तु फलविधिः। विवाद्विशेषस्य फलविशेषपिक्षत्वात्। न चागमानुसारिण्य-र्थेऽन्तुपपत्तिरिति शक्यं वक्तम्। तथा च नेयायिकाः। न हि वन्वनस्यातिभारोस्तित्याहुः। विश्वस्य on या. I. 58. The words नहि...भारोस्ति are from शबर's भाष्य on जै. III. 2. 3.

^{1225.} Vide Chunilal v. Surajram 33 Bom. 433 at p. 438; Hira v. Hansji Pema 37 Bom. 295 at p. 299; Kailasanatha v. Parasakthi 58 Mad. 488, 491.

^{1226.} Vide 12 Mad. 72; 17 Patna 134, 141; but in A.I. R. 1930 Oudh p. 426 it is held that the gandharva form is obsolete.

will be ordinarily regarded as gandharva, because there will be no gift of a $kany\bar{a}$ (as she is a widow) and because she herself will generally arrange such a marriage.

Before proceeding to set out in detail the ceremonies of marriage, it would be best to analyse the contents of Rgveda X. 85, which is a marriage hymn redolent of the highest ideal of marriage and conjugal felicity and several verses of which are recited even now in the marriage rites. The hymn refers to a mythical marriage of Sürvä, daughter of Savitr, with Soma and the important features of the marriage, though not arranged in a regular sequence in the hymn, are: the two Asvins went to ask for Sūryā as a bride for Soma 1227 (verses 8-9); Savitr agreed to give her (v. 9), the bride-groom was treated with honour, presents were made to him and cows were killed for (or presented to) him; Soma took hold of her hand with the verse (36) 'I 1228 take thy hand for prosperity (or love) so that you may grow to old age with me thy husband; the gods, Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitr, the wise Püşan have given thee to me for performing the duties of a house-holder'; the bride is a gift by her father in the presence of gods and the fire (v. 40-41); the girl passes from the dominion and control of her father and becomes united with her husband (v. 24); the bride is blest as follows: 'may you stay here together, may you not be separated, may you compass all life (long life), happy in your own house and playing with your sons and grandsons: O Indra! make her endowed with worthy sons and prosperity; bestow on her ten sons and make her husband the eleventh (male); may you be queen over your father-in-law, mother-in-law, over the husband's brother and sister (vv. 42, 45-46)'. 1229 Among subordinate items it is noteworthy that Raibhyā was sent along with Sūryā as her friend (anudeui) to make her time not hang heavy on her hands

^{1227.} सोमो षधूयुरभवद्भिनास्तासुभा वरा। सूर्यो यत्यत्ये शंसन्तीं मनसा सविता-द्दात्॥ अ. X. 85. 9. The word वर here and in some of the grhyasutras also (e. g. Ap. gr. II. 16) means those who ask for the girl on behalf of the bride-groom.

^{1228.} गृभ्णामि ते सौभगत्वाय इस्तं मया पत्या जरदृष्टिर्यथासः। भगो अर्थमा सविता पुरन्धिर्मह्मं त्वादुर्गाहपत्याय देवाः ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 36. In the आए. म. पाठ. I. 3. 3 the reading is सुपजास्त्वाय (for worthy progeny) instead of सौभगत्वाय.

^{1229.} इहैव स्तं मा वि योष्टं विश्वमायुर्व्यश्वतम्। क्रीळन्तौ पुत्रैर्नप्तृभिर्मोद्गानौ स्वे गृष्ठे ॥ इमो स्वीमन्द्र मीद्धः सुपुत्रां सुभगां कृष्णु। दशास्यां पुत्रानाधिष्ठि पतिमेकादशं कृषि ॥ सम्राज्ञी श्वश्चरे भव सम्राज्ञी श्वश्चरो भव। ननान्द्रि संग्राज्ञी भव सम्राज्ञी अपि देवृषु ॥ ऋः X. 85. 42, 45-46.

(v. 6) when she first went to her husband's family (just as in modern times in Western India some woman accompanies the bride for a few days as $p\bar{a}thar\bar{a}khin$ 'one who guards'), that even a female servant accompanied $S\bar{u}ry\bar{a}$.

In connection with the rites of marriage it is necessary to observe that the greatest divergence prevailed from very ancient times. Asv. gr. (I. 7. 1-2) says 'various indeed are the observances of (different) countries and villages; one should follow those in marriages; what, however, is common (to all or most) that we shall declare'. Similarly Ap. gr. (2, 15) declares' people should understand from women (and others) what procedure is (to be observed according to custom)' and the commentator Sudarśanācārya notes that certain rites like the worship of planets, ankurāropana and the tying of pratisara (the marriage string or ribbon round the wrist) are usual and are performed with Vedic mantras, while others like Nagabali. Yaksabali and the worship of Indrani are performed without Vedic mantras. The Kathakagrhya 25.7 allows usages of countries and families to be observed in marriage and the commentators mention several such usages. As the grhya-sūtra of Āśvalāyana contains perhaps the shortest account of marriage rites and as that sūtra is probably the most ancient among the grhya sūtras I shall set out below the entire ceremony of marriage from that Then a few important details from other grhya sūtras will be added and it will be pointed out how in modern times a marriage is celebrated, particularly among higher classes. must be remembered that there is not only great divergence as to the number of separate ceremonies that constitute the samskāra of marriage, but the sequence of even the most important ceremonies is different in the several sutras and the mantras also are different (though some like Rg. X. 185. 36 are common to all). It is remarkable that out of the 47 verses of Rg. X, 85, the Ap. Mantrapatha employs as many as 29 (most of which are quoted in connection with marriage). The main outlines of the marriage samskāra show a remarkable continuity for several thousand years from the times of the Raveda down to modern times.

The Asv. gr. (I. 7.3-I.8.) deals with all the marriage rites as follows †: Having placed to the west of the fire (that is

^{1230.} रैभ्यासीद् बुदेयी नाराशंसा न्योचनी। ऋ. X. 185. 6. अबुदेयी means वयस्या and न्योचनी means दासी.

[†] Vide Appendix for text under note 1230.

kindled on the altar as described already) a mill-stone and to the north-east (of the fire) a water jar, he should offer sacrifice (with the sruva), while the bride takes hold of him (touches his right hand). Standing with his face turned to the west, while the bride is sitting and has her face turned to the east, he should seize only her thumb with the mantra 'I take hold of thy hand for happiness' (Rg. X. 85. 36 quoted in note 1228), if he desires that only male children be born to him; he may seize her other fingers if he is desirous of female children; he may seize her hand on the hair side together with the thumb if he be desirous of both (male and female children). Leading her thrice round the fire and the water jar so that their right sides are turned towards (the fire &c.) he murmurs 1231 'I am ama (this), thou art $s\bar{a}$ (she), thou art $s\overline{a}$, I am ama; I am heaven, thou art the earth; I am the $s\bar{a}man$, thou art the rk. Let us both marry here. Let us beget offspring. Dear to each other, bright, having well disposed minds, may we live for a hundred years!' Each time he leads her round (the fire) he makes her tread on the stone with (the words) 'tread on this stone; be firm like a stone; overcome the enemies; trample down the foes'.1232 Having first poured clarified butter over her joined hands, the bride's brother or some one who is in the place of brother pours fried grain twice over the bride's joined hands, three times in the case of those whose gotra is Jamadagni (i. e. if the bridegroom is of that gotra). Then he pours clarified butter over what has been left of the havis (sacrificial material or offering) and over what has been cut off (separated from the aggregate). This is the rule about the portions to be cut off (in every case where there is avadāna).1233 With the following verses (recited by the bride-groom)

^{1231.} Vide the same passage with slight differences quoted on p. 202 in the Garbhadhana ceremony from the Br. Up. VI. 4. 20; the Tai. Br. III. 7.1 has the words 'अमूहमस्मि सा त्वम्। द्योरहं पृथिवी त्वम्। सामाहमूक्त्वम्। ताविहि संभवाव। सह रेतो दथावहे पुंसे पुत्राय वेत्तवं। रायस्पोवाय सुप्रजास्त्वाय सुवीयायिति।

^{1232.} In the आप. म. पाठ I. 5. 1. this mantra is आतिष्ठेममञ्मानमञ्जेषभव। अभितिष्ठ पृतन्यतः सहस्व पृतनायतः ॥ १.

^{1233.} The two portions of lāja (fried grain) poured into the bride's hands together with the first pouring of बांप्रत (called उपस्तरण) and the subsequent pouring of बांप्रत (called प्रत्यभिषारण) constitute the four avatias or portions cut off from the material for havis. The descendants of Jamadagni are पश्चावित्ताः (vide above p. 490); therefore three portions of lāja are to be poured out (in order to make with उपस्तरण and प्रत्यभिषारण, five avatias). For these terms (चतुरवत्त and पश्चावत्त) vide इत्तरण 1.7.2.7-8.

viz, 'to god Aryaman the girls offered sacrifice; may he the god Aryaman loosen her from this (i. e. her father's) and not from that place (the bride-groom's), $sv\bar{a}h\bar{a}$! to god Varuna the girls have offered sacrifice; may he, god Varuna &c. To god Pūsan the girls have offered sacrifice, to Agni; may he, god Pūsan &c.; with these (the bride) should sacrifice (the fried grain) without opening her joined hands, as if they were the spoon called sruc. Without going round the fire the bride sacrifices fried grain a fourth time silently with the neb of the śūrpa (winnowing basket) towards herself. Some 1234 lead the bride round each time after fried grain has been poured out, so that the two last oblations do not follow immediately after each other. Then he loosens her two locks of hair if they are made up (that is if her hair has been bound round on two sides with two tufts of wool), (the right one) with the mantra 'I release thee from the fetter of Varuna' (Rg. X. 85, 24) and the left one with the following mantra (Rg. X. 85, 25). Then he causes her to step forward in a north-eastern direction seven steps with the words 'may you take one step for sap, second step for juice (or vigour), third step for the thriving of wealth, fourth step for comfort, fifth step for offspring, sixth step for seasons, may you be my friend with your seventh step! May you be devoted to me; let us have many sons, may they reach old age . 1235 Bringing the heads of the two (bride and bride-groom) together, he (the ācārya) sprinkles

^{1234.} The first view requires that leading the bride round the fire, making her tread on the stone and the offering of fried grain are each repeated thrice; so that when the offering prescribed here for the 4th time is made, it follows immediately on the third offering of $l\bar{\nu}_j$ as. Other teachers made the bride first offer $l\bar{\nu}_j$ as, then she was led round the fire. When this was done the 4th oblation of $l\bar{\nu}_j$ as would not come immediately after the third oblation of $l\bar{\nu}_j$ as, but after she went round the fire the third time. The Gobhila gr. II. 1. 14 prescribes that the fried grain to be offered into fire is mixed with tendrils of the sami plant and Kālidāsa (in Raghuvamśa VII. 25-26) refers to samī and $l\bar{\nu}_j$ as.

^{1235.} This (the सम्रादी-taking seven steps together) is the most important rite in the marriage satiskara. We have to understand 'भव' after each sentence' इब एकपदी भव ऊर्जे द्विपदी भव.' These words occur in all grhyasūtras, e. g. vide Ap. M. P. I. 3. 7-14 and Ap. gr. 4. 15-16, Sān. gr. I. 14. 6, Pār. gr. I. 8, Gobhila gr. II. 2. 11, Hir. gr. I. 21. 1 &c. But there are slight variations as well. For example, पारस्कर, भरद्वाज, हिरण्यकार्य आक्षरायन substitute पद्भाग्य: for प्रजास्थ:, while the first three of these and मानव and बोधायनगृद्ध add विष्णुस्त्वा नयतु (or विष्णुस्त्वान्वेतु in भरद्वाज) after each of the seven clauses. पारस्कर reads सखे सतपदा for सखा समपदी.

their heads with water from the water jar. And the bride should dwell that night in the house of an old brahmana woman whose husband and children are alive. 1236 When she (the bride) has seen the Pole star, the star Arundhati and the seven sages (the constellation of Ursa Major), let her break her silence and say 'may my husband live and may I secure offspring '.1237 If (the newly married couple) have to make a journey (to their home in another village), let him cause the bride to mount a chariot with the verse 'may Pūsan lead thee from here holding thy hand' (Rg. X. 85. 26); he should make her ascend into a boat with the hemistitch 'carrying stones (or the river called Asmanvati) flows; get ready' (Rg. X, 53. 8) and let him make her descend from the boat with the following hemistitch: if she weeps let him pronounce the verse 'they weep for the living '(Rg. X. 40. 10). They constantly carry the nuptial fire in front. At pleasing places, trees and cross roads, let him mutter 'may no way-layers meet us' (Rg. X. 85. 32). At every dwelling place (on the way) let him look at the onlookers with the mantra 'this newly married bride brings good luck '(Rg. X. 85. 33). He should make her enter his house with the verse 'here may happiness increase unto you through offspring '(Rg. X. 85. 27). Having kindled with fuel sticks the nuptial fire and having spread to the west of it a bull's hide with the neck turned towards the east and the hair outside he makes oblations, while she (the bride) is sitting (on that hide) and takes hold of him, with the four verses (one oblation with each verse) 'may Prajapati create offspring to us' (Rg. X. 85, 43-46); and then he partakes of curds with the verse 'may all the gods unite our hearts' (Rg. X. 85. 47) and gives (the remaining curds) to her or he besinears the heart (of both) with the rest of the $\bar{a}jya$ (with part of which he had already sacrificed). From that time they should not eat ksāra1238 and lavana, should observe celibacy, wear ornaments and sleep on the ground (not on cots) for three nights or twelve nights or for a year according to some (teachers); thus (those

^{1236.} This rule has no application if the bride and the bride-groom belong to the same village. But if they belong to different villages and the newly married couple have to stay somewhere for the night on their journey then this rule applies.

^{1237.} This indicates that after the homa is finished, the bride is to observe silence till she sees the Pole star.

^{1238.} For the meaning of ksara and lavana see note 723 above.

teachers say) a rṣi will be born as a son (to them). When he has fulfilled these observances he should give the bride's shift to a brāhmaṇa who knows the Sūryā hymn (Rg. X. 85) and food to brāhmaṇas. Then he should cause the brāhmaṇas to pronounce auspicious words.

In this description of the samskara of marriage there are three parts. There are certain rites that are preliminary, there are then a few rites that are of the essence of the samskara viz. pānigrahana, homa, going round the fire and the saptapadi, and there are certain rites like the seeing of the Pole star &c, that are subsequent to the central rites. The essential rites are mentioned by all sutrakāras, but as to the preceding and subsequent rites there is a great divergence in the details. as regards the essential rites the sequence in which they take place differs. For example, the \overline{A} sv. gr. (I. 7. 7) describes going round the fire before saptapadi, while the Ap. gr. describes saptapadi (IV. 16) before the act of going round the fire (V. 1). The Gobhila grhya (II. 2.16), the Khādira gr. (I. 3.31), and Baud. gr. (I. 4. 10) describe pānigrahana after saptapadī while many other sūtrakāras describe it before saptapadī. Then again there are many acts reference to which is altogether omitted in the Asv. gr., e. g. there is no reference to madhuparka (which is mentioned in Ap. gr. III. 8, Baud. gr. I. 2. 1, Manava gr. I. 9) nor to kanyādāna (which is referred to in Par. gr. I. 4 and described in detail in Manava gr. I. 8. 6-9). Asv. probably omitted express mention of kanyadana, because in defining the first four forms he uses the word 'dadyāt' while in the last four there is no kanyādāna and Āśv. wanted to describe ceremonies that were common to all forms.

Taking as many grhya sūtras as I could read, the following is a fairly exhaustive list of the different matters described in the samskāra of marriage. A few notes are added against those that are deemed important. 1239

 $Vadh\bar{u}vara$ -guṇaparī $k\bar{s}\bar{u}$: (examining the suitability of a girl or a bride-groom). This has been dealt with already (vide pp. 429-436 above).

Varapreṣaṇa: (sending persons to negotiate for the hand of the girl). The ancient custom seems to have been to send

^{1239.} Among the principal ceremonies in marriage described by Kalidasa in the Raghuvanisa VII are madhuparka, homa, going round the fire, panigrahana, laja-homa and ardraksata-ropana.

some person or persons (Rg. X. 85. 8-9) to the father of the girl for asking her in marriage. The same was the practice in the sūtras. Vide Śān. gr. I. 6. 1-4 (where Rg. X. 85. 23 is the mantra recited when sending them), Baud. gr. I. 1. 14-15, Āp. gr. II. 16 and IV. 1-2 and 7. Even in medieval times, particularly among kṣatriyas, the bride-groom was the first to seek for the hand of a girl. In the Harṣacarita, prince Grahavarmā of the Maukhari race sent messengers for the hand of princess Rājyaśrī, sister of Harṣa 1240. In modern times among the brāhmaṇas and many other castes, the girl's father has to seek a bride-groom, though among the śūdras and several other castes the old practice is retained.

Vāgdāna or Vān-niścaya: (settling the marriage). This is described by Śān. gr. I. 6. 5-6. Medieval works like the S. R. M. pp. 529-533 describe this ceremony at great length.

Mandapa-karana: Erecting a pandal where the ceremonies are to be performed. Pār. gr. I. 4 says that marriage, caula, upanayana, keśānta and sīmanta are to be performed outside the house in a pandal. Vide Sam. Pr. pp. 817-818.

Nāndī-śrāddha and Puṇyāhavācana: These are referred to by Baud. gr. I. 1. 24; most of the gṛḥyasūtras are silent about these. Vide for these pp. 216, 218 above.

Vadhūgṛhūgamana: (bride-groom's going to the bride's house). Vide Śāṅ. gr. I. 12. 1.

Madhuparka: (reception of the bride-groom at the bride's house). Ap. gr. III. 8, Baud. gr. I. 2. 1, Mānava gr. I. 9 and Kāṭhaka gr. 24. 1-3 prescribe this. Vide below chap. X for madhuparka. Śāń. gr. I. 12. 10 appears to refer to two madhuparkas, one before marriage and one after marriage (when the bride-groom returned to his own house). The commentator Ādityadarśana on Kāṭhaka gr. 24. 1 refers to the opinion of some that madhuparka should be offered at the close of the marriage, but states his own view that in all countries it is offered before marriage.

Snāpana, Paridhāpana and Saimahana: (making the bride bathe, put on new clothes and girding her with a string or rope of darbha.) Vide Āp. gr. IV. 8 and Kāṭhaka gr. 25. 4. Pār. gr.

^{1240.} शोभने च दिवसे ग्रहवर्मणा कन्यां प्रार्थियतुं प्रेषितस्य पूर्वागतस्यैव प्रधानदूत-पुरुषस्य करे सर्वराजकुलसमक्षं दुहितृदानजलमपातयत् । हर्षचरित 4th उच्छास.

I. 4 refers only to the putting on of two garments, Gobhila gr. (II. 1. 17-18) refers to bething and putting on a garment, Mānava gr. (I. 11. 4-6) refers to paridhāpana and samnahana. Strangely enough Gobhila gr. II. 1. 10 speaks of the sprinkling of the girl's head with the best of $sur\bar{u}$ (wine), which the commentator explains as water.

Samañjana: (anointing the bride and bride-groom). Vide Śān. gr. I. 12. 5, Gobhila gr. II. 2. 15, Pār. gr. I. 4, in all of which Rg. X. 85. 47 is cited as the mantra with which anointing or sprinkling is done.

Pratisarabandha: (tying an amulet string on the bride's hand). Vide Śān. gr. I. 12, 6-8; Kauśika sūtra 76. 8.

Vadhūvara-niṣkramaṇa: (the coming out into the pandal of the bride and bride-groom from the inner part of the house). Pār. gr. I. 4.

Parasparasamīkṣaṇa: (looking at each other). Vide Pār. gr. I. 4, Āp. gr. IV. 4, Baud. gr. I. 1. 24-25. Pār. gr. I. 4 says that the bride-groom recites Rg. X. 85. 44, 40, 41 and 37 at this time. Āp. gr. IV. 4 and Baud. gr. say he recites Rg. X. 85. 44. The Āsv. gr. parisiṣta I. 23 says that first of all a piece of cloth is held between the bride-groom and bride and that at the proper astrological moment it is removed and then the two see each other. Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti (15. 20) also says the same. This practice is observed even now. When the interposed cloth is held between the bride and bride-groom verses called mangalāṣṭakas are repeated by brāhmaṇas, the last of which verses is 'tad-eva lagnam sudinam tad-eva' &c.

Kanyādāna: (the gift of the bride). Vide Pār. gr. I. 4, Mānava gr. I. 8. 6-9, Vārāha gr. 13. The Āśv. gr. parišiṣṭa sets out the procedure about the kanyādāna which is the same even now. The Sam. K. p. 779 notes about half a dozen different methods of uttering the formula in kanyādāna. It is in this rite that the father of the girl says that the bride-groom should not prove false to the bride in dharma, artha and kāma and he responds with the words 'I shall not do so' (nāticarāmi). 1241 This is done even now.

1241. शबर on जोमिन VI. 1. 14 says ' एवं दानकाले संवादः क्रियंत-धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितक्येति : Vide also note 1209 above. लघ्याश्वः 15. 27 has ' एवा धर्मार्थकामेषु न त्याज्या स्वीकृता हातः। : According to मेधातिथि on मनु IX. 101 the words धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च गातिचरितक्या ! occur in आपस्तक्य.

Agnisthāpana and homa: (establishing the fire and offering of ājya oblations into fire). Here there is great divergence about the number of āhutis and the mantras to be recited. Vide Aśv. gr. I. 7. 3 and I. 4. 3-7, Āp. gr. V. 1 (16 āhutis with 16 mantras), Gobhila gr. II. 1. 24-26, Mānava gr. I. 8, Bhāradvāja I. 13 &c.

Pānigrahana: (Taking hold of the bride's hand).

Lājahoma: (Offering of fried grain into fire by the bride). Vide Āśv. gr. I. 7. 7-13, Pār. gr. I. 6, Āp. gr. V. 3-5, Śān. gr. I. 13. 15-17, Gobhila gr. II. 2. 5, Mānava gr. I. 11. 11, Baud. gr. I. 4. 25. &c. Āśv. gr. says that the bride makes three offerings of fried grain when mantras are repeated by the bridegroom and a fourth is made of the remaining lājas by the bride silently. Some others speak of only three offerings by the bride.

Agniparinayana: (the bride-groom going in front takes the bride round the fire and water jar). It is while doing this that he utters the words 'amohasmi' &c. (vide Sān. gr. I. 13.4, Hir. gr. I. 20.2 &c).

Aśmārohana: (making the bride tread on a mill-stone). These three are done thrice viz. lājahoma, then agniparinayana and aśmārohana, one after another.

Saptapadī: (taking seven steps together). This is done to the north of the fire; there are seven small heaps of rice and the bride-groom makes the bride step on each of these seven with her right foot beginning from the west.

Mūrdhūbhiṣeka: (sprinkling holy water on the head of the bride and of the bride-groom according to some and on the head of the bride only according to others). Āśv. gr. I. 7. 20, Pār. gr. I. 8, Gobhila gr. II. 2. 15-16 &c.

 $S\overline{u}ryodiksana$: (making the bride look towards the sun). Pār. gr. I. 8 speaks of this and employs the mantra 'tac-caksur' (Rg. VII. 66. 16 = Vāj. S. 36. 24).

Hṛdayasparśa: (touching the bride' heart with a mantra). Pār. gr. I. 8, Bhār. gr. I. 17, Baud. gr. I. 4. 1.

Prekṣakānumantraṇa: (addressing the spectators with reference to the newly married bride). Mānava gr. I. 12. 1 (which employs Rg. X. 85. 33). Pār. I. 8 employs that verse for reciting over the bride.

Dakṣiṇādāna: (gifts to the ācārya). Pār. gr. I. 8, Śān. gr. I. 14. 13-17 (both prescribe a cow as the fee in the case of

brāhmaņas, a village in marriages of kings and nobles, a horse in marriages of vaisyas &c.). Gobhila gr. II. 3. 23, Baud. gr. I. 4.38 speak of only a cow.

Grhapraveša: (entering the bride-groom's house).

Gṛhapraveśanīya homa: (sacrifice on entering the bridegroom's house). Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 16. 1-12, Gobhila gṛ. II. 3. 8-12, Āp. gr. VI. 6-10.

Dhruvārundhatī-daršana: (pointing out the Pole star and Arundhatī to the bride at night on the day of marriage). Āśv. gr. I. 7. 22 speaks of the seven sages in addition, Mānava gr. I. 14. 9 speaks of the same three and adds Jīvantī, Bhār. gr. I. 19 speaks of Dhruva, Arundhatī and other nakṣatras, Āp. gr. VI. 12 (only Dhruva and Arundhatī), Pār. I. 8 (only Dhruva). According to Śāń. gr. I. 17. 2, Hir. gr. I. 22. 10 both the bride and the bride-groom remain silent till night. According to Āśv. gr. only the bride does so. Gobhila gr. II. 3. 8-12 describes Dhruvārundhatī-daršana before grhapraveša.

Agneya Sthālīpāka: (mess of cooked food offered to Agni). Vide Āp. gr. VII. 1-5, Gobhila II. 3. 19-21, Bhār. gr. I. 18, Hir. gr. I. 23. 1-6.

Trirātravrata: (keeping for three nights after marriage certain observances). Vide Āśv. above p. 530 for the observances which are enumerated by almost all sūtrakāras. Āp. gr. VIII. 8-10, Baud. gr. I. 5. 16-17 contain the interesting injunction that the newly married pair should sleep on the ground on the same bed for three nights, but should interpose between them a staff of udumbara wood anointed with perfumes and wrapped round with a garment or a thread and that on the fourth night it should be removed with the verses Rg. X. 85. 21-22 and thrown into water.

Caturthikarma: (rite on the fourth night after marriage). This has been described above (pp. 202-204).

In the medieval digests certain other ceremonies are mentioned and they are observed in modern times also. A few of them will be noted below. Here again the order is not the same in all works. The Dharmasindhu p. 265 refers to this divergence.

Sīmāntapūjana: (honouring the bride-groom and his party on their arrival at the bride's village). This is done before vāgniscaya in modern times. Vide Sam. K. p. 768; Dharmasindhu III. p. 261.

Gauri-Hara-pūjā: (worship of Śiva and his consort Gauri). Sam. K. p. 766, S. R. M. p. 534 and 544, Dharmasindhu p. 261 (notes that there are several views as to when kanyādāna takes place) describe this. Images of Gauri and Hara are to be made of gold or silver or pictures of them on a wall &c. or on a piece of cloth or stone are to be drawn and worshipped by the intending bride after punyāhavācana and before kanyādāna. Vide Laghu-Āśvalāyana 15. 35.

Indrānī-pūjā: (worship of Indrānī, the consort of god Indra). Vide Sam. K. p. 756, S. R. M. p. 545. This seems to have been comparatively an ancient practice as Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa VII. 3 seems to refer to it ('there was absence of disturbers of svayamvara on account of the presence of Saci'). Probably Śacī was worshipped before the svayamvara began.

Taila-haridrāropaņa: (Applying turmeric powder to the bride-groom's body from what is left after the bride's body has been so treated). Vide Sam. K. p. 757, Dharmasindhu III. p. 257.

Ardrāksatāropaņa: (mutual showering of wet unbroken rice grains by the bride and bride-groom). In a vessel of some metal like silver a little milk is poured and clarified butter is sprinkled over it and unbroken wet rice grains are poured therein. The bridegroom applies milk and ghee to the joined hands of the bride twice and thrice places rice grains in the joined hands of the bride so that her anjali becomes filled up and twice sprinkles ghee over her joined hands. Some other person does the same to the joined hands of the bride-groom and the bride's father places a golden piece on the joined hands of both. Then the bride-groom places his joined hands on those of the bride whose father then repeats a mantra and raises her up; she then pours the rice over the head of the bridegroom who follows her in the same way. This is done thrice by each and then lastly by the bride (i. e. seven times in all). Then the priest sprinkles on their heads water with an udumbara twig together with $d\bar{u}rv\bar{a}$ grass after reciting verses 'Apo hi sthā &c. (Rg. X. 9. 1-3)'. Then the couple make a tilaka mark on each other's forehead, garland each other and tie a thread with a turmeric piece on each other's hand (which is variously called 'kankana-bandhana' or 'kautuka-bandhana'). Vide Sam. Pr. pp. 828-829, S. R. M. p. 556. Kālidāsa in Raghuvamsa VII describes ārdrāksatā-ropana as the last of the rites of marriage and in VIII. 1 speaks of the kautuka.

Mangalasutra-bandhana: (tying a string having golden and other beads on it round the neck of the bride). regarded as the most important ornament which no woman will part with as long as her husband is alive. But the sūtras are entirely silent about it. Among the earliest references is one from Saunaka smrti 1242 (ms. in Bombay University Library, folio 39 b). The Laghu-Āśvalāyana smrti 15, 33 also prescribes it and the mantra to be employed when doing so. Gadadhara on Pār, gr. I. 8 says that mangala-sūtra should be worn and garlands be placed round their necks by the bride and bride-groom, though the sütra of Pāraskara is silent on the point. The Baud, gr. sesa sūtra V. 5 in describing 'arkavivāha' speaks of māngalya sūtra to be tied to the plant. It is not clear whether it means the same as the mangalasūtra now tied by married women round their necks. About the nose-ring or nose ornament to which all women whose husbands are living attach the greatest importance in modern times, the sūtras, smrtis and even the early digests are entirely silent. Dr. Altekar in his recent work 'Position of Hindu women in Hindu Civilization' pp. 362-64 holds from the evidence of the sculptures throughout India-that the 'nose-ring was unknown throughout the whole India during the entire Hindu period' (i.e. till about 1000 A. D.). Mr. P. K. Gede in Annals of B. O. R. I. vol. XIX (for 1939) pp. 313-34 adduces evidence to show that a noseornament was known to literary works from at least about 1000 A. D.

Uttariyaprānta-bandhana: (Tying turmeric pieces and betelnut on to the end of the upper garments of both and making a knot of their two garments together). Vide Sam. K. p. 799, S. Pr. p. 829.

 $Airinidana^{1243}$: (Presenting the mother of the bride-groom with several gifts in a large wicker-work basket with lamps

1242. ततो मङ्गलसूत्रं च ध्यात्वाभीष्टां च देवताम् । बद्धा कण्ठत्रदेशे स्यासूषणानि च शक्तितः ॥ शौनतः, वश्रीयात्कन्यकाकण्ठे सूत्रं मणिसमन्वितम् । माङ्गल्यतन्तुनानेन मन्त्रेण स्यात् सदा सती ॥ लध्वाश्व 15. 33. Tho मन्त्र is माङ्गल्यतन्तुनानेन भर्त्रजीवनहेतुना । कण्ठे वधनामि सुभगे सा जीव शरदः शतम् ॥. 'सूत्रेऽनुपलब्धमपि वधूवरयोर्मङ्गलसूत्रं गले गाला-धारणं ' etc. गदाधर on पारस्कर I. 1.

1243. सबस्रफलताम्बूलं द्रम्पत्योर्वेशवर्धनम्। ऐरिण्याख्यं वंशपात्रं पक्ताक्षेः परिपूरितम्॥ करके रुद्रसंख्येस्तु सुवर्णेन समन्वितैः। एताबदेरिणीरूपं कर्तस्यं किल सूरिभिः॥ quoted in सं. र. मा. p. 580. The request to show affection is made as follows 'अष्टवर्षा त्वियं कन्या पुत्रवत्यालिता मया। इदानीं तव पुत्राय द्त्ता स्नेहन पाल्यताम्॥ ग. Appropriate changes are to be made, according to the age of the bride and the relationship of the bridegroom to the principal lady.

lighted and requesting her and the relatives of the bride-groom to treat the bride affectionately). Vide Sam. K. p. 811, Dharmasindhu p. 267. A basket of bamboo (vamśa) is used probably to symbolize the continuity of the family (vamśa) of the bride-groom. This is done when the bride is about to leave the father's place to go to the bride-groom's place after marriage.

Devakotthāpana and Maṇḍapodvāsana: (taking leave of the deities that had been invoked before the ceremonies began and taking down the pandal). Sam. K. pp. 532-533, S. R. M. pp. 555-556.

Two interesting questions arise viz. when can a marriage be said to be final and irrevocable and what would happen if a marriage is brought about by force or fraud.

Manu says (VIII. 168) 'what is given by force, what is enjoyed by force, also what has been caused to be written by force and all other transactions done by force, Manu has declared void; and in VIII. 165 he places fraudulent transactions on the same footing as those brought about by force. There is great difficulty in applying these dicta to marriages. We saw above that Vas. Dh. S. (17. 73) and Baud, Dh. S. declare that if a girl has been carried off by force and has not been wedded with the repetition of sacred texts she may be given to another man in marriage. Viśvarūpa (p. 74) and Aparārka (p. 79) add a gloss that this can be done only after she has undergone a prayascitta. From this it appears that if the marriage rites (like saptapadi) have been performed, the ancient law-givers would not have declared the marriage null and void even if the girl had been carried away by force or married by fraud. In modern works on Hindu Law the proposition is stated1244 that 'a marriage. though performed with the necessary ceremonies, may be set aside by the court, if it was brought about by force or fraud.' This opinion is based on what was said in some decided cases e. g. Aunjona Dasi v. Prahlada Chandra (6 Bengal L. R. 243 at p. 254), Venkatacharqulu v. Rangacharyulu I. L. R. 14 Mad. 316 at p. 320, Mulchand v. Bhudhia I. L. R. 22 Bom. 812. But in none of these cases was a marriage duly solemnized by the performance of the rites of panigrahana, going round the fire and saptapadi, set aside. There are mere

^{1244.} Vide Mulla's Hindu Law (9th ed. of 1940) p. 504.

ohiter dicta in these cases to the effect that a marriage may be set aside by the court for force or fraud.

The Vas. Dh. S. (17.72) goes so far as to observe 'when a girl has been promised in marriage (and the promise has been confirmed) with water, if the intended bride-groom dies, but the Vedic mantras have not been recited, that girl still belongs to her father (and may be given to another)'. Kātyāyana 1845 has a similar verse 'if after choosing a girl as his bride, a man dies (or is unheard of) the girl after the lapse of three monthly periods may marry another'. And another verse of the same author says that if a person after giving a gratuity for a girl and stridhana to her goes abroad, the girl may be kept unmarried for a year and then may be given to another. Manu (VIII, 227) says 'the Vedic mantras recited in the marriage rite are a sure indication of wife-hood; but their completion should be understood by the wise as occurring on taking the seventh step'. Aparārka p. 94 (on Yāj. I. 65) quotes a similar verse from Nārada (strīpumsa v. 3). The Udvāhatattva p. 129 quotes Yama to the same effect. So it follows that the marriage becomes complete and irrevocable the moment the saptapadI rite is performed, but before that rite is gone through there is a locus pænitentiæ or a power to resile from what has been under-Before the saptapadi is performed, if the bride-groom dies, the bride is still a maiden and not a widow and can be married again 1246. The most essential ceremonies of marriage are the home and saptapadi. The Dronaparva 1247 says that promise of a daughter and giving a daughter with water are not certain means of knowing wife-hood but santapadi is known to be the completion of marriage. If any of the other ceremonies are wanting that would not vitiate the marriage. In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 140, it has been held that the vrddhi śrāddha is not an essential ceremony and its absence would not vitiate marriage.

^{1245.} वरियत्वा तु यः कश्चित्पणक्येत्पुरुषो यदा । रक्तागमांस्त्रीनतीत्य कन्यान्यं वरियद्दरम् ॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 94; प्रदाय ग्रुल्कं गच्छेद्यः कन्यायाः स्त्रीधनं तथा। धार्या सा वर्षमेकं तु देयान्यस्मे विधानतः ॥ कात्यायन quoted in सं. कौ. p. 737.

^{1246.} नोदकेन न वाचा वा कन्यायाः पतिरिष्यते। पाणिग्रहणसंस्कारात् पतिरवं सप्तमे पद्गे॥ यम quoted in मृ. र. p. 55, उद्घाहतस्व p. 129 and in स्मृ. मृ. (वर्णा-अम) p. 138, which latter adds 'एवं च सप्तमपदादर्वाक् परिणेतुर्मरणेपि न विधवा-त्विमित्युक्तं भवति।. This last remark is made by the स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 82 also.

^{1247.} मनोवाग्डुद्धिसंभाषा दत्ता चोदकपूर्वकम् ॥ पाणिग्रहणमन्त्राश्च प्रथितं वर-लक्षणम् ॥ न त्वेषा निश्चिता निष्ठा निष्ठा सप्तपदी स्मृता ॥ द्रोणपर्व 55, 15-16.

Even the Kāmaśūtra ¹²⁴⁸ quotes the unanimous opinion of the ācāryas that marriages celebrated before fire as a witness cannot be revoked. In the case of śūdras there are no Vedic mantras and so in their case the completion of marriage will be determined according to custom. The digests like Gr. R. say (p. 57) that in the case of śūdras the marriage will be complete when the śūdra girl holds the fringe of the garment of the bride-groom.

Manu (IX. 47) declares 'once is the partition of inheritance made, once is a maiden given in marriage'. This rule really means that once the ceremony of marriage is completed by saptapadi, the marriage is irrevocable and the girl cannot thereafter be given to any one else. But if a girl is only promised in marriage and if a more worthy suitor subsequently presents himself, then the father may commit breach of promise and give her in marriage to another. Vide also Manu (IX. 71 and VIII. 98). Yāj. I. 65 states the rule and the exception A girl is given only once; a person who after having promised to give, deprives that man of her, is liable to the punishment of a thief; but if a more worthy suitor appreaches. the father may deprive the former (suitor) of her (hand) though promised'. The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 44.35) says that up to pānigrahana any one may ask for the hand of a maiden (even though promised before to another). Nārada (strīpumsa vv. 30 and 32) contains similar provisions. 1249 Conversely, if a man agrees to marry a girl and subsequently discovers defects in her or if she is diseased or already deflowered or given by practising fraud he may refuse to marry her. Vide Manu IX. 72. If a guardian gives away a girl without declaring the defects of a girl (and they are subsequently discovered) the guardian should be fined in the highest ammercement (according to Yāj. I. 66 and the lowest, according to Nārada, strīpumsa v. 33). Aparārka 1250 (p. 95) and others add that the defects referred to must be latent and not apparent or patent to view. If a suitor repudiates a girl who is free from defects he should be fined in the highest ammercement and if he falsely accuses her of defects he should be fined one hundred panas (Yāj I. 66

^{1248.} अग्निसाक्षिका हि विवाहा न निवर्तन्त इत्याचार्यसमयः। कामसूत्र III. 5. 13.

^{1249.} कन्यायां दत्तशुल्कायां ज्यायांश्वेद्वर आवजेत्। धर्मार्धकामसंयुक्तो वाक्यं तत्राद्यतं भवेत्॥ दस्ता न्यायेन यः कन्यां वराय न द्दाति ताम्। अदुष्टश्वेद्वरो राज्ञा स दण्ड्य-स्तत्र चौरवत्॥ नारद्, स्त्रीपुंस 30 and 32.

¹²⁵⁰. कन्याप्रदः कन्यादोषं स्वयं जानन्वरेणाविदितं तस्य च प्रत्यक्षायोग्यमकथित्वा यदि प्रयच्छिति &cः। अपरार्क p. 95.

and Nārada, strīpumsa v. 34). Nārada adds that he who abandons a faultless girl should be punished and should be made to marry the same girl. 1251

Some of the smrtis and digests are very much exercised over the question of the bride having menstruation while the marriage ceremonies are in progress and homa is about to be performed. Atri ¹²⁵² (Jivānanda part 1, p. 11, chap. V) prescribes that having made the girl bathe with the Havismatī (with a verse in which the word havis occurs, probably Rg. X. 88. 1 or VIII. 72. 1) and to put on other garments and having offered an āhuti of clarified butter with the verse 'Yunjate manah' (Rg. V. 81. 1) the ceremonies should be preceded with. The Smrtyarthasāra (p. 17) first quotes two verses (the same as Atri's) and proposes an alternative method viz. that the bride and the bride-groom should stay separate from each other for three days and on the fourth day after ceremonially bathing themselves should perform the homa in the same fire.

^{1251.} प्रतिगृह्य तु यः कन्यामद्रुष्टासुरसुजेस्नरः। स विनेयस्त्वकामोऽपि कन्यां तामेव चोद्रहेत्॥ नारद् (स्त्रीयुंस 35).

^{1252.} विवाहे वितते तन्त्रे होमकाल उपस्थित । कन्यामृतृमतीं हुष्ट्रा कथं कुर्वन्ति याज्ञिकाः ॥ हविष्मत्या स्नापयित्वा अन्यवस्थमलंकुता । युआनामाहुतिं द्वारवा ततः कर्म मर्वतते॥ अत्रि V. This is quoted as यज्ञपार्श्वां म सं र. मा. p. 500 and सं. की p. 714, while the उद्घाहतस्व quotes (pp. 146-147) two verses (one of which is the same as विवाहे and the other very similar) from वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य as quoted in the ग्रहस्थरसाकर.

CHAPTER X

MADHUPARKA AND OTHER USAGES

Madhuparka: (offering of honey by way of honour to a distinguished guest). The word literally means 'a ceremony in which honey is shed or poured' (on the hand of a person). The word occurs in the Jaiminiva Upanisad-Brāhmana 1253 18. 4. The Nirukta (I. 16) also refers to the usage of offering madhuparka with the word madhuparka repeated thrice. It appears that the Ait. Br. III, 4 when it says that 'if the ruler of men comes as a guest or any one else deserving of honour comes. people kill a bull or a cow (that has contracted a habit of abortion)' refers to Madhuparka, 1851 though that word is not actually used. In all grhva sutras it is described at length. Most of the details are the same, the principal difference being that often different mantras are prescribed, though some (like the verse 'mātā rudrānām') are the same. The madhuparka 1255 is offered to riviks (priests officiating at sacrifices) when they are chosen for a sacrifice, to a snātaka who has come to one's house, to the king (who rules one's country, when he comes to one's house), to one's ācārya, father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles. The Manava gr. (I. 9. 1), Khadira gr. IV. 4. 21. Yaj. I. 110 say that six persons deserve arghya (madhuparka) viz. rtvik, ācārya, the bride-groom, the king, the snātaka and a person who is dear to one. Some like Baud. 1256 gr. I. 2. 65 add 'atithi' (guest). Vide Gaut. V. 25, Ap. gr. 13. 19-20, Ap. Dh. S. II. 3. 8. 5-6, Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 63-64,

¹²⁵³. तं होवाच किं विद्वासो दालभ्यानामन्त्रय मधुपर्क पियसीति। जै. उ. बा. 18.4; जानते मधुपर्क पाह। निरुक्त I.16.

^{1254.} तद्यथैवादो मनुष्यराज आगतेऽन्यस्मिन्वाईति उक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा क्षदन्ते। ऐ. जा. III. 4. This is quoted by मेधा॰ on मनु III. 119 and by हरदत्त on गीतम 17. 30.

^{1255.} ऋत्विजो बृत्वा मधुपर्कमाहरेत्। स्नातकायोपस्थिताय। राज्ञे च। आचार्य-श्वशुरिपतृत्यमातुलानां च। आश्व. मृ. I.24. 1-4. The bride-groom, when he comes to the bride's house, is to be honoured with मधुपर्क because he also is generally a स्नातक. The आचार्य is one who performs one's उपनयन and teaches the Veda.

^{1256.} तथैते अध्यां ऋत्विक् श्वजुरः पितृष्यो मातुल आचार्यो राजा वा स्नातकः प्रियो वरोऽतिथिरिति। वो. मृ. I. 2. 65.

Manu III. 119, Sabhāparva 36. 23-24, Gobhila gr. IV. 10. 23-24. It is laid down that if the persons enumerated come to one's house within a year after madhuparka has been once offered, then it need not be offered again (in the same year), but when a marriage is being celebrated in one's house or a yajña is being performed, then madhuparka must be offered to those persons (even if one year has not elapsed since the madhuparka was previously offered). Vide Gaut. Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 8. 6, Yāj. I. 110, Khādira gr. IV. 4. 26, Gobhila gr. IV. 10. 26. Rtviks are to be honoured in each yājña, even though several yajñas are performed in the same year (Yāj. I. 110). Manu (III. 120) says that a king and a snātaka are to be honoured with madhuparka only when they visit one's house in a yajña. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 109) says that madhuparka is to be offered to the king only and not to any ksatriva. Medhātithi on Manu III. 119 says that when a king, whether a ksatriva or not, comes to one's place madhuparka was to be offered, but not to a sudra king. According to grhya-parisista the madhuparka is to be performed according to the rites prescribed in the sakha of the receiver and not of the giver. 1257

The procedure of madhuparka is set out from the Āśv. gr. 1258 (I. 24.5-26) "He pours honey into curds or clarified butter if no honey can be had. A seat, 1259 water for washing the feet, arghya water (i. e. water perfumed with flowers &c.), water for ācamana, honey mixture, a cow; every one of these they announce three times (to the person who has arrived). The person (to be honoured) should sit down on the seat made of northward pointed darbha grass with the verse 1260 'I can the highest one among my kindred, as the sun among lights' (lightnings). Here I tread on whomsoever bears enmity to me.' Or he should repeat this verse after he has trodden on it. He should make (the host) wash his feet; the right foot he should

- 1257. वरस्य या भवेच्छाखा तच्छाखागृह्याचोदितः । मधुपर्कः प्रदातन्योऽप्यन्यशाखेपि दातरि ॥ quoted in सं. प्र. p. 823.
 - 1258. Vide Appendix for text
- 1259. A विष्टर is a seat with 25 दर्भs. 'पञ्चाज्ञता भनेष्ट्रह्मा तद्धेन तु विष्टर:'पिशिष्ट quoted by सं. प्र. p. 821, अद्ये is water for washing the hands in which flowers and perfume (like sandal-wood paste) have been mixed up. गन्धमाल्यादिसंयुक्तसुद्कमद्येमित्युच्यते। नारायण on आश्व. गृ. I. 24 11.
- 1260. अहं वर्ष्य &c.—This occurs in पारस्कर I. 3 and मानवगृद्धा I. 9. 8 with slight variations.

hold out first to a brakmana (for washing) and the left to a śūdra. When his feet have been washed, he receives the arghya water in his joined hands and then he performs acamana with the water for sipping with the formula 'thou art the seat (or first layer) of ambrosia'. 1261 He should look at the madhuparka, when it is being brought to him, with the mantra 'I look at thee with the eye of Mitra'. He accepts it (the madhuparka) in the joined hands with the formula 'by the command (urging) of god Savitr, by the arms of Asvins and the hands of Pusan, I accept thee '(Vaj S. I. 24). He looks at it with the three rk verses 1262 'the winds blow honey to the righteous man' (Rg. I. 90. 6-8). He (takes it into his left hand), stirs it about thrice from left to right with the thumb and the finger next to the smallest and wipes (his fingers) towards the east with the formula 'may the Vasus cat thee with the Gayatri metre': with the formula 'may the Rudras eat thee with the Tristubh metre' (he wipes fingers) towards the south; with the formula 'may the Adityas eat thee with the Jagati metre' towards the west; with the formula 'may Visve Devas eat thee with the Anustubh metre' towards the north; with the formula 'to the bhūtas (beings) thee' he three times takes (some of the madhuparka materials) from out of the middle of it (and throws it up). He should partake of it for the first time with the formula 1263 'the milk of Virāj art thou', for the second time with 'may I obtain the milk of Virāj', the third time with 'in me may the milk of Padvā Virāj dwell'. He should not eat the whole madhuparks and should not eat to satiety. He should give the remainder (out of the madhuparka materials) to a brāhmana towards the north; but if no brāhmana is available he should throw it into water; or he may eat the whole. then takes acamana with the water intended for it with the

^{1261.} The words अमृतोपस्तरणमासी occur in the description of मधुपर्क in आप. मन्त्रपाट II. 10. 3 and आप. मृ. 13. 13., मानवगृद्धा. I. 9. 15.

^{1262.} The three verses Rg. I. 90. 6-8 all begin with the word मधु 'मधु वाता ऋतायते मधु अरन्ति सिन्धवः' (6), 'मधु नक्तस्तोषसी' (7), 'मधुमाक्षो वनस्पतिः' (8) and so are very appropriate to मधुपर्क. They occur in वाज. सं. 13. 27-29, are called मधुमति verses and employed in पार. गृ. I. 3, also in मानवगृह्य I. 9. 14.

^{1263.} The three मन्त्र' विराजो दोहोसीति &c., occur in Par. gr. I. 3 (but at the time of receiving the arghya water), San. gr. III. 7. 5, Mānava gr. I. 9. 7 &c. Some held that he should partake of the madhuparka at one time after repeating the three mantras at once.

formula 'thou art the cover of ambrosia.' 1264 He sips water a second time with the formula 'truth! fame! fortune! may Fortune resort to me.' When he has sipped water, they announce to him the cow. Having muttered the words 'destroyed is my sin, my sin is destroyed', he says 'om, do it' if he desires to have the cow killed; if he is desirous of letting her go, he mutters the verse 'the mother of Rudras and daughter of Vasus' 1264a (Rg. VIII. 101. 15) and says 'let her go'. Let the madhuparka not be without flesh."

A few small matters may be noted. Several grhya-sūtras (such as the Manava) describe madhuparka as a part of the marriage rite, while others like Asy, describe it independently. Others like Hir. gr. (I. 12-13) describe it as part of Samāvartana. There is divergence about the substances mixed in offering madhuparka. Asv. gr., and Ap. gr. (13, 10) prescribe a mixture of honey and curds or clarified butter and curds. Others like Par. gr. I. 3 prescribe a mixture of three (curds. honey and butter). Ap. gr. (13. 11-12) states the view of some that those three may be mixed or five (those three with fried yava grain and barley). Hir. gr. I. 12. 10-12 gives the option of mixing three or five (curds, honey, ghee, water and ground grain). The Kausika sūtra (92) speaks of nine kinds of mixtures viz. Brāhma (honey and curds), Aindra (of pāyasa), Saumya (curds and ghee), Pausna (ghee and mantha), Sārasvata (milk and ghee), Mausala (wine and ghee, this being used only in Sautrāmani and Rājasūya sacrifices), Vāruna (water and ghee), Śrāvaņa (sesame oil and ghee), Pārivrājaka (sesame oil and oil cake). The Manava gr. I. 9. 22 says that the Veda declares that the madhuparka must not be without flesh and so it recommends that if the cow is let loose, goat's meat or pāyasa (rice cooked in milk) may be offered; the Hir. gr. I. 13.14 says that other meat should be offered; Baud. gr. says (I. 2.51-54) that when the cow is let off, the flesh of a goat or ram may be offered or some forest flesh (of a deer &c.) may be offered, as there can be no madhuparka without flesh or if one is unable to offer flesh one may cook ground grains. As the cow became sacred, it became unthinkable to kill her and so other flesh was

^{1264.} अमृतापिधानमसि-this मन्त्र occurs also in आप. म. पा. II. 10. 4 and आप. मृ. 13. 13.

¹²⁶⁴a. The verse माता रुद्धाणां (referring to the cow) is mentioned in several मूह्यसूत्र such as the मानव (I. 9. 23), Par. (I. 3), बी. मृ. I. 2. 50.

offered. When even flesh-eating came to be abhorred, then only pāyasa and such other things were recommended. The Ādiparva (60.13-14) refers to Janamejaya's reception of Vyāsa with madhuparka and Vyāsa's letting the cow loose. This abhorrence of flesh-eating will be dealt with later on. In modern times there is generally no madhuparka except in marriage and then too it is a simple matter and the elaborate procedure prescribed in some of the grhya sūtras is hardly ever followed.

Certain peculiar ceremonies relating to marriage may now be described very briefly. In order to avert early widowhood (which was judged from her horoscope) for the girl to be married, a ceremony called kumbha-vivāha was performed. It is described in Sam. Pr. (p. 868), Nirnayasindhu p. 310, Sam. K. (p. 746), S. R. M. (p. 528) and other works. On the day previous to the marriage a jar of water in which a golden image of Viṣnu is dipped is decked with flowers &c. and the girl is surrounded in a network of threads, Varuna and Viṣnu are worshipped and prayed to give long life to the intended bride-groom. Then the jar is taken out and broken in a pool of water and then water is sprinkled over the girl with five twigs and to the accompaniment of Rg. VII. 49 and then brāhmanas are fed.

The Sam. Pr. (pp. 868-869) speaks of Aśvattha-vivāha which is like kumbha-vivāha and performed for good luck to the bride and averting widowhood. Here the Aśvattha tree is substituted for the jar and a golden image of Viṣṇu is worshipped. The image is then given to a brāhmaṇa.

Arkavivāha: When a man has the misfortune to lose by death two wives one after another, before marrying a third wife he goes through a ceremony of marriage with the arka plant. This is described in Sam. Pr. pp. 876-889, Sam. K. p. 819, Nirnayasindhu, p. 328. It is described in Baud. gr. śeṣasūtra V. 5 also.

Another question which takes up much space in ancient works but which is now of hardly any importance is parivedana. When a male got married before his elder brother or where a person married a younger girl before her elder sister was married, this act was called parivedana and was severely condemned as a serious encroachment on the rights of seniority and as a sin. Gaut. 15, 18 and \overline{Ap} , Dh. S. (II. 5, 12, 22) declare that a younger brother married before an elder brother, and an elder

brother married after a younger brother are sinners, and should not be invited at a śrāddha. Ap. adds that one who marries a younger sister before her elder sister is married, one who marries an elder sister after the younger sister has been married, one whose younger brother has kindled the sacred fires or offered a soma sacrifice before him (and a younger brother who kindles the sacred fires or offers soma sacrifice before his elder brother) are also equally sinful. Vas. Dh. S. I. 18, Visnu Dh. S. 37, 15-17 also have similar provisions and Vas. Dh. S. (20,7-10) prescribes krechra penance of twenty days for the husband of the younger sister married before her elder sister and for the husband of the elder sister married after the younger one. requires each of them to offer his wife to the other for the sake of form (to remove the slur) and then to wed her again with his assent. 1265 Vide Baud, Dh. S. II. 1. 40 also. The younger brother who marries before the elder brother is called $parivett\bar{a}$ or parivividana (Manu III. 171, Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 22) or parivindaka (Yāj. I. 223), the elder brother before whom the younger brother marries is called parivitta or parivinna or parivitti (Manu III. 171), the younger sister who marries before the elder sister is called agredidhisu (Gaut. 15. 15, Vas. I. 18) or parivedini, the elder sister before whom her younger sister marries is called didhisū. The husbands of these two last respectively bear the appellations agre-didhisupati and didhisupati. The father or other guardian who gives away the girl in any of these cases of parivedana is called pariday! or paridata. The younger brother who kindles the sacred fire before the elder is styled 'paryādhātr' and the elder brother who is so treated is called 'paryāhita' (Gaut. 15. 18). Manu III. 172 (which is almost the same as Baud, Dh. S. II. 1, 30 and Visnu Dh. S. 54. 16) says that the parivetta, the parivitta, the girl whom the younger brother marries before the elder, the man who gives away the girl in marriage and the officiating priest—these five all fall into hell 1266 (and must perform the penance of Candrayana according to Visnu). The Mit. on

^{1265.} Vide Mit. on Yaj. III. 265 explaining Vas. Dh. S. '(परिवेत्ता) कुच्छ्रातिकुच्छ्री चरित्वा तस्मै ज्येष्ठाय तां स्वोढां द्रवा ब्रह्मचर्याह्न मैक्षवद् गुरुपरिभवपरि-हारार्थ निवेद्य प्रकृहहेत्। तामेव ...स्वोढां ज्येष्ठाय निवेदितां तेन चानुज्ञातासुद्दहेत्।. '

^{1266.} The story of Jacob and the two sisters Leah (elder) and Rachel (younger) in Genesis XXIX shows that among the ancient Jews also there was a custom prohibiting the marriage of a younger sister before the elder sister.

Yāi, III. 265 quotes Hārīta-dharmasūtra on this topic to the same effect. Medhātithi on Manu III. 171 refers to the view of some that if a son kindles the sacred fire before his father, the same rule applies as between brothers and then refutes that Aparārka p. 446 quotes Usanas that a person may kindle sacred fires even before his father or grandfather with the latter's consent. The Trikandamandana (I. 76-77) says that there is no sin in taking agnihotra and performing a sacrifice before an elder brother and the incurring of sin is only restricted to marriage, while the Smrtyarthasara (p. 13) holds the opposite view that one should not kindle the Vedic fires before one's father even with the latter's consent. The Visnu Dh. S. (37, 15-17) enumerates parivedana among upapātakas. Gaut. (18. 18-19) prescribes that if an elder brother has gone to a foreign country his younger brother must wait twelve years before he takes a wife or kindles sacred fires or six years according to some. 1867 There is a similar text of Vas. quoted by Apararka p. 445.

In certain cases marrying or kindling sacred fires before an elder brother is not condemned. Medhātithi on Manu III. 171 quotes a verse 'One need not wait where the elder brother is a lunatic, or is a sinner, or leprous, impotent, or suffering from tuberculosis' and remarks that this is only illustrative (i. e. one need not wait where the elder brother has no adhikāra for marriage or for kindling fires) 1268. Vide Atri v. 105 (Anan. ed.) for a similar verse. Another verse of Atri (v. 106) says that there is no blemish in marrying before the elder brother, if the latter is impotent or gone abroad, or patita or has become a recluse or is devoted to Yogaśāstra 1269. Vide Gobhila smṛti (I. 72-74) for similar verses (which are quoted by the Gṛ. R. p. 90), Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana I. 68-74, Smṛtyarthasāra p. 13 and Sam. Pr. pp. 760-766.

The ideas about the wrong committed by a younger brother or sister marrying before an elder one reach far back into Vedic antiquity. In the Tai. Br. (III. 2.9) there is a story that the gods transferred (rubbed off) their sin to the Apyas and then

^{1267.} भातरि चैवं ज्यायसि कनीयान्कन्याग्न्युपयमेष । षहित्येके । गौतम 18. 18-19.

^{1268.} उन्मत्तः किल्बिषी कुष्ठी पतितः क्रीब एव च। राजयक्ष्मामयावी च न योग्यः स्यात् प्रतीक्षित्म् ॥ quoted by मेधा॰ on मनु III. 171 and अपरार्क p. 445.

^{1269.} क्रीब देशान्तरस्थे च पतिते ब्रजितेपि वा। योगशास्त्राभियुक्ते च न दोषः परिवेदने ॥ अञ्च 106. This is quoted as शातातपःs by अपरार्क p. 445.

there is a succession of persons who are all guilty of blame or sin and each preceding one among whom is said to have passed it on to each succeeding one viz. sūryābhyudita, sūryābhinimrukta, kunakhin, śyāvadat, agredidhiṣū, parivitta, vīrahan, brahmahan. The Vas. Dh. 1270 S. I. 18 arranges persons called sinners (enasvin) almost in the same order as in the Tai. Br. Here (in Tai. Br.) we have parivitta and agredidhiṣu. In another passage of the Tai. Br. (III. 4. 4) while speaking of Puruṣamedha, it is said that the parivitta is consigned as a victim to ill-luck (nir-rti), the parivividāna to distress (ārti) and the didhiṣūpati to non-success (arāddhi).

^{1270.} सूर्याभ्युदितः सूर्याभिनिमुक्तः कुनखी श्यावद्गन्तः परिवित्तिः परिवेत्तामेदिधि-पूपतिर्वीरक्षा ब्रह्मोज्झ इत्येनस्विनः । बसिष्ठ 1. 18.

CHAPTER XI

POLYGAMY, POLYANDRY AND RIGHTS AND DUTIES ON MARRIAGE

Polygamy: Though monogamy 1271 seems to have been the ideal and was probably the rule, the Vedic literature is full of references to polygamy. Rg. X. 145 (same as Atharvaveda III. 18) is a hymn meant as a charm for weaning the husband's affections from a co-wife. It occurs in the Ap. M. P. (I. 15) and Ap. gr. 1X. 6-8 prescribes it for winning over the husband to oneself and for causing estrangement between him and one's co-wife. Rg. X. 1272 159 is a hymn attributed to Saci, wife of Indra, who claims to have vanquished and killed her co-wives and to rule supreme over Indra and all men. This hymn also occurs in Ap. M. P. (I. 16) and is prescribed by the Ap. gr. (IX. 9) as a charm always to be repeated by a wife for suppressing her co-wives. In a verse (Rg. I. 105, 8) Trita who had fallen into a well declares 'the rib-like sides (of the well) cause me pain all round as co-wives make it too hot (for the husband or for themselves)' 1273. The Tai. S. (VI. 6. 4. 3) gives a dogmatic and somewhat picturesque explanation of polygamy that 'on one sacrificial post he passes round two girdles, so one man secures two wives; that he does not pass one girdle round two posts, so one wife does not obtain two husbands'. The Ait. Br. (12, 11) similarly declares 'therefore one man has many wives, but one wife has not many husbands at the

^{1271.} Vide Rg. X. 85. 26 and 46. These are पूषा स्वेतो नयतु इस्तगृह्याश्विना स्वा भवहता रथेन। गृहान्गच्छ गृहपत्नी पथासो विश्विनी स्वं विद्धमा वदासि ॥...सम्राज्ञी अधि वेष्ट्रष्ठ ॥ (last quoted above in n. 1229). The word dampati (which occurs very frequently in the Rg.) conveys in several places the idea of a monogamous marriage. Vide Rg. V. 3. 2, VIII. 31. 5, X. 68. 2.

^{1272.} Vide असपत्ना सपत्नक्षी जयन्त्यभिभूवरी । आवृक्षमन्यासां वर्ची राधी अस्थेयसामिव ॥ समजैषमिमा अहं सपत्नीरभिभूवरी: । यथाहमस्य वीरस्य विराजानि जनस्य च ॥ ऋ. X. 159. 5-6. आप. म. पा. reads differently.

^{1273.} सं मा तपन्त्यभितः सपत्नीरिव पर्शवः। आ. I. 105.8; vide Rg. X. 116. 10 (आदित्यतिमञ्जूणुतं कनीनाम्) where the Asvins are said to have made क्यवन the husband of maidens.

same¹²⁷⁴ time'. The Tai, Br. (III. 8. 4.) when speaking of the Asvemedha says 'the wives anoint (the horse); wives are indeed a form of prosperity '1275. In the Sat. Br. (XIII. 4. 1. 9., S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 349) it is said, 'four 1276 wives are in attendance viz. the consecrated queen (mahisi), the favourite wife (vāvātā), the discarded wife (parivrkta or parivrkti) and the palagali (who is low-born)'. The Tai. S. I. 8. 9 refers to the mahist and parivrkti. In the Vaj. S. (23. 24, 26, 28) there are verses which are addressed to the mahisi, vāvātā and parivrkti by the brahmā, udgātā and hotā priests respectively. Hariścandra is said to have had a hundred wives (Ait. Br. 33.1). It is not to be supposed that polygamy was confined only to kings and nobles. The great philosopher Yājñavalkva had two wives. Kātvāvanī who was worldly-minded and Maitrevi who thirsted for the knowledge of brahma and immortality (Br. Up. IV. 5. 1-2 and II. 4. 1).

In the times of the sūtras, some sages wanted to hold up a high ideal. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 5. 11. 12-13) declares that when a man has a wife who is endowed with dharma and progeny, he shall not marry another wife; but if any one of the two (dharma and progeny) is wanting (in the case of the wife), he may marry another before he has consecrated the sacred srauta fires. In another place Āp. (I. 10. 28. 19) prescribes that one who abandons his (faultless) wife should put on the skin of an ass with the hair outside and should beg for alms at seven houses for six months. 1277 Nārada (strīpumsa v. 95)

^{1274.} यदेकास्मिन्यूपे हे रशने परिव्ययित तस्मादेको हे जाये विन्द्ते यश्चेकां रशनां ह्यांर्यूपयोः परिव्ययित तस्माश्चेका हो पती विन्द्ते। ते. सं. VI. 6. 4. 3; vide also ते. सं. VI. 5. 1. 4 'तस्मादेको बढीर्जाया विन्द्ते;' तस्मादेकस्य बढ्यो जाया भवन्ति नैकस्ये बढ्यः सहपतयः। ऐ. बा. 12. 11.

^{1275.} पत्नयोऽभ्यक्षन्ति । श्रिया वा एतद्वृपं यत्पत्नयः । श्रियमेवास्मिस्तद्धति । ते. ना. III. 8. 4; vide शतपथना. XIII. 2. 6. 7 for the same words.

^{1276.} चतस्रो जाया उपक्रुप्ता भवन्ति महिषी बावाता परिवृक्ता पालागली। शतपथ XIII. 4. 1. 9. In रामायण बालकाण्ड 14. 35 the first three out of these four are mentioned in connection with अश्वमेध 'होताध्वर्युस्तथोद्गाता हपेन समयोज्यम्। महिष्या परिवृक्त्या च बावातामपरां तथा।। . In Rg. X. 102. 11 the word परिवृक्ता occurs which probably means the discarded wife.

^{1277.} धर्मप्रजासंपन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वात । अन्यतराभावे कार्या प्रागम्न्याधेयात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 12-13; खराजिनं बहिलींम परिधाय दारव्यतिक्रमिणे भिक्षामिति सप्तागाराणि चरेत्। सा वृत्तिः षण्मासान् । आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 19; vide बृहत्संहिता chap 74. 13 where this प्रायश्चित्त for the husband is mentioned and it is said that it is never observed by men. अनुकूलामवायुष्टां दक्षां साध्वीं प्रजावतीम्। त्यजन् भार्यामवस्थाप्यो राज्ञा दण्डेन भूयसा॥ नारव् (श्लीपुंस 95).

recommends that the king should bring round to the proper path by inflicting heavy fines a husband who abandons a wife that is obedient, not harsh of tongue, vigilant (in household work), chaste and endowed with sons. Even Kaut. (III. 2) prescribes that a husband should wait for eight years (before marrying another) if his wife gives birth to no child after one delivery or is sonless or is barren; he should wait for ten if she bears only still-born children, twelve years if she gives birth to daughters only. Then if he is anxious for a son he may marry another. If he violates these rules he must pay her gratuity, some wealth as stridhana and money (prescribed to be given) on supersession and besides a fine (to the king) of 24 panas'. 1278 So far Kautilya appears to have only stated the ideal, because he follows up this remark by another statement which probably represented the commonly held popular view 'a man may marry several wives after giving sulka and stridhana to those to whom nothing had been given at the time of marriage and money on supersession (ādhivedanika) and suitable provision for livelihood; for women are (married) for procreating sons.' Though Ap. and others held up the ideal of monogamy and Nārada and others prescribed a fine for marrying a second wife without sufficient cause. it is extremely doubtful whether a man was ever punished by the king for so doing. Manu V. 80 and Yaj. I. 80 both say that a husband may supersede a wife (and marry another) if she drinks wine, suffers from a disease (of long standing), is deceitful, is extravagant in expenditure, speaks harsh words, and gives birth to female children only. Manu V. 81 and Baud, Dh. S. II, 2, 65 allow a husband to marry another woman at once if the first is harsh of tongue. Devala 1279 quoted in the Gr. R. says that the śūdra may have only one wife, a vaiśya two, a ksatriya three and a brāhmana four, but a king may have as many as he desires. This only reflected the prevailing practice of kings. The Adiparva 1280 gravely remarks 'to have many wives is no adharma on the part of men, but to violate

^{1278.} Vide Manu IX, 81 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 65 for similar periods of waiting. Vide Yaj. II. 148 for the amount of adhivedunika to be given by the husband.

^{1279.} एका शूद्रस्य वैश्यस्य हे तिसः क्षत्रियस्य च । चतस्रो बाह्मणस्य स्युर्भार्या राज्ञो यथेच्छतः ॥ देवल quoted in गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 85.

^{1280.} न चाप्यधर्मः कल्याण बहुपत्नीकता चुणाम् । स्त्रीणामधर्मः सुमहान्भर्तुः पूर्वस्य लङ्कने ॥ आदिपर्व 160. 36.

the duty owed to the first husband would be a great adharma in the case of women.' The Mahābhārata (Mausala-parva V. 6) tells us that Vasudeva 1281 (Krsna) had sixteen thousand wives-Several kings had in historic times as many as a hundred wives. For example, the Cedi king Gängeyadeva alias Vikramāditya is said to have obtained mukli (salvation) at Prayaga with his hundred wives 1282 (vide Jabalpur plate of Yasahkarnadeva dated 1122 A.D. in E.I. vol. II. p. 4 and the Khaira plates of the same king in E. I. vol. XII. p. 205). In Bengal the evils of Kulinism are well known. The reasons for this treatment of women were many, such as the great spiritual importance of sons, early marriages and consequent illiteracy of women, the spread of the idea of the ceremonial impurity of women and their being equated with sudras and lastly the idea of the complete dependence of women on men. One must not be carried away, however, by the notion that marrying many wives was either very common or was not looked down upon. Steele (in 'Law and Custom of Hindoo Castes,' first published in 1826) who had the most unique opportunities for observing the practices of numerous castes in the Dekhan in the first decades of the 19th century writes (p. 188, ed. of 1868) 'a man may marry as many wives as his inclination or circumstances Marriages in succession, in consequence of the death of a former wife, are very common; but polygamy is not usual except on account of the barrenness of the first wife. It is practised in the Koonbee castes'. Vide also Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. I (ed. of 1907) p. 482 'Although in theory polygamy is allowed, in practice a second wife is rarely taken while the first is alive and in India as a whole there are only 1011 wives to every 1000 husbands so that even if no husbands have more than two wives all but 11 per thousand must be monogamous'. The state of the modern case law is unsatisfactory. The Bombay High Court has held that the mere fact that the husband has married a second wife would not entitle the first wife to refuse to stay with the husband. Vide Motilal v. Chanchal, 4 Bom. L. R. 107. In Virasami v. Appasami, 1 Madras High Court Reports, p. 375, the court held that a Hindu may marry any number of wives, although he may have a wife or wives living. It is submitted with great respect that that is

[.] 1281. षोडश स्त्रीसहस्राणि वासुदेवपरिग्रहः। तासामासीन्महानादो दृष्ट्वैवार्जनमा-गतम् ॥ मौसलपर्व V. 6.

^{1282.} प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलिनवेशबन्धौ साधै शतेन यृहिणीभिरसुत्र सुक्तिम् । $E.\ I.$ vol. II. p. 4.

not the ideal or the view of the best writers, nor is such a view held by the majority of Indian jurists of ancient and medieval times. Modern opinion of educated people is most favourable to making marriages monogamous and efforts are being made to secure absolute monogamy by legislative action. For example, the Madras Nambudri Act (Madras Act XXI of 1933) forbids a Nambudri brāhmaṇa from marrying a second wife when the first is living except in three cases viz. (1) when the first wife is afflicted with an incurable disease for over five years, (2) when she has not borne a child within ten years of marriage, and (3) when she becomes an outcast.

Polyandry

The passages cited above (note 1274) from the Ait. Br. and the Tai. S. that a woman cannot have several husbands at the same time make it clear that in those ancient times polyandry was unheard 1283 of. Not a single Vedic passage can be cited which clearly refers to the practice of polyandry. most glaring example of polyandry in Sanskrit literature is that of Draupadi as the wife of the five Pandavas. Probably the tradition was too firmly rooted to allow the author to ignore The Mahabharata shows that all were shocked by the resolve of Yudhisthira to make Draupadi the wife of the five brothers. Dhrstadyumna (Adiparva 1284 195, 27-29) tries vehemently to dissuade Yudhisthira, who tries to justify his action on the ground of ancient practice and the agreement of the brothers to share everything that any one of them may secure. But Yudhisthira could 1285 ferret out (Adi. chap. 196) only two instances (rather mythical) in support of the practice viz. of Jatila Gautami (who had seven sages as husbands) and of Varksi who had ten Pracetasa brothers as husbands. It is this fact that has led many scholars to regard the Pandus as a non-Aryan tribe somehow grafted on the Aryan stock and represented as relatives of the Kauravas by the editor of the

^{1283.} Vide Cambridge History of India, vol I. p. 88, Vedic Index I. p. 479.

^{1284.} एकस्य बह्वचो विहिता महिष्यः क्रुकनन्द्न। नैकस्या बहवः पुंसः श्रूयन्ते पतयः क्रिचित्। लोकवेद्विकद्धं त्वं नाधर्मे धर्मविच्छुचिः। कर्तुमर्हसि कौन्तेय कस्मात्ते द्विदिन् हुनी। आदि. 195. 27-29; vide सभापर्च 68.35 where Karna speaks of Draupadī as 'bandhakī' (a harlot), because she had many men as her husbands.

^{1285.} युधिष्ठिर replies 'स्क्ष्मो धर्मों महाराज नास्य विद्यो वयं गतिम् । पूर्वेषामासु-पूर्व्येण यात वर्त्मानुयामहे ॥ ?

Mahābhāratā. This too also sounds somewhat far-fetched. Kumārilabhatta in his Tantravārtika cuts this Gordian knot by putting forward three explanations, one of which boldly asserts that there were many Draupadis very similar to each other and so the epic figuratively speaks of one Draupadi only. 1286 There were really five Draupadis (and not one) married separately to the five Pandavas. In the Dharmaśāstra works there are traces of the knowledge of the practice of polyandry. Ap. Dh. S. (II. 10. 27. 2-4) refers to it 'One shall not make over (his wife) to strangers (for a son by nivoga), but only to one who is a sagotra; for they declare that a bride is given to the family (of brothers and not to one brother alone); that (niyoga) is forbidden on account of the weakness of men's senses.' Similarly Brhaspati, while illustrating the proposition that the king should not disturb popular usages even though they may be improper, several such practices among which he mentions 'In some other countries there is the most reprehensible practice of a brother taking (as wife) the widow of his deceased brother, and the practice of delivering a maiden to a family; similarly among the Pārasīkas (Persians) matches with a mother are seen '. 1287 Dr. Jolly is wrong in thinking that Brhaspati polyandry as practised in the south. Brhaspati first referred to the practice of marrying a maternal uncle's daughter as prevalent amongst the southerners (dāksinātyas) in his day and then adds that a practice of giving a girl to the family is in vogue in other countries. So he clearly means countries other than those of the daksinatyas. Prof. Keith appears to follow Dr. Jolly without any independent examination of the original passage (in E. R. E. vol. 8 on marriage, p. 453). Just as Brhaspati refers to the Parasikas, he speaks of polyandry as current among other countries (but not Aryan India). There are two types of polyandry, 1288 one matriarchal (where a woman forms simultaneous alliances with two or more men who are not necessarily relations of each other and therefore succession is

^{1286.} अथवा बद्धच एव ताः सदृशस्त्रपा द्वीपद्य एकत्वेनोपचरिता इति ग्यबहारार्था-परमा गम्यते ॥ तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 209

^{1287.} विरुद्धाः मतिहर्यन्ते दाक्षिणात्येषु संमिति। स्वमातुलसुनोह्वाहो मातृबन्धुत्वहृषितः ॥ अभर्तृकभ्रातृभार्याग्रहणं चातिदृ वितम् । कुले कन्याप्रदानं च देशेष्वन्येषु हरयते ।
तथा मातृविवाहोपि पारसीकेषु हरयते । बृहस्पति quoted in the स्मृतिच । 1. 10, स्मृतिमु.
(वर्णाश्रम p. 130). Vide Jolly's Recht und Sitte, English translation,
p. 102.

^{1288.} Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. I. p. 483 (1907).

traced through the female) and the other fraternal, where a woman becomes the wife of several brothers. The former practice once prevailed among the Nairs on the Malabar coast, but it has now died out. The latter form of polyandry is still to some extent found in Kumaon, Garhwal and among peoples in the Himalayan area up to Assam. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (I. A. vol. 8, p. 88) says that in Kumaun between the Tons and Jumna river about Kalsi, Rajputs, brāhmaṇas and śūdras all practise polyandry and the children are attributed to the eldest brother who is alive. Nīlakaṇṭha, 1290 the commentator of the Mahābhārata, raises (on Adiparva 104. 35) the question about Draupadi's marrying five husbands and refers to the practice among very low castes in his day of one woman having two or three husbands.

Mutual rights and duties of husband and wife

Manu (IX. 101-102) lays down in a concise form the obligations of husband and wife viz. 'they should not prove false to each other till death (as regards dharma, artha and kāma) and that their constant endeavour should be not to be separate from each other and not to break faith with each other (as to those three goals of human life)'. The detailed rights and duties of the husband and wife will be unfolded as we proceed.

The first duty of the husband and the privilege of the wife was to require and to give respectively her co-operation in all religious acts. This has been so from the most ancient times. In Rg. I. 72. 5 it is said 1291 that 'they, accompanied by their wives, worshipped the fire who is worthy of worship'. In another place it is said 'when you make the husband and wife of one mind, they anoint thee with ghee like a well-placed friend'. In the Tai. Br. III. 7.5 occurs a passage 'may the wife unite with her husband by means of the good deeds (done by

^{1289.} Vide the authorities quoted in Jolly's Rocht und Sitte (Eng. tr. p. 103 foot-notes).

^{1290.} कथं तर्हि द्रीपद्याः पञ्च पाण्डवा मारिषायाश्च दश प्राचेतसा इदानींतनानां नीचानां च द्वित्राद्यः पतयो दश्यन्ते इति चेश्व देशचिरतं चरेदिति न्यायेन देशताकल्पेषु पर्यक्तयोगायोगात् नीचानां पशुप्रायाणां चाचारस्याप्रामाण्याच्च अधिकारिविषयत्वाच्च नियोग्यस्य। नीलकण्ठ on आदिपर्व 104. 35.

^{1291.} संजानाना उपसिद्धाभिद्ध पत्नीवन्तो नमस्य नमस्यत् । ऋ. 1. 72. 5; अञ्जान्ति मित्रं सुधितं न गोभिर्यद्धम्पती समनसा छुणोषि । ऋ. V. 3. 2; स पत्नी पत्या सुक्ततेन गच्छताम् । यज्ञस्य युक्तो धुर्यावभूताम् । संजानाना विज्ञहतामरातीः । दिवि ज्योतिरजरमारभेताम् । ते. बा. III. 7. 5.

both), they two became yoked like oxen to the sacrifice: may the two be of one mind and destroy their foes; may they attain non-aging light in heaven'. The same verse with slight variations occurs in the Kāthaka Sam. V. 4 and is relied upon by Sabara on Jaimini VI. 1.21. This indicates that they were supposed to enjoy the fruits of their actions together. We saw above (p. 551) how in the Asvamedha the wife anoints the horse, how in marriage the bride offers handfuls of fried grain into fire. It has already been seen (note 1208) that the Ap. Dh. S. (II. 6.13.17-19) requires that from the time of marriage the husband and wife work together in religious acts, that they share the reward of such acts together and that they both have dominion over the wealth of the family and that the wife can make gifts in the absence of the husband if occasion necessitates. The Asv. gr. (I.8.5) prescribes 1292 that the fire kindled at marriage is carried by the married pair to their home (in a vessel) and that (I. 9. 1-8) since the day of marriage, the husband should worship the domestic fire himself or his wife or his son or his daughter or pupil (may offer worship in his absence), that if fire goes out, some teachers say that the wife should observe a fast, the domestic fire should be worshipped in the evening with an āluti and the formula 'agnaye svāhā' and in the morning with an $\bar{a}huti$ and the formula 'sūrvāva svāhā' and there is to be a second oblation each time silently (to Prajapati). According to the commentator some said that the wife and daughter could not perform the home as they had no privilege to learn mantras, that they could only kindle the fire, while others said they could do so. In the grhya fire kindled at marriage one was to offer the daily mahāyajñas (Gaut. 5. 6-8) and as regards baliharana, Gobhila gr. (I. 4. 16-19) says that both husband and wife should offer balis, or a brahmana may offer for them, or the wife may offer in the evening and the husband in the morning 1293. Manu (III. 121) says that from food cooked in the evening the wife should

^{1292.} विवाह श्लिमग्रतोऽजसं नयन्ति । आश्वः गृ. र. ८. ५ पाणिग्रहणादि गृद्धं परिचरेत्स्ययं पत्न्यपि वा पुत्रः कुमार्यन्तेवासी वा । यदि तूपशाम्येत्पत्न्युपत्रसेदित्येवे । अग्लये स्वाहेति सायं जुहुयात्सूर्याय स्वाहेति प्रातस्तृष्णीं द्वितीये उभयत्र । आश्वः गृः र. १. १. १. ३, ८.

^{1293.} आए. मृ. was against allowing women to perform home even in grhya fire except in the case of kāmya rites and bali. श्चियानुपेतीन क्षारलवणावरानसंसुष्टस्य च होमं परिचक्षते । यथोपदेशं काम्यानि चलयश्च । आप. मृ. 8. 3-4.

offer balis, but without mantras. This shows that though gradually women began to lose the right to repeat Vedic mantras (as shown by Manu), still she had a hand in the religious rites. She had to perform many acts in sacrifices, such as unhusking grain in sthālīpāka (vide Hir. gr. I. 23. 3), washing the slaughtered animal (compare Sat. Br. III. 8.2 and Gobhila gr III. 10. 29), looking at the $\bar{a}jya$ in srauta sacrifices. Pūrvamīmāmsā 1294 (VI. 1. 17-21) establishes that both husband and wife own property and should join together in performing sacrifices, but that the male sacrificer alone is ordinarily to do every act in all religious ceremonies except such matters as are expressly declared to be performed by the wife also or alone (as e. g. observing celibacy, uttering benediction &c.). It is on account of the necessity of associating the wife in all religious acts that the hero Rāma was compelled to celebrate sacrifices with a golden image of Sitā by his side. Pāņini (IV. 1.33) derives the word patni and says that it can be only applied to a wife who shares in the sacrifice (and its reward). It follows that wives who are not or cannot join with their husbands in vaiñas are only jayas or bharyas (but not painis). The Mahabhasya save 1296 that the wife of a sūdra is called patnī only by analogy (as a śūdra himself has no adhikāra for yajña, his wife can much less have it). It is on account of this close association of the wife in all sacrifices (either srauta or smarta) that the wife if she dies before her husband is burnt with the sacred fire or fires and with the sacrificial vessels and implements (Manu V. 167-168, Yāj. I. 89). The Tai, Br. III. 7.1 says 'half of the sacrifice is destroyed in the case of that sacrificer whose wife is (in her monthly course and therefore) unavailable on the sacrificial day.'1297

But the wife is not authorized to do religious acts independently of her husband or without his consent. Manu (V. 155 = Visnu Dh. S. 25. 15) ordains 'there is no separate yajña for

^{1294.} तस्या यावद्क्तमाइविद्वाचर्यमतुल्यत्वात् । जै. VI. 1. 24.

^{1295.} रामोपि कृत्वा सौवणीं सीतां पत्नीं यशस्विनीम् । ईजे यज्ञैबहुविधैः सह आतृ-भिर्राचितैः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 10; 'काञ्चनीं मम पत्नीं च गंग रामायण VII. 91. 25.

¹²⁹⁶. पत्युनों यज्ञसंयोगे। पा. IV. 1. 33; 'एवमपि तुषजकस्य पत्नीति न सिध्यति। उपमानास्सिद्धम्। पत्नीचत्पत्नीति। महाभाष्य on पा. IV. 1. 33. (vol. II. p. 214).

^{1297.} अर्धों वा एतस्य यज्ञस्य मीयते यस्य ब्रह्में पत्न्यनालम्भुका भवति । तैः बा

women (independently of the husband) nor vrata (vows) nor fasts (without his consent).' Similarly Kātyāyana propounds 1208 a sweeping rule 'whatever a woman does to secure spiritual benefit after death without the consent of her father (when she is unmarried), or her husband or her son, becomes fruitless for the purpose intended.' Vide also Veda-Vyāsa smrti II. 19. The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 329) quotes Manu V. 155 and remarks that Manu's words are not to be taken literally but are only meant to extol the eminence of the husband.

Very detailed rules were laid down as to precedence among wives, if a man married several women. Visnu Dh. S. (26, 1-4) concisely gives all the rules. 1299 If all the wives are of the same caste, then the wife whose marriage took place first was to be associated with the husband in all religious acts; if a man had wives of different varnas (when inter-caste marriages were allowed) the wife of the same varna with the husband had precedence, though her marriage might have been later in date. If there is no wife of the same varna as himself, the husband may associate with himself in religious rites even a wife of the varna immediately next to his own; but a dvijāti should never associate a śūdra wife with himself in religious ceremonies. Vide Madanapārijāta p. 134 for similar rules. Vas. Dh. S. 18. 18 expressly says 'a woman belonging to the dark varna (i.e. sudra) is meant only for pleasure and not for performance of religious rites'. 1300 Gobhila smrti (I. 103-104) contains rules similar to those in Visnu Dh. S., Yāj. I. 88 and Veda-Vyāsa II. 12 are to the same effect. Viśvarūpa on Yāj, remarks that though the eldest wife alone is entitled to take part in religious rites, all wives (except a śūdra wife) may be cremated with the śrauta fire. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 165. In the PūrvamImāmsā (IX. 3, 20-21) Jaimini discusses the question whether the direction in the Darśa-pūrnamāsa 'patnīm samnahya' (having girt up the wife) which employs the singular number

^{1298.} नारी खल्वनत्रज्ञाता पित्रा भर्त्रा सतेन या। विफलं तन्द्रवेत्तस्या यत्करोत्यीर्ध्व-देहिकम् ॥ कात्यायन quoted in the व्यवहारमयूख p. 113. This is ascribed to मार्कण्डेय by प्रा. मा. II. 1. p. 37. and by हेमादि (व्रतखण्ड part 1. p. 362) to आदिपुराणः

^{1299.} सुवर्णासु बहुभार्यासु विद्यमानासु ज्येष्ठया सह धर्मकार्य कुर्यात्। मिश्रासु च किनिष्ठयापि समानवर्णया । समानवर्णाया अभावे त्वनन्तरयैवापादि च । न त्वेव द्विजः शूद्रया ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 26. 1-4.

^{1300.} कडणवर्णा या रामा रमणायैव न धर्माय । वसिष्ठ 18. 18.

should be modified into the dual or plural when the sacrificer (in a model sacrifice or its modifications) has two or more wives and establishes that no change is required. The Trikāṇ-damaṇḍana 1301 (I. 43-44) says that there were three views when a man had several wives viz. some said that all should be associated with him in religious rites, others held that only the eldest wife of the same varṇa should be associated and the third view was that the husband should never associate with himself a wife whom he married for pleasure after he kindled the sacred fires. Manu (IX. 86-87) lays down that the wife of the same caste with the husband should always have precedence not only in the obligatory religious rites, but also in ministering to the physical comfort of the husband and if a brāhmaṇa husband gets these done by a wife of another caste when the wife of the same caste is near, he becomes like a cāndāla.

From very ancient times one of the articles of faith was that a man was born with debts, that he owed three debts to sages, gods and pitrs and that by brahmacarya (student-hood), by performing yajñas and by procreating sons he freed himself from those three debts respectively. Vide 1302 Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5. Sat. Br. I. 7.2.11, Ait. Br. 33.1. The last very succinctly states the purposes served by a son viz. payment of the debt to ancestors, the securing of immortality and heaven. Rg. V. 4, 10 (prajabhiragne amrtatvam-aśyām) prays 'may I obtain immortality through progeny.' Vas. Dh. S. 17. 1-4 quotes these passages of the Tai. S., Ait. Br. and Rg. The Rg. X. 85. 45 invokes the blessing of ten sons on the newly married bride and the Rg. is full of the yearning for a son at every step. Vide Rg. I. 91. 20, I. 92. 13, III. 1. 23 &c. Jaimini (VI. 2. 31) 1303 discusses the passage of the Tai S. and arrives at the conclusion that the duties laid down in it are obligatory and not left to choice and Sabara adds another explanation that these duties are obligatory on all dvijātis and the word 'brāhmana' is used in the

¹³⁰¹. भार्याः सन्तीह यावत्यस्ताभिः सर्वाभिरान्वितः। यद्वा सवर्णया ज्येष्ठभार्ययैव समन्वितः॥ यद्वाधानादुपर्यूढकामपरनीविचर्जितः। त्रिकाण्डमण्डन 1.43-44.

^{1302.} जायमानो वे बाह्मणिक्काभिर्कणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन वेवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य एष वा अनुणो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी। ते. सं. VI. 3, 10, 5; ऋणं ह वे जायते योऽस्ति। स जायमान एव देवेभ्य ऋषिभ्यः पितृभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यः। शतपथ I. 7, 2, 11; ऋणमिस्मन्संनयत्यममृतत्वं च गच्छति। पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येचेजीवतो सुखम्। नापुत्रस्य लोकोऽस्तीति तत्सर्वे पश्चो विदुः। ऐ. बा. 33, 1, विसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 47 quotes the first passage.

^{1303.} ब्राह्मणस्य तु सोमविद्याप्रजमुणवाक्येन संयोगात्। जैमिनि VI. 2. 31.

Tai. S. as illustrative only. Manu (VI. 35) enjoins upon a man that he should not think of moksa (release from samsāra) before he has paid off the three debts and (IX. 106) further says that by the very birth of the eldest son a man becomes free from the debt owed to ancestors. Manu (IX. 137), Vas. 17. 5. Visnu Dh. S. 15. 46 contain the same verse proclaiming that a man attains all (heavenly) worlds by means of a son and Manu IX. 138, Adi. 129. 14, Visnu Dh. S. 15. 44 declare that a putra is so called because he saves his father from the hell called put. The Nirukta II. 11 1304 also derives the word putra similarly. Further the water and pindas (balls of cooked rice) offered by the son to his father and other deceased ancestors were supposed to be of great efficacy for the peace of the souls of the departed. The Visnu Dh. S. 85, 70,1305 Vanaparva 84. 97, Matsyapurāna 207. 39 contain a verse one should desire to have many sons in the hope that one of them may repair to Gaya.' On account of these several benefits conferred by a son. the highest importance was attached to the birth of a son. The wife helped a man to discharge two of his debts, to the gods by associating with him in sacrifices and to the pitrs by procreating a son or sons. Therefore the goal of the life of women was declared to be to get married and procreate sons. This was so much the case from very ancient times that even the Sat. Br. (V. 3. 2. 2. S. B. E. vol. 41, p. 65) says that the sonless wife is possessed with Nir-rli (ill luck or Destruction). Manu (IX. 96) says 'women are created for procreation and men have to propagate (the race); therefore in the Veda it is declared that the wife shares in common (with the husband) the performance of religious duties'. Nārada (strīpumsa v. 19) also declares that women are created for (procreating) children. It was on account of these ideas about the goal of woman's life and the supreme importance of a son that the smrtis and dharma-sūtra works recommended or allowed the husband to marry a second time even when the first wife was living.

All the smrtis, puranas and the digests devote a great deal of space to the duties of a wife. It would be impossible to set them out in detail. A few striking passages alone will be cited. All are agreed that the foremost duty of a wife is to obey her

^{1304.} पुत्रः पुरु त्रायते निपरणाद्वा पुलरकं ततस्रायत इति वा। निरुक्त II. 11.

^{1305.} एष्टव्या बहव: पुत्रा यद्येकोपि गयां ब्रजेत्। यजेत चाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा दृषसु-त्सुजेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 70. The मत्स्यपुराण 207. 39 reads गौरीं चाष्युदृहे-स्कन्यां for यजे मेधेन.

husband and to honour him as her god. In the Sat. Br. 1306 princess Sukanyā when married to the old and decrepit sage Cyavana to mollify the sage who had been wronged by her brothers says 'I shall not forsake my husband, while he is alive, to whom my father gave me' (IV. 1. 5. 9). Śankha-Likhita 1307 sav 'a wife should not hate her husband even if he be impotent (or have swollen testicles), patita (guilty of mahāpātaka and so an outcast), devoid of a limb or diseased, since the husband is the god of women.' Manu declares (V. 154) 'a virtuous wife should serve her husband as if he were a god, whether he be of evil character. or lustful (loving another woman) or devoid of good qualities' Yāj. I. 77 enjoins upon women 'this is the highest duty (dharma) of women that they should obey their husband's words; if he is guilty of some mortal sin, they should wait till he is purified (and thereafter be dependent on his words)'. The Rāmāyana (Ayodhyā-kānda 24. 26-27) remarks 'the husband is the god and the master of the wife, while she is alive and she obtains the highest heaven by serving her husband.' The Mahābhārata very frequently harps upon the duties of wives. 1308 Anuśāsana parva 146. 55 says 'the husband is the god of a woman, her (sole) relative, her goal'; the Aśvamedhikaparva 90. 51 declares 'the husband is the highest deity.' 'The father gives only what is limited, the brother and the son do the same; what woman would not worship the husband who gives what is unlimited or immeasurable!' (Santiparva 148.6-7). The Matsyapurāna 210.18 contains this last verse and adds 'the husband is the god for women and is their highest goal.' This idea of the wife's entire submission to the

^{1306.} यस्मै मां पितादाक्षेवाहं तं जीवम्तं हास्यामि। शतपथ IV. 1. 5. 9. Vide Manu V. 151 for a paraphrase of this passage. विश्वस्त्य on या I. 69 makes an objector rely on this Satapatha passage to show that it allows niyoga after the husband's death.

^{1307.} न भर्तारं द्विष्याद्यद्यद्यद्यितः स्यात्पतितोङ्गहीनो ध्याधितो वा पतिर्हि देवता स्त्रीणाम्। शङ्कालाखित quoted in स्मृतिच॰ (ध्यव. p. 251), परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 38.

^{1308.} पति है देशे नारीणां पतिर्वन्धुः पतिगीतः। अनुज्ञासन 146. 55; मितं ददाति हि पिता मितं आता मितं सुतः। अमितस्य हि दातारं भतिरं का न पूज्येत्॥ ज्ञान्तिपर्व 148. 6; पति है देवतं श्लीणां पतिरेव परायणम्। मितं ददाति पूज्येत्॥ मत्स्य 210. 17-18. भागेंकचारिणी गृहविश्वमभा देववत्पातिमानुकूल्येन वर्तेत । कामसूत्र IV. 1. 1. Compare St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians V. 22-24 'wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord...Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything.'

husband is voiced even by poets like Kālidāsa, 1809 who makes one of the pupils of Kaṇva say about Śakuntalā 'this is your wife, abandon her or accept her, since all-round domination of the husband over the wife is proper.' Manu V. 150-156, Yāj. I. 83-87, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 2 ff, Vanaparva 233. 19-58 (Draupadi as the speaker), Anuśāsana 123 (Śāndili declares the conduct of virtuous wives), Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti II. 20-32 (wife's duties from morning till night), Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 84 ff (wife's duties from morning), Sm. C. (vyavahāra section) p. 249 ff, Madanapārijāta pp. 192-195 and other mbandhas dwell at length upon the duties of the wife. A few of such duties may be indicated here.

According to Manu V. 150 'a wife should always present a smiling face, should be alert and clever in her domestic duties, should keep domestic vessels well burnished clean and should not be extravagant in spending.' Manu IX. 11 asks the husband to set to his wife the task of conserving the wealth acquired and looking to its expenditure, of keeping things clean, of the performance of religious acts. of cooking food and of taking care of household paraphernalia. Manu (IX. 13) adds that drinking wine, company of bad people, staying away from the husband, wandering about (to tirthas or elsewhere), sleep (by day), staying in the house of strangers—these six spoil married women. Adiparva 74. 12 gives 1310 expression to the popular notion that people do not like married women staying with their paternal relatives for a long time away from their husbands, since such leads to loss of good name and character. same sentiment is echoed by Kālidāsa in the Sākuntala (V. 17). The Markandeya purana 77. 19 is to the same effect. Yaj. (I. 83 and 87) requires the wife to keep household utensils and furniture in their proper places, to be clever, to have a smiling face, to be unextravagant, to be devoted to doing what is agreeable and beneficial to the husband, to show respect to her father-in-law and mother-in-law by clasping their feet; to

^{1309.} तदेषा भवतः कान्ता त्यज वैनां गृहाण वा। उपपन्ना हि दारेषु प्रभुता सर्वतोसुक्षी ॥ शाकुन्तल V.

^{1310.} नारीणां चिरवासो हि वान्धवेषु न रोचते । कीर्तिचारित्रधर्मग्नसस्मान्नयत मा चिरम् ॥ आदिपर्व 74. 12; compare 'सतीमपि ज्ञातिकुलैकसंश्रयां जनोन्यथा भर्तृमतीं विशङ्कते । शाकुन्तल V. 17.

conduct herself decently, to restrain her senses.' Sankha 1311 lays down what is decent conduct for a wife 'she should not go out of the house unless she is asked (by her husband or elders) nor without putting on an upper garment; she should not walk fast; she should not speak with a male who is unrelated to her. except a trader, a samnyāsin, an old man or a physician: she should not allow her navel to be seen; she should wear her garment (or sari) in such a way that it may reach down to her ankles; she should not expose her breasts, she should not laugh loudly without covering her mouth (with her hand or her garment); she should not hatcher husband or his relatives: she should not be in the company of dancing girls, gambling women, women who make assignments to meet lovers, female ascetics, female fortune-tellers, women who live by tricks, magical and secret rites and who are of bad character: since (the wise declare that) the character of women of good family is spoilt by the company (they keep). The Visnu Dh. S. 25, 1-6 ordains now then the duties of wives (are declared); they should perform the same vratas (observances and vows) which the husband undertakes; they should honour the mother-in-law. the father-in-law, other elders, gods, guests and keep the household utensils well arranged; they should not be extravagant in giving to others; should keep the goods well guarded; they should have no liking for magical practices (to win love) and should be devoted to auspicious conduct. also Visnu Dh. S. chap. 99 last two verses (quoted by Aparārka p. 107). Draupadī (Vanaparva chap. 233) states whatever my husband does not eat, drink or partake of, I avoid. I know the total wealth, the income and expenditure of the Pandavas'. The Kamasutra directs the wife to make expenditure that will be commensurate with the yearly income of the

^{1311.} नासुक्ता गृहाक्षिर्गच्छेत्। नासुक्तरीया। न स्वरितं ब्रजेत्। न परपुरुषमिभ-भाषेतान्यत्र चिणक्यब्रजितवृद्धवैद्यभ्यः। न नाभिं दृश्येत्। आ ग्रुल्फाद्धासः परिदृश्यात्। न स्तनी विद्यती छुर्यात्। न हसेद्नपावृता। भर्तारं तद्धन्धून्या न द्विष्यात्। न गणिका-धूर्ताभि-सारिणी-प्रव्रजिता-प्रेक्षणिकामायाम्ळुछ्दकतारिकादुःशीलादिभिः सहैकत्र तिष्ठेत्। संसर्गण हि छुलक्षीणां चारित्र्यं दुष्यति। शङ्ख quoted by the मिताक्षरा on या. I. 87, by अपरार्क p. 107 (on या. I. 83), मद्दनपारिजात p. 195; vide also स्मृतिच॰ (व्यवहार) pp. 249-250 and वि. र. p. 430. As to speaking with परपुरुष, vide वनपर्व 266. 3 एका ह्यहं संप्रति ते न चाचं ददानि वै भद्र निवेध चेद्म। अहं त्वरण्ये कथमे-कमेका त्वामालपेयं निरता स्वधर्मे॥. Vide also अनुशासन 146. 43. 'मूलकारिका' in the passage of शङ्ख means one who employs herbs &c. for वशिकरण-Vide वनपर्व 233. 7-14 (the last verse is मूलप्रचारिहिं विषं प्रयच्छन्ति जिषांसवः).

husband. 1312 Manu (VIII. 361) prescribes the fine of a suvarna for a man speaking with a woman with whom he is forbidden to speak and Yāj. II. 285 prescribes a fine of one hundred panas in the case of a woman who is forbidden to speak with a man (by her husband or father &c.) and a fine of two hundred panas in the case of the man who speaks with a woman with whom he is forbidden to speak. Brhaspati 1313 says that a wife should get up from bed before her husband and elders, should partake of food and condiments after they have eaten, should occupy a seat lower than that of the husband or elders. 'A wife can engage in vratas, fasts, observances and worship (of god &c.) with the permission of her husband' say Śańkha-Likhita, 1814 The Puranas frequently descant on stridharma. A few specimens may be noted here. The Bhagavata VII, 11, 29 says that the wife who looks upon her husband as the god Hari dwells in the world of Hari and revels with her husband. The Skanda Purāna (Brahma-khanda, Dharmāranya section, chap. 7) has a long description of a palivrata 'she should not repeat the name of her husband, as such conduct leads to the increase of the husband's life and should never take the name of another male (v. 18), even when she is loudly blamed (by the husband) she does not cry loudly, even when besten she is smiling (v. 19). A pativratā should always use turmeric, kuhkuma, sindūra. lamp black (for the eye), a bodice, tāmbüla, auspicious ornaments, and should braid her hair '(vv. 28-29). The Padma-purana (Srsti-khanda, chap. 47, v. 55) says that that wife is pativratā who in doing work is like a slave, like a helaira in affording sexual pleasure, like a mother in offering food and like a counsellor in adversity.

Special rules of conduct were laid down for a wife whose husband was away from home on a journey. Śańkha-Likhita (quoted by Aparārka p. 108, Sm. C., vyavahāra p. 253) contain a long statement about what such a wife should not do 'women whose husbands are away from home should avoid amusements of swing and dance, seeing pictures, applying unguents to the body, walking in parks, sleeping in open places (or uncovered).

^{1312.} सांवत्सरिकमायं संख्याय तद्तुरूपं व्ययं कुर्यात् । कामसूत्र IV. 1, 32.

^{1313.} पूर्वोत्थानं ग्रुरुष्वर्वाक्र् भोजनस्यञ्जनिक्रया। जघन्यासनकायित्वं कर्म स्त्रीणा-सुदाहृतम्। बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच॰, स्यव. p. 257.

^{1314.} भर्तुरज्ज्ज्ञया व्रतोपवासिनयमेज्यादीनामारम्भः स्त्रीधर्मः । शङ्क्षांलिखित quoted in स्मृतिच॰ (व्यवहार) p. 252.

partaking of sumptuous food and drink, playing with a ball, fragrant resins and perfumes, flowers, ornaments, ceremonial brushing of the teeth, collyrium (in the eyes). Yaj. (I. 84) puts these briefly 'a woman whose husband is gone to another country should give up play, the adornment of the body visiting samājas (note 986 above) and festivals, laughing, going to the house of a stranger. The Anusasana-parva 1315 (123, 17) indicates that a wife whose husband is gone abroad does not apply eyesalve or rocanā (yellow pigment) to her body, does not take a ceremonial bath and does not use flowers, unguents or ornaments. Manu (IX. 74-75) requires the husband when going abroad to make provision for the wife's maintenance, since a woman without some means of livelihood, though originally virtuous, may go astray and adds 'when the husband goes abroad after providing for maintenance, the wife should live thereby and abide by the restrictions (laid down for such wives); if he goes away without making provision for her maintenance she should maintain herself by crafts (such as spinning) which are unblamable. The Visnu Dh. S. (25, 9-10) contains similar rules. The Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (II. 52) enjoins upon a wife whose husband is gone abroad her 1316 face should look pale and distressed, she should not embellish her body. she should be devoted to her husband, should be without (full) meal, and should emaciate her body.' The Trikandamandana 1317 (I. 80-81 and 85) says that when the husband is gone abroad the wife may with the help of a priest perform the daily duties of agmiholra, the obligatory istis and pitryajña, but should not perform soma sacrifices.

The rewards of the wife's single-minded devotion to her husband and her rigid observance of the rules of conduct prescribed for her are stated at great length in smrti works. Manu (IX. 29-30 = Manu V. 165 and 164) says 'that woman who does not prove faithless to her husband in thought, word and deed (lit. body) secures the (heavenly) worlds together with her husband and is spoken of as a $s\bar{u}dhv\bar{i}$ ' (a virtuous woman, a $pativrat\bar{u}$); but by proving faithless to her husband as

^{1315.} अञ्चनं रोचनां चैव स्नानं माल्यानुहोपनम्। प्रसाधनं च निष्कान्ते नाभिन-न्दानि भर्तरि॥ अनुशासन 123. 17.

^{1316.} विवर्णदीनवद्ना देहसंस्कारवर्जिता । पवित्रता निराहारा शोष्यते प्रोणिते पती॥ वेदन्यासस्यृति II. 52.

^{1317.} अतोशिहोत्रं नित्येष्टिः पितृयज्ञ इति त्रयम्। कर्तव्यं प्रोषिते पत्यौ नान्यत्स्वामि-क्रियान्वितम् ॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन I. 83.

woman incurs censure in this world, is born as a female jackal (in the next life) and is afflicted with very bad diseases.' Yāj. (I. 75 and 87) declares that the woman, who does not approach another while the husband is living or after his death and who is intent on doing what is agreeable and beneficial to her husband, who is of good conduct and has restrained her senses, attains glory in this world and plays with Umā (the wife of Śiva) in heaven. Brhaspati¹³¹⁸ defines a pativratā as one who is distressed when her husband is distressed, who is delighted when her husband is in delight, who is emaciated and wears dirty clothes when her husband has gone on a journey and who dies on the death of her husband.

In the Mahabharata and the puranas hyperbolical descriptions of the power of the pativratā occur at every step. Vide Vana-parva 63 where we are told (vv. 38-39) that when Damayanti cursed by her faithfulness to her husband the young hunter who had evil designs on her, he fell down a dead man. In the Anusasanaparva 123 Sandili who 1319 had attained heavenly worlds tells Sumanā Kaikevī how she reached that state without wearing kāsāvas (dyed garments worn by samnyāsins) or bark garments and without having matted hair or without tonsuring her head (as ascetics do), but by strictly following the rules laid down for virtuous wives, such as not addressing harsh words to their husband, abandoning all food that the husband did not like. Anuśāsana (146. 4-6) names several pativratūs of ancient times and the following verses dilate upon the rules of conduct for, virtuous wives. The story of Savitri in the Vanaparva (293-299) illustrates the power of a pativratā, who wrung back even from Yama, the dread god of Death, the life of her husband. 1320 Savitri and Sita have been held by the women of India for thousands of years as the

^{1318.} आतार्ते सुद्धिते हुष्टा मोषिते मिलना कुशा ॥ मृते भ्रियेत या पत्यौ सा स्त्री ज्ञेया पतिवता ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 109, by the मिता. on या. I. 86 (as हारीत's). It is ब्रद्धहारीत XI. 199.

^{1319.} नाहं काषायवसना नापि वस्कलधारिणी। न च सण्डा च जटिला भूरवा देवत्त्वमागता॥ अहितानि च वाक्यानि सर्वाणि परुषाणि च। अप्रमत्ता च भर्तारं कदाचिस्नाह-मञ्जवस् ॥ अञ्चरासन 123. 8-9, 14 &c.

^{1320.} Vide also मत्स्यपुराण 208-214 for the tale of सावित्री. सावित्री says in चनपर्व 297. 53 'न कामये भर्तृविनाकुता सुखं न कामये भर्तृविनाकुता विवस्। न कामये भर्तृविनाकुता अर्थं न भर्तृहीना व्यवसामि जीवितुस्॥'

highest ideals of womanly virtue, to which they have always endeavoured to approach and one may say that Indian women generally have most successfully lived up to that high and ennobling ideal that was set before them. Vanaparva (205-206) tells the story of a learned brahmana, who by his mere angry look made a female crane die when the latter voided its faeces on to the head of the brahmana and who was rebuked by a pativratā that the latter was not a crane, when the brahmana tried to frighten the virtuous woman for her tardiness in welcoming him as a guest and for looking only after her husband. The Salyaparva (63) narrates how awful the power of a pativratā like Gāndhārī is in that she can, if she choose, burn the world, she can stop even the motions of the sun and 1321 the moon. The Skanda-purāna III (Brahma-khanda, Brahmāranya section chap. 7) first names (verses 14-15) several pativratās like Arundhatī, Anasūyā, Sāvitrī, Śāndilyā, Satyā, Menā and then waxes eloquent over the tremendous spiritual power of a pativratā 'just as a snake-charmer 1322 forcibly draws out from a hole a snake, so a pativratā snatches away her husband's life from the messengers of Death and reaches heaven with her husband and the messengers of Death, on seeing the pativrata, beat a hasty retreat.'

As the foremost duty of the wife was to honour and serve the husband, she must always stay with him and she had a right of residence in the house. A wife was further entitled to be maintained in the house by the husband. A verse quoted by Medhātithi on Manu III. 62 and IV. 251 and by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 224 and II. 175 and which occurs in some MSS. as a spurious verse after Manu XI. 10 says 'Manu declares that one must maintain one's aged parents, a virtuous wife and a minor son by doing even a hundred bad acts'. 1823 Dakṣa

^{1321.} कृष्ण says to गान्धारी 'इक्का चासि महाभागे पृथिवीं सचराचराम्। चश्चुषा क्रोधदीसेन मदग्धुं तपसी बलात्॥ ' शत्यपर्व 63. 21.

^{1322.} ध्यालग्राही यथा ध्यालं चलादुद्धरते चिलात्। एवमुत्क्रम्य दूतेम्यः पतिं स्वर्गे क्रजेत्सती ॥ यमदूताः पलायन्ते तामालोक्य पतिव्रताम्। स्कन्दपुराण (ब्रह्मखण्ड), धर्मारण्य chap. 7. 54-55. It will be noticed later on that the half verse ध्यालग्राही occurs in numerous works.

^{1323.} वृद्धौ च मातापितरो साध्वी भार्या शिशुः सुतः। अप्यकार्यशतं कृत्वा भर्तथ्या मसुरववीत् ॥

II. 36 (= Laghu-Āsvalāyana 1824 I. 74) defines posyavarga (persons whom every one, however poor, is bound to maintain) as follows: 'the parents, the guru, the wife, children and a belpless man who has taken shelter with one, a guest and fire constitute posyavarga.' Manu VIII. 389 prescribes that the man who abandons and does not maintain his parents, wife, and son, when they are not cutcasted, should be fined 600 panas by the king. Yāj. I. 74 requires the husband to maintain a wife whom he has superseded in the same way as before, otherwise he would be guilty of great sin. Yāj. I. 76 says that if a man abandoned a wife who was obedient, diligent, the mother of a son, and agreeable in speech, he was to be made to give one-third of his property to the wife, but if he had no property he had to maintain her. Nārada (strīpumsa 95) has a similar provision. The Visnu Dh. S. V. 163 made the husband punishable like a thief, if he abandoned his wife. The husband was required by Yāj. I. 81 to be devoted to his wife, since women are to be guarded (against falling into error). Vide Yāj, I, 78 also. Manu IV. 133 forbids adultery with another's wife and Manu IV. 134 (= Anuśāsana 104. 21 and Mārkandeva-purāna 34. 62-63) observes that there is nothing that harms one's life as much as adultery. Viśvarūpa 1325 on Yāj. I. 80 points out that the guarding of a wife from evil can be secured only by being devoted to her and not by beating her, as, if the husband were to beat her, it might endanger her life. Manu (IX, 5-9) also calls upon men to guard women, and (in IX. 10-12) says that they cannot be guarded by imprisonment or force, but by engaging them in looking to the income and expenditure, the furniture, beauty and purity of the house and the cooking and by inculcating on them the value of a virtuous life. In spite of this the husband possessed certain powers of physical correction over the wife which were the same as those possessed by a teacher over a pupil or a father over a son, viz. he could administer beating with a rope or a thin piece of bamboo on the back but never on the head. Vide Manu VIII. 299-300 (cited above on p. 363) which are the same as Matsyapurana 227. 152-154. It will be seen that about two thousand years ago Manu did not confer

^{1324.} माता पिता गुरुर्भार्या प्रजा दीनः समाभितः । अभ्यागतोऽतिथिश्वाग्निः पोष्यवर्ग उदाहृतः ॥ तृक्ष II. 36. Verse 37 includes other persons among posyavarga in the case of the well-to-do. Apararka p. 939 quotes Dakşa II. 36-37.

^{1325.} रक्षा च स्त्रीणां स्वदारनिरतत्वमेव न तु ताडनादिका। तथा तासामनर्थापि संभाग्येत। तथा च लौकिकाः पाञ्चालस्त्रीयु मार्व्यमिति पठन्ति। विश्वरूप on या. I, 80.

greater powers of correction and restraint of the wife on the husband than the Common Law of England allowed to husbands even in the 18th century.¹³²⁶

As it was the husband's duty to provide residence and maintenance for the wife and as the wife was bound to stay with the husband, it follows that either party could after marriage enforce his or her rights in a court of law if the other party refused to perform her or his duties. In modern times a suit for restitution of conjugal rights can be brought and the decree can be executed against the wife by the attachment and sale of her property (if she has any), but not by detention in civil jail and against the husband by the court ordering the husband to make periodical payments of money for the maintenance of the wife and securing such payments by creating a charge on his property (vide Civil Procedure Code of 1908 Order 21 rules 32 and 33). To such a suit by the husband Indian Courts have recognised certain valid defences, such as desertion, cruelty or such conduct as endangers the health of the wife, change of religion, or keeping a concubine in the house or the husband's being afflicted with a loathsome disease (like leprosy). Vide Bai Premkunvar v. Bhika 5 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) p. 209 (leprosy), Yamunabai v. Narayan 1 Bom. 164 (cruelty), Paigi v. Sheo Narain 8 All, 78, Dular Koer v. Dwarkanath 34 Cal. 971, Bai Jivi v. Narsingh 51 Bom. 329. Where the courts make the husband pay maintenance, they are in principle following Yaj. I. 76 and Nārada (p. 569). Vide Binda v. Kaunsilia 13 All. 126 where many original Sanskrit texts are cited.

Not only was the husband bound to maintain the wife, but he was called upon to cohabit with the wife and was supposed to incur the sin of embryo-murder if he refused without good cause to do so. On the other hand the husband had a right of

1326. Vide Blackstone's commentaries on the laws of England (ed. of 1765, Oxford) Book I. chap. 15 pp. 432-433 'The husband also (by the old law) might give his wife moderate correction......the law thought it reasonable to entrust him with this power of restraining her by domestic chastisement in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his servants or children........Yet the lower rank of people still claim and exert their ancient privilege; and the courts of law will still permit a husband to restrain a wife of her liberty in case of any gross behaviour'. Vide also Lush on the law of 'Husband and Wife' (4th ed. 1933) pp. 24-29 about the husband's power to beat his wife and restrain her in the past and now.

consortium i. e. the wife was not to refuse herself to the husband and if she did so her delinquency was to be proclaimed in the village and she was to be driven from the house 1227.

The humane character of the legislation of the Indian sages is seen by the fact that even for adultery they do not allow the husband to drive the wife out of the house and to abandon her. Gaut. 22. 35 prescribes that a wife who violates her duty of chastity must undergo a penance, but she should be kept under guard and be given food. Yāj. (I. 70, 72) declares an adulterous woman should be deprived of her authority (over servants &c.), should be made to wear dirty clothes, should be given food just sufficient to enable her to live, should be treated with scorn and made to lie on the ground (not on a cot); a woman becomes pure from adultery when she has her monthly period after that, but if she conceives in adulterous intercourse she may be abandoned and also when she is guilty of the murder of her foetus or of her husband or of some sin that makes her an outcast. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 72 draws attention to the text of Vasistha XXI. 12 'the wives of brāhmaņas, 1228 ksatrivas and vaisvas who commit adultery with a sūdra may be purified by a penance in case no child is born (of the intercourse), but not otherwise' and remarks that the words of Yājñavalkya are to be understood in the same sense i. e. a wife is to be abandoned only if she be in adultery with a südra; and further that the abandonment consists in not allowing her to participate in religious rites and conjugal matters, but she is not to be cast on the streets; she is to be kept apart guarded in a room and to be given food and raiment (as stated in Yaj, III. 297). Vasistha XXI. 10 says that only four (types of) wives are to be abandoned viz. one who has intercourse with the husband's pupil and with the husband's guru, and especially one who attempts to kill her husband and who commits

^{1327.} त्रीणि वर्षाण्युतुमतीं यो भार्यी नाधिगच्छति। स ृत्यं भ्रूणहत्याया दोषमुच्छत्य-संशयम्॥ ऋतुस्तातां तु यो भार्यी संनिधौ नोपगच्छति। पितरस्तस्य तन्मासं तस्मिन्रजासि शेरते॥ भर्तुः प्रतिनिवेशेन या भार्या स्कन्द्येदृतुम्। तां ग्राममध्ये विख्याप्य भ्रूणध्नीं निर्धमेद्ग्यहात्॥ बौ. ध. सू. IV. 1. 19-20, 22. विश्वस्य on या. I. 79 quotes as Baudhayana's verses 20 and 22. संवर्त 98 is the same as बौ. ध. सू. IV. 1. 20. पराशर (4. 14-15) is similar to Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 20 and 22.

^{1328.} ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां भार्याः शूद्रेण संगताः । अमजाता विशुध्यन्ति पायश्चितेन नेतराः ॥ चतम्रस्तु परित्याज्याः शिष्यगा ग्रुक्गा च या । पतिष्की च विशेषण जुङ्गितोपगता च या ॥ विसष्ठ 21. 12 and 10. The मिता ascribes the second verse to व्यास on Yaj. I. 72 and to वसिष्ठ on या. III. 298.

adultery with a man of degraded caste (like a leather-worker). Nārada 1329 (strīpumsa v. 91) says 'when a woman commits adultery her hair shall be shaven, she shall have to lie on a low bed. shall receive bad food and clothing and her occupation will be the removal of sweepings of the husband's house'. Gaut. 23, 14. Śānti-parva 165. 64 and Manu VIII. 371 are more harsh on a woman who has intercourse with a low-caste man, i. e. she is to be punished by the king with being devoured by dogs. Veda-Vyāsa (II. 49-50) says that 'a wife 1320 who is guilty of adultery should be kept in the house but void of her rights of associating in religious and conjugal matters and of her rights over property, and should be treated with scorn; but when she has had monthly course after the act of adultery (and does not repeat it), the husband should allow her the usual rights of a wife as before.' Manu XI 177 asks the husband to confine an exceedingly corrupt wife to one room and compel her to perform the penance 1331 prescribed for males in cases of adultery. Vide Atri V. 1-5, Parāšara IV. 20 and XI. 87 and Brhad-Yama IV. 36.

Under the English law, if the wife commits adultery the husband's obligation to maintain her ceases altogether unless he had connived at it or condoned it. 1322

The following propositions can be deduced from the texts cited above. (1) There is no absolute right of abandonment of wife in the husband on the ground of adultery; (2) Adultery is ordinarily an upapātaka (a minor sin) and can be atoned for by appropriate penance undergone by the wife; (3) the wife who has committed adultery but has undergone penance is to be restored to all the ordinary rights of wives (vide Vas. XXI. 12, Yāj. I. 72, Mit. thereon and Aparārka p. 98); (4) as long as the adulteress has not undergone penance, she is to be given in the house itself starving maintenance and to be deprived of all her rights as wife (Yāj. I. 70, Śāntiparva 165. 63);

^{1329.} व्यभिचारे स्त्रिया मौण्ड्यमधः शयनमेव च । कद्शं वा कुवासश्च कर्म चावस्क-रोज्झनम् ॥ नारद् (खीपुंस v. 91).

^{1330.} व्यभिचारेण दुष्टां तां पत्नीमा दर्शनाष्ट्रतोः । इतित्रवर्गकरणां धिक्कुतां च वसेत्पतिः ॥ पुनस्तामार्तवस्नातां पूर्ववद् व्यवहारयेत् ॥ वेद्वव्यास II. 49-50.

^{1331.} Penance will be lighter or heavier according to the caste of the adulterer. According to मनु XI. 60 adultery is an उपपातक and the ordinary penance for it is गोन्नत or चान्नायण (मनु XI. 118).

^{1332.} Vide Halsbury's Laws of England vol. 16 (Hailsham ed.) pp. 609-610.

(5) a wife, who commits adultery with a sudra or has had a child thereby, who is guilty of killing her foetus or of attempt to kill the husband or guilty of one of the deadly sins (mahāpātakas), is to be deprived of her right to participation in religious rites or conjugal matters and is to be kept confined in a room or in a hut near the house and to be given starving maintenance and poor apparel, even after she undergoes penance (Vas. XXI. 10, Manu XI. 177, Yaj. III. 297-98 and Mit. thereon); (6) that wives who are not guilty of acts mentioned in Yaj. I. 72, III. 297-298, Vas. 21, 10 or 28, 7 are to be given starving maintenance and residence near the house even if they do not perform penance (vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 298): (7) wives who are guilty of the acts mentioned in Yāj. I. 72, III. 297-298, if they refuse to perform penance, are to be refused even starving maintenance and residence near the husband's house (Mit. on Yaj. III. 298). The propositions about maintenance set out here are accepted as the modern Hindu Law by the courts in India. 1333

It has been shown above (p. 518) that Ap. postulated the identity of husband and wife in religious matters and Manu IX. 45 declares that the husband is one with his wife. But this identity of husband and wife was not accepted by the ancient sages for secular or legal purposes. The rights of husband and wife as to each other's property and the liability of each for the debts of the other will be dealt with later on in detail. It may suffice here to point out that the wife was not ordinarily liable for the debts contracted by the husband nor was the husband liable for the debts contracted by the wife alone, unless the debt was for family purposes (Yāj. II. 46). Similarly the husband could exercise no dominion over the wife's own property (her stridhana or peculium) except in a famine or for a necessary religious purpose, or in disease or when he was imprisoned (Yāj. II. 147). These rules prescribed centuries ago compare in their fairness or reasonableness most favourably with the rules of the English law 1334 (as they prevailed before the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, 45 and 46 Vict. chap. 75), whereby the husband by the mere fact of marriage acquired free-hold interest, during the joint lives of himself and

^{1333.} Vide Parami v. Mahadevi I. L. R. 34. Bom. 278 at p. 283 (per Chandavarkar J.).

^{1334.} Vide Halsbury's Laws of England (Hailsham ed.) vol. 16 pp. 613-614.

his wife, in all estates of inheritance and life estates of which she was seised at the marriage or became seised during coverture, and an absolute interest in all the wife's personal chattels.

Nārada 1335 (strīpumsa, v. 89) does not allow the husband or wife to lodge a complaint against one another with their relations or with the king. The Mit. on Yaj. II. 294 remarks 'though a judicial proceeding between husband and wife as plaintiff and defendant before the king is forbidden, still, if the king comes to know personally or indirectly of wrong done by the one to the other, the king must bring round the husband or the wife to the path of duty by appropriate punishment, otherwise 1326 the king incurs sin'. There were certain matters of which the king could take cognisance without the complaint of anybody: they were called aparadhas (they are ten) among which were included the murder of a woman, varnasamkara, adultery, pregnancy of a widow from some person other than the husband, abortion 1337 &c. We have seen (p. 569) that Yaj. I. 76, Nārada (strīpumsa, v. 95) make the husband liable to pay one-third of his estate or a fine for deserting a virtuous wife and there are many such provisions about the matters affecting the husband and wife in which the king interfered. In England 1338 at Common Law a wife could not sue her husband in tort (till the Married Women's Property Act) nor could a husband sue the wife in tort.

We must now turn to the position of women in general and wives in particular and the estimate of their character and worth made by ancient India. It has already been seen (p. 428) how the wife was looked upon as half of the husband, how in Vedic times women composed hymns and learnt the Vedas and how they co-operated with their husbands in all religious acts. On the whole their social position was much better (except as to rights of property) than what it became in later times. But

^{1335.} ईर्व्यास्याससुत्थे तु संबन्धे रागहेतुके । दम्पती विवदेयातां न ज्ञातिषु न राजनि ॥ नारद (श्रीपुंस v. 89).

^{1936.} यद्यापि स्त्रीपुंसयोः परस्परमधिमत्यधितया त्रूपसमक्षं व्यवहारो निषिद्धस्तथापि प्रत्यक्षेण परंपरया वा विदिते तयोः परस्परातिचारे दृण्डादिना दम्पती निजधर्ममार्गे राज्ञा स्थापनीयो, इतरथा दोषभाग्भवति । मिताक्षरा.

^{1337.} Vide स्मृतिचिन्द्रिका, व्यव॰ p. 28 quoting नारद, संवर्त and पितामह for ten अपराधs, 22 पद्र, &c.

^{1338.} Vide Salmond's Law of Torts, 9th ed. pp. 71-72.

even in the Vedic times there was an under-current of opinion which was hostile to women, sneered at them and treated them with scorn. Some of the passages from Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature eulogising women and the wife have been set out above (pp. 428ff). The passages noted below may be read in this connection. 1359 Vide Baud. Dh. S. II. 2, 63-64, Manu III. 55-62, Yāj. I. 71, 74, 78, 82, Vas. Dh. S. 28. 1-9, Atri vv. 140-141 and 193-198, Adiparva 74. 140-152, Santiparva 144. 6 and 12-17. Anuśāsana 46. Mārkandeyapurāna 21. 69-76. The Kāmasūtra III. 2 says that women are like flowers (kusumasadharmāno hi yositah). It has been seen (pp. 146-147) how way was to be made by all for the bride and the pregnant woman and it will be shown that the general opinion was that no woman was to be killed on any account (with one or two exceptions 1340 in ancient writers). Some of the smrtikāras like Atri and Devala were so liberal as to say that women who had intercourse with one not of the same caste or who had conceived by such intercourse did not become outcasts, but only impure till delivery or next period when they became pure again and could be associated with, the child born of the adulterous connection being handed over to some one else for being brought up. 1341 If a woman was raped she was not to be abandoned, but she became impure only till her next period (Atri 197-198) and Devala (48-49) prescribes purifications for a woman raped by mlecchas and conceiving thereby. In the Santiparva 267. 38 it is said that it is not the woman who is at fault, but it is the man who is at fault (when the woman goes astray). In the Varunapraghāsa¹³⁴²

1339. न गृहं गृह मित्याहुर्गृहिणी गृहसुच्यते । गृहं तु गृहिणीहीनमरण्यसद्दृशं मतम् ॥ शान्ति 144. 6; नास्ति भार्यासमी बन्धुः नास्ति भार्यासमा गृतिः। नास्ति भार्यासमी लांके सहायो धर्मसंग्रहे । शान्ति 144. 16; यदा भार्या च भर्ता च परस्परवशानुगी । तदा धर्मार्थकामानां चयाणामि संगतम् ॥ कथं भार्यामृते धर्ममर्थे या पुरुषः प्रभी । प्रामीति कामम-थवा तस्यां त्रितयमाहितम् ॥ तथैव भर्तारमृते भार्या धर्माद्विसाधने । न समर्था चिवगीयं वाम्पत्यं समुदाश्रितः ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 21. 69-71.

1340. Vide Gaut. 23. 14 and Manu VIII. 371 (both prescribe that a woman should be devoured by dogs if she had intercourse with a male of a lower varna), Vas. Dh. S. 21. 1-5. Even this was modified later and only परित्याम was allowed; vide Vas. 21. 10, Yaj. I. 72.

1341. असर्वर्णेस्तु यो गर्भः श्लीणां योनौ निषिच्यते। अञ्चन्द्रा सा भवेत्नारी यावद्गर्भ न सञ्ज्ञित ॥ विस्त के तु ततः शल्ये रजश्चापि प्रदृश्यते। तदा सा ग्रुध्यते नारी विमलं काञ्चनं यथा ॥ अत्रि verses 195-196, which are almost the same as देवल 50-51. अत्रि adds बलाकारी प्रभुक्ता वा चौरभुक्ता तथापि वा। न त्याज्या दृषिता नारी न कामोऽस्या विधीयते। कत्रतकाल उपासीत पुष्पकालेन शुध्यति ॥ vv. 197-198.

1342. यज्जारं सन्तं न प्रमूपात्मियं ज्ञातिं रुम्ध्यात्। असी मे जार इति निर्दिशेत्। तै। बा. 1. 6. 5.

(one of the cāturmāsyas) the sacrificer's wife had to confess if she had a lover and even when she confessed she was allowed to co-operate with her husband in the sacrifice. Vide Tai. Br. I. 6. 5, Śat. Br. II. 5. 2. 20, Kātyāyana Śr. V. 5. 6-10.

As against the high eulogy and considerate treatment of women a few passages unfavourable to women may be cited. We have already seen (p. 503) how woman was said to be 'falsehood' incarnate (Maitrāyaniya S. I. 10.11). Rg. VIII. 33.17 says 'the mind of woman is uncontrollable'; Rg. X. 95, 15 and Satapatha XI. 5. 1. 9 declare 'there is no friendship with women and they have the hearts of hyænas' (addressed to Purūravas about Urvasi); Rg. V. 30. 9 'women are the weapons and army of the dāsa'. The Tai. S. VI, 5. 8. 2 1343 says 'therefore women are without strength, take no daya (portion) and speak more weakly than even a wretched man'. This passage (which really refers to women not being entitled to a portion of Soma drink) is relied upon by Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2.53) and 1344 by Manu IX. 18 for prescribing the entire dependence of women on men, for depriving them of a share on partition or inheritance and of the privilege of Vedic mantras. The Sat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 44. p. 446) says that woman, śūdra, a dog and a crow embody untruth, sin and darkness (XIV. 1. 1. 31). The same Brahmana (IV. 4. 2. 13, S. B. E. vol. 26, p. 366) remarks 'the wives being smitten (with ghee-the thunderbolt) and unmanned neither rule over themselves nor over daya (share of property)' 1845. Another passage of the Satapatha (S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 300) says 'He thereby makes women to be dependent, whence women are sure to be attendant upon man' (XIII. 2. 2. 4). These passages establish that even in Vedic times women were often looked down upon, had no share in property and were dependent. The passages about the character of women contain no more than what male cynics and critics of all times and in all countries have attributed to women such as 'frailty, thy name is woman!'. In the Dharmasastra Literature the position of women became

^{1343.} श्वियो हि दास आयुधानि चक्रे किं मा करझवला अस्य सेनाः। ऋ. V. 39. 9; तस्मात्श्वियो निरिन्द्रिया अद्।यादीरिप पापात्वुंस उपस्तितरं चद्नित। ते. सं- VI. 5. 8. 2.

^{1344.} निरिन्द्रिया अदायाश्च स्त्रियो मता इति श्चितिः। चौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 53; नास्ति स्त्रीणां क्रिया मन्त्रेरिति धर्मे व्यवस्थितिः। निरिन्द्रिया ह्यमन्त्राश्च स्त्रियोऽद्यतमिति स्थितिः॥ मनु IX. 18.

^{1345.} चज्रो वा आज्यमेतेन वै देवा चज्रेणाज्येनाञ्चलेव पत्नीर्निराक्ष्णुवंस्ता इता निरष्टा नारममश्च नैशत न ब्रायस्य च नैशत । शतपथ IV. 4. 2. 13

worse and worse as time went on, except as to rights of property. Gaut. 18. 1, Vas. Dh. S. V. 1 and 3, Manu V. 146-148 and IX. 2-3, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2, 50-52. Nārada (dāvabhāga 31)all declare 1346 that women are not independent, but dependent in all matters on men and that in childhood, after marriage and in old age they are to be guarded by the father, the husband and the son respectively. Manu (IX. 2-3) refers to raksā (i. e. protection against harm or calamity), while Manu V. 146-148 declare a woman's dependence even in all domestic matters at all stages of her life on some male. Nārada (dāyabhāga vv. 28-30) adds 1347 'when a widow is sonless, her husband's relatives are the controlling authority as regards her maintenance, the application (of the husband's property) and guarding her against harm; if there be no relative or sapindas of the husband, then a woman's father's family has control of her; the creator assigned dependence to women as women even of good family fall into ruin by independence. It has been seen above (pp. 561-562) that a woman's only concern was to serve her husband, and that she could perform other observances or undertake fasts and pilgrimages only with her husband's permission. Vide Hemādri (Vrata-khanda, part i. p. 362 where several texts are quoted including Mārkandeyapurāna 16. 61).1348

In the Mahābhārata, in the Manu-smṛti, in other smṛtis and the purāṇas women are charged with serious moral lapses. A few typical and striking passages from the great epic are

1346. अस्वतन्त्रा धर्मे स्त्री। गौतम 18. 1; अस्वतन्त्रा स्त्री पुरुषप्रधाना। वसिष्ठ V. 1; अस्वतन्त्राः स्त्रियः कार्याः पुरुषैः स्वैद्विवानिशम्। विषयेषु च सज्जन्त्यः संस्थाप्या आत्मनो घशे॥ पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने। रक्षन्ति स्थिविरे पुत्रा न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति॥ मन्तु IX. 2-3. The latter is the same as वसिष्ठ V. 3, Band. Dh. II. 2. 52, Narada, dayabhaga v. 31, अनुशासनपर्व 20. 21.

1347. मृते भर्तर्यपुत्रायाः प्रतिपक्षः प्रभुः ख्रियाः। विनियोगात्मरक्षामु भरणे स च ईश्वरः ॥ परिक्षीणे पतिकुले निर्ममुख्ये निराश्रये । तत्सपिण्डेषु वासत्सु पितृपक्षः प्रभुः ख्रियाः । स्वातन्त्र्याद्विपण्ड्यन्ति कुले जाता अपि ख्रियः। अस्वातन्त्र्यमतस्तासां प्रजापितरकल्पयत् ॥ नारद् (दायभागप्रकरण) vv. 28–30. मेधातिथि and कुल्क on मन्त V. 147 quote the half verse तत्सपिण्डेषु ख्रियाः and add another half verse 'पक्षद्वयान्वसाने तुराजा भर्ता ख्रिया मतः', which makes the king the ultimate protector of all women who have no male guardians in the husband's or father's family.

1348. नास्ति स्त्रीणां पृथग्यज्ञो न श्राद्धं नाष्युपोषितम् । भर्तृशुश्रूषयैवैता लोका-निष्टान् वजन्ति हि ।। मार्कण्डेय 16, 61.

cited below. 1349 'The Sütrakāra concludes that women are untruth' (Anuéasana 19.6); 'there is nothing more wicked than women, who are the edge of a razor, poison, snake and fire in one' (Anusasana 38, 12 and 29); there may be at most one pativrata in hundreds of thousands of women (Anusāsana 19. 93): 'women are really uncontrollable but remain within bounds as regards their husbands simply because other men do not woo them and because they are afraid of servants' (Anusāsana 38, 16): vide also Anusāsana chap. 38. 24-25, chap. 39. 6-7 (women have the tricks of the demons Sambara, Namuci and others). The Rāmāyana is not behind the Great Epic in condemning women 'This is the character of women seen in the three worlds viz. they are renegades from Dharma, fickle, cruel and create estrangement' (Aranyakānda¹³⁵⁰ 45, 29-30). In an uncharitable mood Manu (IX, 14-15) gives to women the following character 'they are lascivious, fickle-minded, devoid of love and come to dislike their husbands and resort to another man, whether handsome or ugly, simply because he is a man.' 'It is the nature of women to tempt men: therefore the wise do not act heedlessly with young women, who are able to lead a man astray whether he be learned or not' (Manu II. 213-214 = Anusasana 48. 37-38). Brhat-Parāśara 1351 (Jivānanda's Collection, part 2, p. 121) says that the passion of women is eightfold of that of men. In modern times old men, though they might not know much of the sastras, are often in the habit of repeating a verse which contains a list of the faults of women 'falsehood, thoughtless action, trickery, folly, great greed, impurity, cruelty-these are the natural faults of women. '1358

There are some writers who even in ancient times could not bear the undeserved censure of women and most vigorously

^{1349.} अनुज्ञासन 20. 14 is प्रजापितमतं होतस स्त्री स्वातन्त्रयमहीत । ; अनुताः स्त्रिय इत्येवं सूत्रकारो व्यवस्थित । अनुताः स्त्रिय इत्येवं वेदेष्वि हि पठ्यते (अनुज्ञाः 19. 6-7 (the first half probably refers to Manu IX. 18 or Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 52-53) न स्त्रीम्यः किंचिद्नयद्वे पापीयस्तरमस्ति वे । श्रुरधारा विषं सर्पो विद्विरित्येकतः स्त्रियः । अनुज्ञाः 38. 12 and 29.

^{1350.} अनुशासन 38. 5-6 is almost the same as मनु IX. 14. स्वभावस्त्वेष नारीणां त्रिषु लांकेषु दूरयते । विमुक्तधर्माध्वपलास्तीक्ष्णा भेदकराः श्चियः॥ अरण्यकाण्ड 45. 29-30.

^{1351.} स्त्रीणामष्टग्रणः कामो व्यवसायश्च षङ्ग्रणः। लज्जा चतुर्ग्रणा तासामाहारश्च तद्र्धकः॥ बृहत्पराञ्चर p. 121.

^{1352.} अनुतं साहसं माया मूर्खत्वमतिलोभिता। अशौचत्वं निर्द्यत्वं स्त्रीणां दोषाः स्वभावजाः॥

protested against the injustice of these accusations. Varahamihira (6th century A. D.) in his Brhat-Samhitā chap. 74 (ed. by Kern) makes a spirited defence of women and eulogises them highly. He first says that on women depend dharma and artha and from them man derives the pleasures of sense and the blessing of sons, that they are the Laksmi (goddess of Prosperity) of the house and should be always honour and wealth. He then condemns those who following the path of asceticism and other-worldliness proclaim the demerits of women and are silent about their virtues and pertinently asks 1358 'tell me truly, what faults attributed to women have not been also practised by men? Men in their audacity treat women with contempt, but they really possess more virtues (than men).' He then cites the dicta of Manu in support (verses 7-10). "One's mother or one's wife is a woman; men owe their birth to women; O ungrateful wretches. how can happiness be your lot when you condemn them? The śāstras declare that both husband and wife are equally sinful if they prove faithless to the marriage vow; men care very little for that sastra (while women do care); therefore women are superior to men. Oh! how great is the audacity of wicked men who heap abuse on women that are pure and blameless. like robbers who while themselves stealing raise a hue and cry 'stop, O thief!.' Man in privacy utters words of cajolry to woman, but there are no such words after the woman dies; while women, in gratitude, clasp the corpses of their husbands and enter the fire." It may be said that, barring great poets like Kālidāsa. 1854 Bāna and Bhavabhūti, in the classical period

1353. येण्यङ्गनानां प्रवद्गित दोषान्वैराग्यमार्गेण ग्रुणान् विहाय। ते दुर्जना मे मनसो वितर्कः सद्भाववाक्यानि न तानि तेषाम्॥ प्रमृत सत्यं कतरोऽङ्गनानां दोषस्तु यो नाचिरतो मञ्जपेः। धाष्ट्येन पुंभिः प्रमदा निरस्ता ग्रुणाधिकास्ता मञ्जनात्र चोक्तम् ॥ जाया वा स्याज्जनित्री वा स्यात्मंभवः श्लोकृतो चुणाम् । हे क्रुतन्नास्तयोनिन्दां कुर्वतां यः कुतः सुखम् ॥ अहो धाष्ट्यमसाधूनां निन्द्तामनधाः ख्लियः। सुष्णतामिव चौराणां तिष्ठ चौरेति जल्पताम् ॥ पुरुषश्चदुलानि कामिनीनां कुरुते यानि रहो न तानि पश्चात्। सुक्रतज्ञतयाङ्गना गतास्नवग्रह्म प्रविज्ञन्ति सप्तजिद्धम् ॥ बृहत्संहिता 74. 5, 6, 11, 15, 16. Verses 7 and 9 are the same as Baud. gr. II. 2. 63-64 and verse 10 is Manu III. 58; verses 7-8 are almost the same as वितष्ट. 28. 4 and 9.

1354. कालिदास and भवभूति both depict in very delicate and romantic terms the relation between a loving husband and wife 'गृहिणी सचिवः सखी मिथः प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ। करणाविमुखेन मृत्युना हरता स्वां वद किं न मे हृतम् ॥'रचुवंश VIII. 66; 'ग्रेयो मित्रं बन्धुता वा समग्रा सर्वे कामाः शेवधिर्जीवितं वा। श्लीणां भर्ता धर्मदाराश्च पुंसामित्यन्योन्यं वत्सयोर्ज्ञात्तमस्तु ॥'मालतीमाधव VI. Vide also the well-known verse अद्वेतं सुखदुःखयोरसुगुणं &c. in the जन्तररामचरित I.

Varāhamihira's was rather a solitary voice raised in defence of women and in the appreciation of their worth.

In the midst of this dark picture and undeserved condemnation of woman there is one very bright spot, viz. the high eulogy of and the reverence for the mother in all smrti works. Gaut. (II. 56) first says that the ācārya (one's teacher of the Veda) is the highest among gurus, while some teachers hold that the mother is the highest. The Ap. Dh. S. I. 10. 28. 9 prescribes that a son must always serve his mother even if she has been an outcast (for some great sin), since the mother undertakes for her son numerous (troublesome) actions. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 48) requires the son to maintain his mother, even though an outcast, without speaking to her. Vas. Dh. S. 13, 47 says 'a father who is an outcast may be abandoned, but a mother (though patita) is never an outcast to the son. '1355 'The ācārya exceeds by his greatness ten upādhyāyas, the father exceeds a hundred ācāryas, a mother exceeds a thousand fathers' says Manu II. 145 (= Vas. Dh. S. 13.48). Śankha-Likhita 1358 give a very salutary piece of advice 'the son should not take sides (in a quarrel) between his father and mother: indeed he may (if he chooses) speak on the side of the mother alone, since the mother bore him (in her womb) and nourished him; the son, while living, would never be free from the debt he owes to his mother except by the performance of the Sautramani sacrifice. Yāj. I. 35 holds that the mother is superior to the guru, ācārya and upādhyāya. The Anuśāsana parva¹³⁵⁷ (105. 14-16) says that 'the mother excels in her greatness ten fathers or even the whole earth; there is no guru like the mother.' Santiparva chap. 267 contains a very high eulogy of the mother. Atri 151 says that there is no guru higher than the mother. The great

^{1355.} आचार्यः श्रेष्टो ग्रुह्मणां मातेत्येके । गी. 11. 56; माता पुत्रत्वस्य भूयांसि कर्माण्यारभते तस्या श्रुश्चणा नित्या पतितायामपि । आप. धः स्. 1. 10. 28. 9; पतितामपि तु मातरं चिश्वयादनभिभाषणमाणः । बौ. ध. स्. 11. 2. 48; पतितः पिता परित्याज्यो माता तु पुत्रे न पति । वसिष्ठ 13. 47.

^{1356.} न मातापित्रोरन्तरं गच्छेत्पुत्रः । कामं मातुरेवाद्यमृयास्मा हि धारिणी पोषणी च । न पुत्रः मतिसुन्येतान्यत्र सौत्रामणियागाज्जीवन्युणान्मातुः । शङ्कालिखित quoted in सं. प्र. p. 479; vide also वि. र. p. 357, स्मृतिच॰ (I. p. 35).

^{1357.} Vide Santiparva 108. 16-18 for verses very like अनुज्ञासन 105. 14-16; नास्ति मानुसमा छाया नास्ति मानुसमा गतिः। नास्ति मानुसमं त्राणं नास्ति मानुसमा पिया ॥ ज्ञान्ति 267. 31; 'माता गुरुतरा भूमेः। वनपर्व 313. 60; नास्ति वेदात्परं ज्ञासं नास्ति मानुः परो ग्रुडः। नास्ति द्वानात्परं मित्रमिह लोके परत्र च । अत्रि 151; नास्ति सन्यात्परो धर्मो नास्ति मानुसमो ग्रुडः। ज्ञान्ति 343. 18.

Pāṇḍava heroes pay the highest honour to their mother Kunti. The Ādiparva chap. 37 says that one may avert the consequences of all curses, but a mother's curse can never be averted 1358.

Reading all that has been said in favour of and against women in ancient Sanskrit Literature it may be said that the higher minds of Hindu Society were quite aware of the worth of women, that they insisted on chastity as the highest virtue for them, that there was no doubt an undercurrent among common people of poor opinion about women, that those who valued an ascetic life and wanted to wean people away from worldly ties and attachments looked down upon women ('vairāgyamārgena' as Varāhamihira happily puts it) and exaggerated their faults. It has to be borne mind that many of the passages condemning women are put in the mouth of persons who were for some reason or other angry with women or wronged by them or dissatisfied with their conduct. Further in assessing passages disparaging the character of women one maxim of the Pūrvamīmāmsā system must not be lost sight of. The maxim is stated by Sabara (on Jaimini II. 4. 21) as follows: 1359 'the purpose of a text censuring anything is not censure pure and simple, but the purpose is to enjoin the performance of the opposite of what is censured and to praise such performance'. The object therefore of the authors that censured women was to inculcate the great value of chastity and obedience for women and not merely to paint a dark picture of them.

The rights of women as regards partition and inheritance will be discussed in detail later on. But a brief statement about them may be made here. Ap., Manu, and Nārada do not allow the widow of a sonless male to succeed as heir, while Gaut. 28. 19 appears to contemplate that she is an heir along with sapindas or sagotras. That the widow's right to succeed as heir to her deceased husband was not recognised in ancient

^{1358.} सर्वेषामेव शापानां प्रतिघातो हि विद्यते। न तु मात्राभिशप्तानां मोक्षः कचन विद्यते॥ आदिपर्व 37. 4.

^{1359.} एकत्वेऽपि पराणि निन्दाशक्तिसमाप्तिवचनानि । जे. II. 4. 21; 'न हि निन्दा निन्दां प्रयुज्यते ।। किं तर्हि । निन्दितादितस्यशंसितुम् । तत्र न निन्दितस्य पतिषेधो गम्यते किं त्वितरस्य विधिः।। शबर (p. 640); the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जे. I. 2. 7. (p. 115) has 'यथा वश्यति न हि निन्दां निन्दां निन्दितं प्रवर्तते अपि त विधेयं स्तोतिमिति.। Vide आनन्दगिरि on बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक p. 808 for the same maxim.

times is clear from the Śākuntala (Act VI) where the minister writes to the king that the estate of a merchant dying at sea will escheat to the crown and will not go to his widow. Yaj. II. 135. mentions the widow as the first heir of a sonless man dying separate; Visnu, Kātyāyana and others say the same. So in medieval times the rights of widows to property were better recognized than in the times of the early sutra writers. In this respect the position of women improved in medieval times, though in the religious and other spheres their position became worse, as they were equated with śūdras. Yāska while explaining Rg. I. 124. 7 states that in the southern countries the widow of a sonless man goes to an assembly hall, stands upon a stool and when the members strike her with dice she gets the property of her deceased 1360 husband. This implies that in Nothern India widows did not succeed to their husband's property in Yāska's time.

^{1360.} अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्ताक्षिव सनये धनानाम् । ऋ. I. 124. 7; गर्ता-रोहिणीव धनलाभाय दाक्षिणाजी । गर्तः सभास्थाणुः । गृणातेः । सत्यसंगरो भवति । तं तत्र या अपुत्रा या अपतिका सा आरोहति तां तत्र अक्षेण आधन्ति सा रिक्धं लभते। निकक्त III. 5.

CHAPTER XII

THE DUTIES OF A WIDOW, SOME PRIVILEGES OF WOMEN AND THE PURDA SYSTEM

Vidhavādharmāh

So far the social position and the duties and rights of a wife during her husband's life-time have been considered. We shall now consider the rules laid down for a wife if she has the heavy misfortune to become a widow. 1361

The word vidhavā occurs several times in the Rgveda (e. g. IV. 18. 12, X. 18. 7, X. 40. 2 and 8); but these passages contain very little that is indicative of their condition in society except Rg. X. 40. 2 (vide under niyoga). Rg. I. 87. 3 1262 says in the rapid movements of the Maruts the earth trembles like a woman deprived of her husband. That shows that widows trembled either from sorrow or from fear of molestation and ill-treatment.

The Baud. Dh. S. 1363 II. 2, 66-68 prescribes that the widow of the departed should give up for one year honey, meat, wine and salt and should sleep on the ground; according to Maudgalva (she should so act) for six months; after that period. if she is sonless, she may procreate a son from her brotherin-law if the elders consent.' Vas. Dh. S. (17.55-56) contains similar provisions. Manu (V. 157-160) contains rules that have been repeated in almost all smrtis 'a woman when her husband is dead, may, if she chooses, emaciate her body by subsisting on flowers, roots and fruits, but she should not even take the name of a stranger male. Till her death she should be forbearing, observe vows, should be celibate and should hanker after that super-eminent code of conduct that is prescribed for women devoted to their husbands. On her husband's death, if a virtuous woman abides by the rule of celibacy, she goes to heaven though she be sonless, as the ancient perpetual

^{1361.} Vide Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law, vol. II. chap. III pp. 158-161 for duties of widows who choose to survive their husbands; vide 'Die Frau' pp. 86-88 where Winternitz draws a dismal and somewhat exaggerated picture of the condition of the Hindu widow.

^{1362.} प्रैषामजमेषु विश्वरेव रेजने भूमिर्यामेषु यद्ध युक्तने श्लुभे। इत. I. 87. 3.

^{1363.} संवत्सरं प्रेतपरनी मधुमांसमद्यलवणानि वर्जयेद्धः शयीत । षण्मासानिति मौद्रत्यः। अत ऊर्ध्व गुराभिरतुमता देवराजनथेरपुत्रमणुत्रा ॥ बी. ध. सू. II. 2. 66-68.

students (like Sanaka) did'. Kātyāyana 1364 similarly provides 'a sonless widow preserving the bed of her husband (unsullied) and residing with her elders and being self-controlled (or forbearing) should enjoy her husband's property till her death; after her the heirs of her husband would get it. A widow engrossed in religious observances and fasts, abiding by the vow of celibacy, always bent on restraining her senses and making gifts would go to heaven even though sonless.' Parāśara IV. 31 is almost the same as Manu V. 160. Brhaspati 1365 says 'the wife is declared to be half of a man's body, she participates equally in the husband's merit and sin: a virtuous wifewhether she burns herself on her husband's funeral fire or lives after him, tends to the (spiritual) benefit of her husband'. Vrddha-Hārīta (XI. 205-210) prescribes what a widow should. do all her life. 'She should give up adorning her hair, chewing betel-nut, wearing perfumes, flowers, ornaments and dyed clothes, taking food from a vessel of bronze, taking two meals a day, applying collyrium to her eyes; she should wear a white garment, should curb her senses and anger, she should not resort to deceits and tricks, should be free from laziness and sleep, should be pure and of good conduct, should always worship Hari, should sleep on the ground at night on a mat of kuśa grass, she should be intent on concentration of mind and on the company of the good.' Bana in his Harsacarita (VI, last para) indicates that widows did not apply eye-salve to their eyes nor rocanā (yellow pigment) to their face and simply tied their hair. 1368 Pracetas 1367 forbids to an ascetic and a widow the chewing of betel leaves, ceremonial bath (with oil &c.) and taking meal in a vessel of bell-metal. The Adiparva (160.12) says 'just as birds flock to a piece of flesh left on the ground, so all men woo (or try to seduce) a woman whose

^{1364.} अपुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती गुरौ स्थिता। भुक्षीतामरणात्क्षान्ता दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्तुयुः ॥ व्रतोपवासनिरता ब्रह्मचर्ये व्यवस्थिता। दमदानरता नित्यमपुत्रापि दिषं वजेत् ॥ कात्यायन quoted in वीर॰ pp. 626-627; the first verse is also quoted in दायभाग, स्मृतिच॰ and other works.

^{1365.} इरिरार्ध स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा। अन्वारूढा जीवती च साध्वी भर्तिहिताय सा॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 111.

^{1366.} जनितवेणीवन्धानि निरञ्जनराचनारोचींषि चषकमधुनि सुखकमलप्रतिविम्बान्य-हृश्यन्त भटीनाम् । हर्षचरित VI, last para.

^{1367.} ताम्बूलाम्यक्षनं चैव कांस्यपात्रे च भोजनम्। यतिश्च ब्रह्मचारी च विधवा च विवर्जयेत्॥ प्रचेतस् quoted in स्मृतिच्. I. p. 222 and शुद्धितस्व p. 235; compare ताम्बूलोऽभर्तृकस्रीणां यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम्। एकैकं मांसतुल्यं स्यान्मिलितं तु सुरासमम्॥ quoted in स्मृतिस्. (वर्णाश्रमः) p. 161.

husband is dead'; while the Santiparva (148. 2) remarks 'all widows are in sorrow even if they have many sons.' 1368 The Skandapurāna (Kāsikhanda, chap. 4. vv. 71-106 and III Brahmāranya section chap. 7. vv. 67-81) has long passages on the duties of widows, many verses from which are quoted in the Madanapārijāta (pp. 202-203), the Nirnayasindhu, Dharmasindhu and other nibaudhas. A few striking verses may be translated here. The Skandapurāna (III, Brahmāranya section chap. 7, verses 50-51) says 'The widow is more inauspicious than all other inauspicious things; at the sight of a widow no success can be had in any undertaking; excepting one's (widowed) mother all widows are void of auspiciousness: a wise man should avoid even their blessings like the poison of a snake '1369. The Kāśikhanda of the same purāna, chap. 4, delivers itself thus 'the tying up into a braid of the hair by the widow leads to the bondage of the husband; therefore a widow should always shave her head. She should always take one meal a day and never a second; or she may perform the observance of fast for a month or undergo the penance of candrayana. A widow who sleeps on a cot would make her husband fall (in hell). A widow should never wash her body with fragrant unguents nor should enjoy the fragrance of sweet smelling things; she should everyday perform tarrana with sesame, water and kuśa grass for her husband, his father and grandfather after repeating their names and gotra: she should not sit in a bullock cart even when about to die. she should not put on a bodice, should not wear dyed garments and should observe special vows in Vaišākha, Kārtika 1370 and Māgha.' The verse 'vidhavā-kabarī-bandho &c' (Skanda.

^{1368.} उत्सृष्टमामिषं भूमौ प्रार्थयन्ति यथा खगाः। प्रार्थयन्ति जनाः सर्वे पतिहीनां तथा खियम् ॥ आदिपर्व 160. 12; सर्वापि विधवा नारी बहुपुत्रापि शीचते ॥ ज्ञान्तिपर्व 148.2.

^{1369.} अमङ्गलेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यो विधवा स्यादमङ्गला । विधवादर्शनात् सिद्धिः कापि जातुः न जायते ॥ विद्याय मातरं चैकां सर्वा मङ्गलवर्जिताः । तद्गशिषमपि पाज्ञस्त्यजेदाशीविषोप-माम् ॥ स्कन्दपुराण III, ब्रह्मारण्य 7. 50-51.

^{1370.} विधवाकवरीयन्थो भर्तृयन्धाय जायते। शिरसो वपनं तस्मात् कार्यं विधवया सदा ॥ एकाहारः सदा कार्यो न द्वितीयः कदाचन। मासोपवासं वा कुर्याचान्द्रायणमथापि वा ॥ पर्यङ्कशायिनी नारी विधवा पातयेत्पतिम्। नेवाङ्गोद्वर्तनं कार्यं ख्रिया विधवया क्वाचित्। गन्धद्रत्वस्य संभोगो नेव कार्यस्तया पुनः। तर्पणं प्रत्यहं कार्यं भर्तिस्तिल्कुशोदकः। तत्पितुस्तित्तिकुथापि नामगोत्रादिपूर्वकम् । नाधिरोहेद्दनद्वाहं प्राणेः कण्ठगतेरपि। कश्चकं न परीद्याद्वासो न विकृतं वसेत्। वैशाखे कार्तिकं माघे विशेषनियमं चरेत् ॥ स्कन्दपुराण, काशीखण्ड 4. vv. 75. ff.; all these are quoted by the निर्णयसिन्धु p. 626, मद्दनपारिजात (pp. 202-203), स्मृतिसुक्ताफल p. 160.

Kāśīkhanda 4.74) is the only verse on which the medieval writers rely for prescribing continual tonsure of widows. chapter begins by extolling the pativrata (Brhaspati does it with regard to Lopamudra, the wife of Agastya). It passes one's understanding why when a pativrata whose husband is living is before Brhaspati he should wax eloquent over the duties of widows (verses 71-106). Therefore this portion appears to be an interpolation in the Skandapurana itself. In Lakshmibai v. Ramchandra I. L. R. 22 Bonn. 590, it was held that the text 'vidhavā-kabarī-bandho' is of doubtful validity (p. 594). Besides 69 verses of this chapter 4 are common to chap. 7 of the Dharmaranya section of the Skandapurana (III) which precedes it. There is no reason why they should have been The Nirnayasindhu quotes a passage from the repeated. Brahmapurāna as cited in the Prthvicandrodaya to the effect that śrāddha food should not be got prepared by a widow belonging to another gotra. 1371

The position of the Hindu widow was miserable and her lot was most unenviable. She was looked upon as inauspicious and so could take part in no festivities, such as those on marriage. She had not only to lead a life of perfect celibacy, even if she was a child widow, but she had to act like an ascetic, being poorly fed (only once a day) and poorly clad. Her rights to property were negligible. Even if the husband died sonless she did not originally succeed as shown above (p. 582). Later on her position as an heir was improved; but even then she could ordinarily enjoy only the income of the property and could transfer it only for the legal necessities of the family (including herself) or for the spiritual benefit of her husband. In a joint Hindu family a widow had only the right of maintenance (except in Bengal where she had more rights). which would be forfeited if she became unchaste and persisted in that course. 1378 If she returned to a moral life then she may be entitled to bare starving maintenance (vide above p. 573). If her husband had separate property and left a son or sons, the widow was only entitled to maintenance. This was the law in British India till very recently. Recently the position of the

^{1871.} पृथ्वीचन्द्रोद्दये ब्राह्मे । रजस्वलां च पाखण्डां प्रेश्वलीं पिततां तथा । स्यजेच्छ्दां तथा वन्ध्यां विधवां चान्यगोत्रजाम् । वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धपाकार्थममानृपितृवंशजाम् ॥ निर्णय- सिन्यु III, उत्तरार्ध p. 417.

^{1372.} Vide Honama v. Timannabhat I. L. R.1 Bom. 559; Bhikubai v. Hariba I. L. R. 49 Bom. 459.

widow of a member in a joint Hindu family and of the widow of a person who leaves separate property has been improved by Act XVIII of 1937 as amended by Act XI of 1938.

One subject that arouses bitter controversies is the practice of tonsuring widows among brahmanas and certain other castes. A few words must be said on this. It is clear from the verse (vidhayā-kabarī-bandho &c.) of the Skandapurāna quoted in the Madanapārijāta and other nibandhas that for some time at least before the 14th century A. D. (when the Madanapārijāta was composed) tonsure of widows was in vogue. How and exactly when this practice arose cannot be established with certainty. That it is comparatively a later innovation can, however, be demonstrated. Two distinct propositions have to be made out, · first, that widows were tonsured on the death of their husbands, just as sons were tonsured and secondly, that widows were required by the texts to tonsure themselves continually from time to time till their death, though sons who had to tonsure themselves on their father's death are not required to do so after-The advocates of this practice rely upon three Vedic passages, viz. Rg. X. 40. 2, Ap. M. Patha I. 4. 9, and Atharvaveda 14.2. 60, Rg. X. 40. 2 (cited below p. 606) refers to vidhavā only and probably to nivoga, but there is nothing about tonsure in that verse. Some modern orthodox Pandits ingeniously argue from the explanation of the word 'vidhava' in the Nirukta (III. 15 vidhavanād-vā iti Carmaśirāh). Carmaśiras is the name of a former teacher according to all commentators of the Nirukta, but these pandits interpret it by a tour de force as a synonym of vidhava ('having only the bare skin on her head'). About this interpretation the less said the better. Ap. M. P. I. 5.9 contains the word 'vike's' which is translated as the appellation of a female goblin in S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 187 'mayst thou not be beaten at thy breast by she goblin, the rough haired 1373 one'. Even taking 'vikesi' as referring to the maiden who is being married the meaning is 'mayst thou, with dishevelled hair, not beat thy breast (through grief)'. The word 'vikesi' does not mean 'a widow whose hair is tonsured'; it ordinarily means 'a woman

^{1373.} मा ते गृहे निशि घोष उत्थादन्यत्र त्वद्भुद्त्यः संविशन्तु । मा त्वं विकेश्युर आन् षथिष्ठा जीवपत्नी पतिलोके विराज पश्यन्ती प्रजां सुमनस्यमानाम् ॥ आप. म. पा. 1. 5. 9. Vide आप. मृ. V. 1 where this मन्त्र along with others is prescribed for offering abutis in the marriage rite. It is also employed for the same purpose in हिरण्य, मृ. I. 19. 7, भारद्वाज मृ. I. 14.

with dishevelled hair'. The third passage is Atharvaveda 1874 14. 2. 60, that is a verse in a marriage bymn which means 'if this daughter of thine has bewailed with loosened hair in thy house, doing evil by her wailing, from that sin let Agni and Savitr release thee'. Here it is impossible to hold that 'vike's!' means tonsured, as this mantra is part of the marriage hymn and Agni is asked to remove the blemish due to the girl's weeping at the approaching prospect of separation from her parents. There is no comment of Savana on this passage but elsewhere in the Atharvaveda when that word occurs as in Atharva XI. 9. 14 he paraphrases it by 'vikīrnakesī' which does not mean 'with tonsured hair' but only 'having dishevelled hair'. Therefore there is no reference whatever to the tonsure of widows in the Veda, much less an injunction as to it. In the Baud. Pitrmedhasūtra, 1375 elaborate rules are laid down about the cremation of one who had kindled the sacred Vedic fires. In I. 4. 3 it is said 'his wives led by the youngest should follow the cortege with dishevelled hair and throwing dust on their shoulders' and this they have to repeat several times (vido I. 4. 12-13, I. 5. 5-7, I. 5. 12-14) on the way to the cemetery. It is also said that they go round (the corpse) thrice with their hair gathered together (I. 4.13). Then in I. 12. 7 shaving of the hair and moustache is prescribed for the close relatives of the deceased (amātyas) who are present, his wives are not mentioned in this connection and II. 3. 17 expressly forbids tonsure of wives.

Manu and Yāj, dilate on the duties of widows, but they are entirely silent about tonsure. Nor does any other ancient smṛti refer to it. On the contrary Vṛddha-Hārīta (XI. 206 quoted above p. 584) asks the widow not to deck her hair, among other things which she is not to do. This makes it clear that the widows kept their hair. The word 'keśarañjanam' is to be dissolved as 'keśānām rañjanam' and not as 'keśāśca rañjanam ca' (as Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 103 makes it clear by employing 'keśānām rañjanārtham vā). It can be shown that

^{1374.} यदीयं दुष्टिता तव विकेश्यरुद्द्गृहे रोदेन छुण्वत्यधम्। अग्निष्टा तस्मादेनसः स्विता च प्रमुख्नतात्॥ अथर्व 14. 2. 60.

¹³⁷⁵. अस्य भार्याः किनिष्ठमथमाः प्रकीर्णक्षेत्रयो व्रजेयुः पांस्नेसेष्वावपमानाः 'खत्वषं न्वा स्याद्यं नो एवाघव् $^{\prime}$ इति । बौ. पितृमेधसूत्र I. 4. 3; एवममात्या एवं ख्रियः संयम्य केशःन् यथेतं व्रिः पुनः पति परियन्ति । I. 4. 13; एतस्मिन्कालेऽस्यामात्या केश्वरम्भूणि षापयन्ते ये संनिधाने भवन्ति । I. 12. 7; म स्त्रीणां केशवपनं विद्यते न खितिर्नेष्टका न प्रनर्दोहो दाक्वरस्त्रीणां पात्राणि भवन्तीति विज्ञायते । II. 3. 17.

at least kṣatriya widows never tonsured their head. In the Mahābhārata whenever the widows of the fallen warriors are described they are always referred to as 'having dishevelled hair' and there is not a single reference to tonsure 1376 of widows. In the Harṣacarita, Harṣa 1377 in his soliloquy on the death of his father Prabhākaravardhana says 'may the Glory of super-eminent man-hood tie up her hair in the way in which widows tie up their hair'. In the Pehoa praśasti of king Mahendrapāla of Kanoj (E. I. vol. 1. p. 246 verse 16) the widows of his enemies are spoken of as shedding tears on their cheeks and having long (not braided) and profuse 1378 tresses.

The orthodox pandits rely on a verse in Vedavyāsa-smṛti ¹³⁷⁹ II. 53 'a brāhmaṇa woman should enter fire, clasping the dead body of her husband; if she lives (does not become satī) she being tyaktakeśā should emaciate her body by tapas'. The reading 'brāhmaṇī' for 'jīvantī' is not good, as the word 'brāhmaṇī' is redundant having occurred in the first half and as the second half refers to the fact of her surviving after her husband. In this verse the injunction relates only to the emaciation of the body (śoṣayet), the word 'tyaktakeśā' being only an attribute of the subject is no part of the predicate, which alone is enjoined. The general rule laid down by the Mīmāmsā is (III. 1.13-15, the grahaikatvanyāya)¹³⁸⁰ that the attributes of a subject are no part

^{1376.} e. g. 'प्रकीर्णकेशाः क्रोशन्तीः कुररीरिव माधव। स्त्रीपर्व 16. 18 (गान्धारी describes her daughters-in-law); 'प्रकीर्णकेशां सुओर्णी दुर्योधनशुभाङ्कगाम्। इक्मवेदीनिभां पश्य कुष्ण लक्ष्मणमातरम् ॥ स्त्रीपर्व 17. 25; vide स्त्रीपर्व 21. 6, 24. 7, आश्रमवासिपर्व 25. 16; 'प्रकीर्णमूर्धजाः सर्वा विस्तुकाभरणस्त्रः। उरांसि पाणिभिर्ग्नन्त्यो स्थलपन् करूणं स्त्रियः ॥ गमोसलपर्व 7. 17. (on the death of Vasudeva).

^{1377.} बधातु वैधय्यवेणीं वरमनुष्यता। हर्षचरित V. (5th para from end); vide हर्षचरित VI. last para quoted above in note 1366.

^{1378.} करतलस्थगिताधरपछवाः प्रतन्तकान्तिकपोलतलोदरम् । सिसिचुरश्चनलैर्यदरि-श्चियः सरलितपचुरालकजालकाः॥ (E. I. vol. 1 p. 246 vorse 16).

^{1379.} मृतं भर्तारमादाय बाह्मणी वहिमाविशेत्। जीवन्ती (v. l. बाह्मणी) चेत् स्यक्तकेशातपसा शोषयेद्व वपुः ॥ वेदच्यास IL 53.

^{1380.} The grahaikatvanyāya is as follows: The text us timis does not mean that a single sacrificial vessel is to be cleansed, but rather that all are to be cleansed. The singular number (in graham) is an attribute of the subject about which cleansing is predicated and so it is no part of the injunction. Vide my notes to the Vyavahāra-mayūkha pp. 83-84,121-122, where examples of the application of this maxim are given. The Pandits try to apply the rules in Jaimini III. 3. 34-46, but those rules are inapplicable, since in the passage of Veda-Vyāsa there is a verb in the potential mood, while in the vedic sentence interpreted in Jaimini III. 3. 34-46 there is no verb in the potential mood.

of the injunction. There is no injunction about keśa (hair) in the Vedavyāsa passage. Besides the word tyaktakeśā (who has given up hair) may possibly be made to yield three meanings, viz. (1) one who has given up or is unmindful of dressing or decking her hair, (2) one whose hair is given up in accordance with the prescription of some smrtis that only two finger-breadths of tresses are to be cut off when doing penance for govadha &c. in the case of women (vide Parāsara IX. 54-55, Angiras 163, Yama 54); (3) one whose head is tonsured. For the first meaning vide Raghuvamsa IX. 14 (where 'analakām' is explained by Mallinatha as 'who have given up ornamenting the hair'). For this meaning of 'tyakta' vide Bhagavadgitā I. 33 'tyaktajīvitāh'. 'Tyakta' by itself never means tonsured. The third meaning will be only implied if at all, while the first two are the usual meanings. Further, the interpretation of the Veda-Vyāsa smrti II. 53 given by the pandits is liable to the fault called vākyabheda (i. e. it lays down two injunctions in one and the same sentence), as they say that Veda-Vyāsa calls upon widows to tonsure themselves and to emaciate their body. Besides, if Veda-Vyāsa really meant to enjoin tensure, the verse could easily have been made to read 'jīvantī ced vapet keśān tapasā &c.' Lastly assuming that Veda-Vyāsa refers to tonsure, there is conflict among smrtis, since Vrddha-Hārīta (quoted above) allows her to keep her hair, and since an option results when two texts of equal authority conflict (Gaut. I. 5). 1381

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325 quotes a text of Manu (not found in the printed Manu) 'shaving of the hair is not desired in the case of learned men, the king and women, except in the case of one guilty of mahāpātaka or the killer of a cow and a brahmacārī guilty of sexual intercourse.' 1382 The Mit. nowhere refers to tonsure as one of the obligatory matters for widows.

The orthodox pandits further rely upon Ap. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6, its explanation in the Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 and the explanation of the Mit. in the commentary, Bālambhaṭṭī. Āpastamba's sūtra is delivered when the context is about cessation of Veda study (anadhyāya). Ap. says '(the student) shall cease studying Veda for 12 days if his mother, father or teacher dies. In the

^{1381.} तुल्यबलविरोधे विकल्पः। गीतम 1. 5.

^{1382.} विद्वद्विप्रमृपञ्चीणां नेष्यते केशवापनम् । ऋते महापातकिनो गोहन्तुश्चाव-कीर्णिनः ॥ इति महस्मरणात् । मिता० on या. III. 325.

case of the death of these he must also bathe for the same number of days. Persons who are younger than (the relation deceased) must shave their hair. 1383 Some declare that students who have returned home on completion of brahmacarya shall never shave except when engaged in a srauta sacrifice. sattras even the top-lock must be shaved'. In this there is no reference to women, much less to widows and lesser still to the tonsure of widows. The reference to śrauta sacrifices, sattra, and sikhā indicates that only males are in view. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 explains at length Ap. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6. It gives two senses of 'anubhavin' viz. those who experience sorrow on the death of a person k e his sapindas (from the root 'bhū' with 'anu,' to experience) and those who are born after the deceased i. e. who are younger than the deceased (from 'bhū' with 'anu' to be born after). The Mit. then combines 1384 these and remarks 'those sapindas of the deceased who are younger than the latter have to shave themselves on the death of a relative'. This is its own view. It then refers to the view of some that 'anubhāvin' in Ap. means 'son' and those latter rely on a restrictive text 'shaving is declared on seven occasions only, viz. on the Ganges, in the Bhāskara-ksetra, on the death of one's parents or teacher, at the time of consecrating srauta fires, and at the time of a some sacrifice. It is clear that the Mit. does not expressly mention the wife or widow here. Supposing that she is impliedly referred to as a sapinda and as younger than her husband, this will at the most come to the requirement that on the death of the husband the wife had to undergo shaving, just as her son would have to do. But this passage cannot be used to support continual shaving of widows throughout life. Really 'anubhāvinām' in Apcannot include the wife; since if women were to be included by the rule of ekaśesa (vide Pāņini I. 2.67) the absurd conclusion would follow that the daughters of the deceased and his younger brother's wives (who are all sapindas and younger) would have

^{1383.} अनुभाविनां च परिवापनम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 10. 6.

^{1384.} वपनं च केषामित्याकाङ्कक्षायामापस्तम्भेनोक्तम्-अनुभाविनां च परिवापनम्इति । अयमर्थः । ज्ञावं दुःखमनुभवन्तीत्यनुभाविनः सपिण्डास्तेषां चाविशेषेण वपनसुताल्पवयसमित्यपेक्षायामिदमेवोपतिष्ठते-अनुभाविनां च परिवापनमिति । अनु पश्चाद्भवन्तीस्यनुभाविनोऽल्पवयसस्तेषां वपनमिति । अनुभाविनः पुत्रा इति केचिन्मन्यन्ते । गङ्गायां भास्करक्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्ग्यर्शर्भुतौ । आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सप्तसु स्मृतम् ॥ इति नियमद्र्यनात् ।
मिता, on या. III. 17.

to be shaved. The Nirnayasindhu ¹³⁸⁵ (composed in 1612 A. D.) and the Bālambhaṭṭī (composed towards the end of the 18th century) were both familiar with the tonsure of widows and so they interpret Āp. and the Mit. as requiring shaving for the wife on the 10th day after the death of the husband and rely on a text of Vyāsa quoted in Aparārka. The Bālambhaṭṭī says "the words on the death of the mother and father are only illustrative and so the same rule applies to the husband's death." Even conceding all this far-fetched interpretation, there is no authority for the continual tonsure of widows throughout their lives in these passages. It may be noted that the Madanapārijāta ¹³⁸⁶ which contains the verse (vidhavā-kabarī-bandho &c. quoted above) does not include the widow among 'anubhā-vinām', but only male sapindas and sons.

The foregoing discussion leads to the following conclusions. There is no express Vedic authority for the tonsure of widows. The grhya or dharma sūtras do not refer to it; nor do important smrtis like those of Manu and Yāj. If one or two smrti verses of doubtful import seem to refer to it, other smrtis like Vrddha-Hārīta are to an opposite effect. Some of the smrti texts only refer, if at all, to one shaving on the husband's death, but there is no smrti passage prescribing continual shaving for widows. There is only the Skandapurana passage expressly requiring tonsure of widows. and Apararka are silent about it. It appears that the practice was gradually evolved after the 10th or 11th century. As widows were equated with yatis for several injunctions (vide note 1367 above) and as the latter shaved themselves, widows were gradually required to do so. By rendering them ugly it might have been intended to keep them chaste. Probably the example of Buddhist and Jaina nuns may have also suggested the cruel practice. We find from the Cullavagga 1387 that Buddhist nuns

^{1385.} अनुभाविनः पुत्राद्य इत्येके । पुत्रः पत्नी च वपनं कुर्यादृन्ते यथाविधि। पिण्डदानोचितोन्योपि कुर्यादित्थं समाहितः। इत्यपरार्के व्यासोक्तेः। निर्णयसिन्धु III, उत्तरार्ध p. 591; vide बालम्भद्वी on प्रायश्चित (pp. 49-51 of Gharpure's ed.) 'अत्र पित्राद्यिक्षणं भर्तुरत्युपलक्षणम्। पुत्रः पत्नी समाहितः। इति व्यासेन पत्न्या अपि वपनविधानात्। pp. 50-51.

^{1386.} तथा वपनं दुःखान्तभाविभिः सर्वैः सिपिण्डैः पुत्रैरेव स्वस्वदेशाचारानुसारेण प्रथमिदनप्रभृति विषमिद्दिनेष्विप आद्धादिपदानात्पूर्वं कर्तव्यम् । यदाह आपस्तम्बः। अनुभाविनां च परिवापनिति। मद्नपारिजात p. 415.

^{1387.} Vide S. B. E. vol. 20 (Vinaya texts) p. 321. For Jaina nuns cutting off their tresses or plucking their hair, vide Uttaradhyayana XXII. 30. (S. B. E. vol. 45, p. 116).

cut off their hair and put on orange-coloured robes. In Maharāstra brāhmana widows a few years ago wore a garment that was reddish (and even now a few old widows do wear it). At all events the practice is not very old and hardly any digest before the Madanapārijāta (14th century) quotes the Skanda-The practice is dying out and deserves to be purāna text. suppressed at once, though strange insistence on it sometimes obtains public notoriety. Recently the worshippers in the famous shrine of Vithobā at Pandharpur in Mahārāstra prevented an untonsured brāhmana widow from having daršana of the idol in the customary way i. e. by placing the head on the feet of the idol, while they were prepared to allow untousured widows of all castes (except the so called untouchables), and even Hindu prostitutes in the keeping of Christians or Mahomedans to have darsana in that way. The matter came before a civil court, where it was decided in favour of the widow that no such discrimination could be allowed to prevail, but owing to certain unforeseen circumstances the case did not come before the Bombay High Court.

It would be of interest to many to learn that among one sect (the Tengalai) of the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas (followers of Rāmā-nuja) tonsure of widows has been forbidden for centuries, though that sect is most orthodox in other matters. The Śūdrakamalākara remarks that widows in Gauda keep their hair. 1389

From very ancient times, it appears the idea was that women should not be killed on any account. The Sat. Br. (XI. 4. 3. 2, S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 62) says 1390 people do not kill a woman, but rather take (anything) from her (leaving her) alive. It was only the king who was authorised, according to Viśvarūpa, to punish a woman to death for adultery with a man of a very low caste (vide Gaut. and Manu VIII. 371 quoted above on p. 572), but the king had to undergo a slight penance for doing this (vide Yāj. III. 268). Manu XI. 190 ordains that one who killed a woman was not to be associated with, even after he performed the requisite penance. Manu IX. 232 calls

^{1388.} Vide Indian Antiquary vol. III pp. 136-137 for passages quoted from many works forbidding the tonsure of widows.

^{1389.} अत एव गौडस्त्रीणां विधवानां हि.खा हुस्यते । सूद्रकमलाकर p. 50.

^{1390.} स्त्री चैषा यच्छ्रीर्न वै स्त्रियं प्रन्त्युत त्वस्या जीवन्त्या एवाद्दत इति। शतपथ XI. 4. 3. 2.

upon the king to punish with death those who murder women, children and brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhārata frequently refers to this chivalrous rule. Adiparva ¹³⁹¹ 158. 31 says 'those who know dharma declare that women are not to be killed'. The Sabhāparva 41. 13 prescribes 'one's weapons should not be directed against women, cows, brāhmaṇas, against one who gave livelihood or shelter'. In the Śāntiparva (135. 14) even thieves are instructed not to kill women. Vide also Ādi. 155. 2, 217. 4, Vanaparva 206. 46. The Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa) also breathes this sentiment, when Rāma was called upon to kill the ogress Tāṭakā.

Even for the most serious offence of adultery with a man of a low caste Yāj. II. 286 prescribes for the woman the punishment of cutting the ear &c. Similarly Vrddha-Hārīta VII. 192 prescribes the cutting of the nose, ear and lip for attempt to murder the husband or her foetus. Vide Yāj. II. 278-279 for the sentence of death in the case of women for certain offences.

It has been seen how women gradually lost the privilege of upanayana, of studying the Veda, of having all the samskāras performed with Vedic mantras and how they came to be regarded as entirely dependent on men. Their position became assimilated to that of the śūdras ¹³⁹² in many matters. A few examples will be cited here. All dvijūtis were to sip water thrice (ācamana) for purifying their body, but women and śūdras were to sip water only once for that purpose (Manu V. 139, Yāj. I. 21). The dvijātis were ¹³⁹³ to take their bath to the accompaniment of Vedic mantras, while women and śūdras were to bathe silently. Śūdras and women were to perform what is called āmaśrāddha (i. e. śrāddha without cooked food). ¹³⁹⁴ The same penance was prescribed for killing a śūdra or a woman (Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 11-12, Parāśara VI. 16). Ordinarily women, children and very old men could not be witnesses (Yāj.

^{1391.} अवध्या स्त्रिय इत्याहुर्धर्मज्ञा धर्मनिश्चये। आदिपर्व 158. 31; स्त्रीषु गोषु न शस्त्राणि पातयेद् बाह्मणेषु च। यस्य चान्नानि सुश्चीत यत्र च स्यात्प्रतिश्चयः॥ सभापर्व 41. 13.

^{1392. &#}x27;श्रीश्र्दाश्च सधर्माणः' इति वाक्यात् ' व्यव. म. p. 112; द्विजस्त्रीणामपि श्रीतज्ञानाभ्यासेऽधिकारिता । वद्नित केचिद्विद्वांसः श्रीणां श्रूद्वसमानताम् । स्त्संहिता quoted in श्रूद्वसमलाकर p. 231.

^{1393.} ब्रह्मक्षत्रविद्यां चेव मन्त्रवत्स्नानिमण्यते। तूष्णीमेव हि शूद्धस्य स्त्रीणां च कुरु-नन्दन ॥ विष्णु quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 181.

^{1394.} स्त्रीञ्चः श्वपचश्चैव जातकर्मणि चाष्यथ। आमश्राद्धं तथा कुर्याद्विधिना पार्वणेन तु ॥ मचेतस् quoted in स्मृतिच॰ (भ्राद्धः) pp. 491-92.

II. 70, Nārada, rṇādāna, vv. 178, 190, 191), but Manu VIII. 68, 70, Yāj. II. 72, and Nārada, rṇādāna 155 allowed women to be witnesses in disputes between women or when no other witness could be had or in the cases of theft, adultery and other offences in which force was an element. Documents taken from or transactions (particularly gift, sale and mortgage of lands or houses) made with women were ordinarily to be treated as voidable like those brought about by force or fraud (vide Nārada, rṇādāna 26, 137, Yāj. II. 31). But this instead of being regarded as a disability was rather a boon owing to the general illiteracy of women. The Tristhalīsetu (of Nārāyaṇa) quotes a passage of the Brhan-Nāradīya purāṇa to the effect that women, those whose upanayana has not been performed and sūdras have no right to establish the images of Viṣṇu or Śiva. 1395

If there were many and heavy disabilities on women in certain matters, they enjoyed in certain directions more privileges than men. It has been already seen that women were not to be killed nor were they to be abandoned even when guilty of adultery. They also enjoyed the right of precedence on the road (vide p. 146 above). The daughter of a patita was not regarded as patita, though the son of a patita was regarded as patita (vide Vas. 13. 51-53, Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 4, Yāj. III. 261). Women 1397 had to undergo only half of the prāyascitta that men had to undergo for the same lapse (Viṣnu Dh. S. 54. 33, Devala 30, &c). Women received 1398 honour according to the ages of their husbands, whatever their own ages may be (Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 18). Just as brāhmanas learned in the Vedas were to be free from taxes, the women of all varnas (except those of pratiloma castes) had to pay no taxes, 1399 according to Ap. Dh.

1395. स्त्रीणामञ्जपनीतानां श्रूद्माणां च नरंश्वर । स्थापनं नाधिकारांऽस्ति विष्णांवां शंकरस्य च । इति बृहस्नारदीये (quoted in श्रूद्रकमलाकर p. 32).

1396. पतितेनोत्पन्नः पतितो भवतीत्याहुरन्यत्र श्चियाः । सा हि परगामिनी । तामरिक्थासुपेयात् । वसिष्ठ 13. 51-53; कन्यां समुद्रहेदेणं सोपवासामिकंचनाम् । या. III. 261. The मिता॰ on या. III. 261 quotes Vas. and a passage from हारीतधर्मसूत्र to the same effect.

1397. प्रायश्चित्तार्धमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो रोगिण एव च । विष्णु 54. 33, देवल 30, quoted in मिता॰ on या. III. 293; बालवृद्धस्त्रीणामर्धपायश्चित्तम्। च्यवन quoted by अपरार्क p. 1199.

1398. पतिवयसः स्नियः। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 18.

1399. अकरः श्रोत्रियः। सर्ववर्णानां च स्त्रियः। आप. ध. स्. II. 10. 26. 10-11; अकरः श्रोत्रियो राजपुमाननाथप्रव्रजितमालगृद्धतरुणप्रजाताः। पसिष्ठ 19. 23.

S. II. 10. 26. 10-11). Vas. Dh. S. 19. 23 limits this exemption to women who are young or just delivered of a child. Pregnant women from the third month of pregnancy, forest hermits, samnyāsins and brāhmanas and brahmacārins had to pay no tax at a ferry (Manu VIII. 407 and Visnu V. 132). According to Gaut. V. 23 and Yaj. I. 105 children, the daughters and sisters who are married and yet stay with their parents or brothers, pregnant women, unmarried daughters, guests and servants are to be fed before the master and mistress of the house; while Manu III, 114 and Visnu Dh. S. 67. 39 go a step further and say that freshly married girls of the family, unmarried girls, pregnant women are to be fed even before guests. A judicial proceeding in which a woman was a party, or which was heard at night or outside the village or inside a house (i.e. not in public) or before enemies was liable to be reviewed (Nārada 1400 I. 43). Ordinarily trial by ordeal did not apply to a woman, whether she was plaintiff or defendant, but if at all a woman had to prove her case by ordeal, only the ordeal of tulā (balance) was prescribed for her (Yāj. II. 98 and Mit. thereon). In succession to stridhana property, daughters were preferred to sons. Women did not lose their stridhana by adverse possession (Yāj. II. 25, Nārada, rnādāna 82-83). Women were always to be consulted about ācāra. Ap. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 15 cites the view that rules not stated in the sutra are, according to some teachers, to be understood from women and from men of all castes. Ap. gr. II. 15 prescribes that in marriage the usages to be followed are to be learnt from women. Vide also Asv. gr. I. 11. 8, Manu II. 223, Vaik, III. 21, 1401

One interesting question is whether the practice of purda now in vegue among Moslems and also among Hindus in certain provinces of India prevailed in ancient times. Rg. X. 85. 33 (used in the marriage rite) expressly calls upon people to look at the bride. 'This bride is endowed with great auspiciousness; assemble together and see her; having given her blessings of good luck you may go to your house'. The Asv. gr. I. 8. 7 prescribes that at each halting place when the bride-groom is returning to his village with his bride he should

¹⁴⁰⁰. स्रोपु रात्री विद्यमादन्तर्वेदेमन्यरातिषु । व्यवहारः क्रुतोप्येष पुनः कर्तव्यतानियात् ॥ नारव् 1,43.

^{1401.} वेद्स्नातकस्य यदिह्न विवाहो भवति मासिके वार्षिके चाह्नि तस्मिन् यत् स्त्रिय आहः पारंपर्यागतं शिष्टाचारं तत्तरकरोति । वैसानसस्मार्त III. 21.

look at the spectators with the verse Rg. X. 85. 33. 1202 This shows that no veil was worn by the bride and she appeared in public without one. Though in the marriage hymn there is a blessing (Rg. X. 85, 46) that the bride was to dominate over her father-in-law, mother-in-law, sister-in-law and brother-in-law, it appears that that was only a blessing and the heart's wish, but the reality was somewhat different. The Ait. Br. 1403 (12. 11) says that the daughter-in-law is abashed in the presence of the father-in-law and goes away concealing herself from him. This indicates that there was some restraint for younger women when they were in the presence of elders. But in the grhya and dharma sūtras there is no reference to any veil for women when moving in public. Pānini III. 2.36 teaches the formation of 'asūryampasyā' (who do not see the sun) applied to queens. That only shows that royal ladies did not leave the precincts of the palace and come under public gaze. In the Ayodhyā-kānda 1404 (33.8) it is said 'people walking on the public road see to-day Sītā who could not formerly be seen even by aerial beings'. Similarly it is stated in the same kānda (116.28) 'the appearance of a woman in public is not blamable in misfortunes, difficulties, in wars, in svayamvara, in a sacrifice, and in a marriage'. In the Sabhāparva 1405 69. 9 Draupadī exclaims 'we have heard that ancient people did not take married women to the public assembly-hall; that ancient and long-standing practice has been contravened by the Kauravas'. She says this after referring to the fact that, since she was seen at her svavamvara by the kings, she was never seen again by them till the day she

¹⁴⁰². ह्यमङ्गलीरियं वधूरिमां समेत पश्चत। सीमाग्यमस्यै दस्वायाधास्तं विपरेतन॥ $\pi \epsilon$ X. 85. 33. This occurs in My. H. qr. 1. 9. 5. and is prescribed in My. y. 6. 11 for japa after a boy is scated on the bride's lap. In Kāthaka gr 25. 46 the verse 'sumangalīr-iyam' is to be repeated when the bride sees the polester and Arundhati and is addressed to these latter. In Hir. Gr. I. 19. 4 this verse is repeated by the bridegroom when the bride is brought to him before the fire, which is about to be kindled.

^{1403.} तद्यधैवादः स्त्रणा श्वद्यराह्यज्ञमाना निलीयमानैत्येवमेव सा सेना भज्यमाना निलीयमानैति। ऐ. जा. 12. 11.

^{1404.} या न ज्ञाक्या पुरा इष्टुं भूतेराकाशगैरिय । तामद्य सीतां पश्यन्ति राजमार्गगता जनाः॥ युद्धकाण्ड ३३. ८; स्यसनेषु न कुन्छेषु न युद्धेषु स्वयंवरे । न क्रती नो विवाहे वा दर्शन ष्ट्रचते स्त्रियः ॥ युद्धकाण्ड 116. 28.

^{1405.} धम्या स्त्रियं सभां पूर्वे न नयन्तीति नः श्रुतम्। स नष्टः कारिवेयेषु पूर्वो धर्मः सनातन: ॥ सभापर्व 69. 9**.**

was brought to the assembly-hall when Yudhisthira gambled and lost everything. This shows that women, particularly highborn ladies, did not appear in public except on certain occasions. but it does not follow that they always wore the veil. When the Kauravas were routed the Salvaparva (29.74) laments that their ladies whom even the sun did not see in their palaces were seen by the common people who had come to the capital. also Sabhāparva 97. 4-7, Salyaparva 19. 63, Strīparva 9. 9-10, Āśrama-vāsi-parva 15. 13. In the Harsacarita (IV) princess Rājyaśri, whom the intended bride-groom Grahavarmā came to see just before marriage, is described as having her face covered with a veil of fine red cloth. In another place, while describing the country of Sthanvisvara (modern Thanesar) Bana says 'where bees drawn by the fragrance of the breaths of the ladies (and hovering round their faces) served as a charming veil for their faces and the veil actually worn by them became a mere redundancy worn because it was the practice of high-born ladies to wear one'. In the Kādambarī also (para 99) Bāna describes Patralekhā as covering her face with a veil of red In the Sākuntala 1406 when Sakuntalā is taken to the court of Dusvanta she is described as wearing a veil. So it must be conceded that ladies of high rank did not appear in public without a veil, but ordinarily women did not wear any veil. is probably after the advent of the Moslems that the wearing of a veil, which was not quite unknown, became general among Hindu women in Northern and Eastern India. Vide Indian Antiquary for 1933 p. 15, where a passage is quoted from the Sānkhyatattva-kaumudī of Vācaspati (9th century A. D.) referring to ladies of good family not appearing in public without a veil and Pathak Commemoration vol. p. 72 for references from Buddhist works about the practice of purda.

^{1406.} तत्र...अरुणांशुकावगुण्डितसुर्खा...वधूमपश्यत्। हर्षचरित I V, 4th para from end; यत्र च...निःश्वासाकृष्टमधुकरकुलान्येव रमणीयं सुखावरणं कुलस्रजिनाचारों जालिका। हर्षचरित III p. 44 of my edition; vide a similar conceit in 'विकचनयनकुवलयकुत्हलालीनयालिकुलसंहत्या नीलांशुकजालिकयेव निरुद्धार्धवद्या। हर्षचरित I. p. 15 of my edition; 'शक्रगोपकालोहितरागेणांशुकेन रचितावगुण्डनया... कन्यकया &c.' काद्म्यरी, पूर्वभाग para 99; कास्विद्धवगुण्डनवती नातिपरिस्कुटशरीर-लावण्या। शाक्रम्यल V. 13.

CHAPTER XIII

NIYOGA

Niyoga—(appointment of a wife or widow to procreate a son from intercourse with an appointed male).

Great divergence of views prevails about the origin and purpose of this practice. It will be best first to begin by examining the most ancient smrtis that permitted this practice. Gaut. 1407 18. 4-14 have great bearing on this point. Gaut. 18. 4-8 are: 'a woman whose husband is dead and who desires offspring may secure a son from her brother-in-law. should obtain the permission of the elders 1408 and have intercourse only during the menstrual period (excluding the first four days). She may obtain a son from a sapinda, a sagotra, a sapravara or one who belongs to the same caste (when there is no brother-in-law). Some (hold that this practice is allowed) with nobody except a brother-in-law. shall not bear more than two sons (by this practice). Gaut. 18. 11 says that a child begotten at the request of a living husband on his wife belongs to the husband. Gaut. (28. 32) says that such a son is called ksetraja. The wife is called ksetra 1409 (field), the husband of the wife or widow is called ksetrin or ksetrika (to whom the wife or widow belongs) and the person appointed to produce offspring is called bijin (one who sows the seed) or niyogin (Vas. 17.64, one who is appointed).

^{1407.} अपितरपत्यिलिण्युर्देवरात्। गुरुपस्ता नर्तुमतीयात्। पिण्डगोत्रार्षसंबन्धेभ्यो योनिमात्राद्वा। नादेपरादित्येके। नातिद्वितीयम्। गोतम 18. 4-8. हरदत्त explains नातिद्वितीयम् differently 'प्रथममपत्यमतीत्य द्वितीयं न जनयेदिति (i. e. not more than one son is to be so procreated).

^{1408.} The word ग्रुफ means only the relatives of the husband and not the father of the widow 'ग्रुफ्य ध्वश्च ध्वश्च ध्वश्च ध्वश्च भर्तिमयोत्रा दृष्ट्या न पित्रा-द्यः 'मेघा॰ on मद्ध IX. 59. हरद्क्त differs and explains गीतम 18. 5 as 'ग्रुफि: पतिपक्षे: पितृपक्षेचा नियुक्ता सती संयुज्येत . Manu (IX. 60-61) shows that some said that only one son could be had by नियोग, while others held that two could be had.

^{1409.} Vide मचु IX. 32, 33 and 53 for the words क्षेत्र, क्षेत्रिक, बीजिन; गौतम 18. 11 and Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 6 employ the word क्षेत्र for wife and Gaut. IV. 3 has the word 'bījin'.

The Vas. Dh. S. (17. 56-65) similarly prescribes 1410 the father or brother of the widow (or widow's husband) shall assemble the gurus who taught or sacrificed for the deceased husband and his relatives and shall appoint her (to raise issue for the deceased husband). Let him not appoint a widow who is mad, not master of herself (through grief &c.) or is diseased or is very old. (Up to) sixteen years (after puberty is the period for appointing a widow) nor shall an appointment be made if the person who is to approach her is sickly. Let him approach the widow in the muhūrta sacred 1411 to Prajāpati like a husband, without dallying with her and without abusing or ill-treating her. No appointment shall be made through a desire to obtain 1412 the estate.' Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 17 (S. B. E. vol. 14, p. 226) defines a ksetraja son as one who is begotten by another man after permission on the wife of a deceased person or of a eunuch or of one who is suffering from (an incurable Manu (IX. 59-61) says that a widow who is properly appointed may obtain offspring, in case there is total failure of issue, from her brother-in-law or a sapinda of her husband, that the person appointed should approach her in the dark and should be anointed with ghee and should procreate only one son and never two, while some say that he may procreate two. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 68-70, Yāj. I. 68-69 and Nārada (strīpumsa, 80-83) lay down similar rules. Kautilya (I. 17, p. 35) says that a king who is old or suffering from (incurable) disease should procreate a son on his queen through a mātrbandhu or a feudatory chief endowed with qualities similar to his. In another place he says that if a brāhmaņa dies without leaving a near heir, then a sagotra or matrbandhu

^{1410.} उध्वे विद्याकर्मग्रुक्योनिसंबन्धान्संनिपास्य पिता भ्राता वा नियोगं कारयेत्। न सोन्मादामवशां स्याधितां वा नियुज्जयात्। ज्यायसीमि । षोडश वर्षाणि। न चे-दामयावी स्यात्। प्राजापत्ये सुदूर्ते पाणिग्राहवदुपचरेदन्यत्र संप्रहास्य वाक्क्षपाक्ष्यद्ग्डपाक-ष्याज्ञ रिक्थलोभान्नास्ति नियोगः। वसिष्ठ 17. 56-61, 65.

^{1411.} पाजापत्य सहूर्त is the same as बाह्म मुहूर्त viz. the last watch of the night (i. e. 4 ths of an hour before sunrise). Vide वसिष्ठ 12.47, मज 4.92.

^{1412.} The idea is that the widow must not be moved to the act by a mercenary motive. According to ঘাইন্য whose views are cited in the বাংনিরার্থ of নির্মিপ্ত (p. 633) the widow of a separated sonless man could get the property of her husband only if she submitted to niyoga, otherwise she was to get only maintenance. Dhāreśvara apparently based his view on some ancient texts. Vas. in the last sentence negatives such ideas.

may be appointed to procreate a ksetraja son, who should get the inheritance. 1413 The conditions necessary to allow niyoga were: (1) the husband, whether living or dead, must have no son; (2) the gurus in a family council should decide to appoint the widow to raise issue for the husband; (3) the person appointed must be either the husband's brother, or a sapinda or sagotra of the husband or (according to Gautama, a sapravara or a person of the same caste); (4) the person appointed and the widow must be actuated by no lust but only by a sense of duty; (5) the person appointed must be anointed with ghee or oil (Nārada,1414 strīpumsa, 82), must not speak with or kiss her or engage in sportive dalliance with the woman: (6) this relationship was to last till one son was born (or two according to some); (7) the widow must be comparatively young, she should not be old or sterile or past child-bearing or sickly or unwilling or pregnant (Baud. Dh. S. II, 2, 70, Nārada, strīpumsa 83-84); (8) after the birth of a son they were to regard themselves as father-in-law and daughter-in-law (Manu 1X. 62). It is further made clear by the texts that if a brother-in-law has intercourse with his sister-in-law without appointment by elders or if he does so even when appointed by elders but the other circumstances do not exist (e.g. if the husband has a son), he would be guilty of the sin of incest (vide Manu IX, 58, 63, 143, 144 and Nārada, strīpumsa 85-86) and a son, born of such intercourse, would be a bastard and not entitled to any wealth (Nārada, stripumsa 84-85) and that he would 1415 belong to the begetter (Vas. Dh. S. 17. 63). Nārada says that if a widow or a male acts contrary to the stringent provisions about niyoga, he or she should be severely punished by the king or orthorwise there would be confusion. Yāj. II. 234 makes such a person liable to be sentenced to a fine of one hundred panas. It will be seen from the above that even in the times of the Dharmasütras, the practice of niyoga was hedged round with so many restric-

^{1413.} बुद्धस्तु न्याधितो वा राजा मातृबन्धुतुल्यकुणपरक्षामन्तानातन्यक्रमेन क्षेत्रे कीज-स्रुताद्येत्। कौटिल्य (I. 17. p. 35); क्षेत्रे वा जनथेद्स्य विशुक्तः क्षेत्रजं कुनस्। मातृ-बन्धुः सगोत्रो वा तस्मे तत्यद्शिद्धनम् ॥ कौटिल्य III. 6 (p. 163).

^{1414.} पृतेनाभ्यज्य गात्राणि तैलेनाविकृतेन या। सुलान्सुरः परिद्रस्य गर्धेर्यात्राण्य-संस्पृश्चन् ॥ नास्त् (स्त्रीपुंस्त) verse 82. विश्वस्त्प on या. I. 68 вауз पृताभ्यश्वनवश्वनं कामप्रवृत्तिनिरोधार्थम् । तत्रश्वालिङ्गनादि वैकारिकत्वाद् दूरापेतम् ।

^{1415.} अनियुक्ता तु या नारी देवराज्यनयेत्सुनम् ॥ जारजातमरिक्थीयं तमाहुर्बह्म-बादिनः। नारद (श्रीपुंस) 84-85.

tions that it must not have been very much prevalent and instances must have been rather rare.

While ancient Dharmasutras like Gautama allowed niyoga, there were other dharmasūtras and writers almost as old as Gautama that condemned the practice and forbade it. Ap. Dh. S. 1416 II. 10, 27, 5-7 after referring to the view of some that a girl is given to a family in marriage and declaring that that practice (of polyandry) is forbidden adds a condemnation of nivoga 'the hand (of a sagotra is considered to be) that of a stranger; that if (the marriage vow) is transgressed, both (husband and wife) certainly go to hell and that the reward obtained from observing the restrictions of the law is preferable to offspring obtained in this manner (by niyoga).' Baud. Dh. S. II. 2.38 refers 1417 to the view of Aupajanghani that it is only the aurasa son that is to be recognized as a son and then quotes three verses (probably of the same ancient sage), which are also cited as quotations by Ap. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 6) and which call upon husbands to guard their wives and not allow others to procreate sons on the latter, as the sons so procreated will benefit only the begetter. Manu, though at first he describes nivoga, ultimately condemns it in the strongest terms possible (IX. 64-68). says that among dvijātis a widow should never be appointed to raise issue from another, for by doing so ancient dharma would be violated, that in the mantras relating to marriage there is no reference to nivoga nor is the remarriage of a widow spoken of in the procedure about marriage, that nivoga is a beastly way and was first brought into vogue by king Vena who thereby caused varna-sainkara, and that since that time good men condemn him who through ignorance appoints a widow to produce offspring. Manu (IX. 69-70) explains the meaning of nivoga by saying that the rules and the ancient texts about nivoga apply or refer to that case only where, after a girl is promised as a bride, the intended bridegroom dies, the

^{1416.} अविशिष्टं हि परत्वं पाणेः । तद्य्यतिक्रामे खलु पुनरुभयोर्नरकः । नियमारम्भणो हि वर्षीयानभ्युद्य एवमारम्भणाव्यत्यात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 27. 5-7.

^{1417.} An औपजन्धनि or ज्ञानि is a teacher mentioned in the नंद्रा at the end of Bi. Up. II. 6 and IV. 6. इदानीमहमीद्यामि स्त्रीणां जनक नो पुरा। यतो यमस्य सादने जनियतुः पुत्रमनुबन् ॥ रेतोधाः पुत्रं नयति परेत्य यमसादने। तस्माद्भार्था रक्षन्ति विभ्यतः पररेतसः ॥ अपमन्ता रक्षथ तन्तुमेतं मा वः क्षेत्रे परवीज्ञानि वाण्युः । जनियतुः पुत्रो भवति सांपराये मोधं वेत्ता कुद्देते तन्तुमेतम् ॥ भी. ध. स्. II. 2. 39-41=आप. ध. स्. II. 6. 13. 6 (with slight variations). मत्स्यपुराण 49. 13 has the half verse रेतोधां नयते पुत्रः परेतं यमसादनात् ।. The last verse occurs in Vas. 17. 9 also.

brother of the latter is called upon to marry the girl and to have intercourse with her only once during each period till she gives birth to a son who would be the son of the deceased. Though Manu condemned the ancient practice of nivoga, he had to make provision for the ksetraja son as regards partition (IX. 120-121, 145). It should be noticed that if the interpretation of Manu IX. 69-70 be accepted, the word 'vidhava' would have to be taken in two different senses in Manu and other texts e.g. in IX. 60 where Manu speaks of nivoga, the word means a girl promised to a bridegroom who died before the marriage ceremony was gone through, while in Manu IX. 64 'vidhava' means 'a widow whose husband died after marriage was completed.' To say the least, this contravenes the canon of Mimāinsā interpretation that the same word in the same passage or context should have only one meaning. Brhaspati¹⁴¹⁸ refers to the fact that the Manusmrti first described the ancient niyoga and then forbade it and adds that in former ages men possessed tapas and knowledge and could strictly carry out the rules while in dvapara and kali ages there is great deterioration of power and so men of these times cannot now practise nivoga. The several kinds of sons will be dealt with under vyavahāra.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (15.3) contains an innovation which is not found in the sūtras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha viz. the 'kṣetraja is one¹⁴¹⁹ who is procreated en an appointed wife or widow by a sapiṇḍa of the husband or by a brāhmaṇa.' The Mahābhārata is replete with cases of niyoga. Ādiparva (95 and 103) narrates how Satyavatī pressed Bhīṣma to procreate sons for his younger brother Vicitravīrya (who was dead) from his queens and how (Ādi, 105) when Bhīṣma refused Vyāsa ultimately was appointed by Vyāsa's mother Satyavatī and procreated Dhṛṭtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. Kumārilabhaṭṭa¹⁴²⁰ replies to

^{1418.} उक्तो नियोगो सुनिना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव हु । युगक्रमाद्शक्योथं कर्तुनन्यैर्विधा-मतः ॥ तपोज्ञानसमायुक्ताः कृतत्रेतायुगे नराः । द्वापरे च कली नॄणां शक्तिहानिर्धिनिर्मितां ॥ अनेक्रधाः कृताः पुत्रा क्रिपिश्च पुरातनैः । न शक्यन्देऽपुना कर्तुं शक्तिहीनेरिदन्तनैः ॥ बृह० quoted by अपरार्क p. 97 (on Yaj. I. 68-69) and by कुल्कृत on मत्तु IX. 68.

^{1419.} नियुक्तायां सपिण्डेनोत्तमधर्णेन योत्पाद्तितः क्षेत्रजो द्वितीयः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र I5. 3.

^{1420.} The objector says ' कुष्णद्वेपायनस्य गृहीतनेष्ठिक ब्रह्मचर्यस्य विचित्रविर्य-द्वारेज्वपत्योत्पादनप्रसङ्घः । (तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 203 on जे. I. 3. 7) and the reply is 'द्वेपायनस्यापि रुक्तियोगाद्यातिस्यत्यिष्ठिरसुर्देश्वराहुक्षेपरितादृतुमतीयात् इत्येत्रमागमान्मानु-संबन्धभ्रातृजायापुत्रजननं पाङ्कृतपश्चात्किरिण्यमाणतपोबलेन नातिदुष्करम् । अन्योपि पस्तादुक्तपोवलो निर्वहित्स कुर्यादेव । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 208 (on the same sutra).

the objector finding fault with Vyāsa by saying that Vyāsa followed Gaut. (18, 4-5) and the urgent request of his mother and besides his tapas saved him from the effects of violation of dharma. Pāndu himself is said to have asked Kuntī to procreate sons for him by nivoga from a brahmana endowed with great tapas (Adi. 120) and tells her certain stories of niyoga (Adi. 120-123) and winds up by saving that three sons is 1421 the limit and that if a fourth or a fifth were procreated the woman would be svairini (a wanton woman) and bandhaki (harlot). Adiparva (chap. 64 and 104) states that when Parasurama tried to exterminate the ksatriyes thousands of ksatriya widows brāhmanas for the procreation of sons. 1428 Vide Adiparva, chap. 104 and 177, Anuśasane, chap. 44. 52-53, Śanti 72. 12 for other references and examples of nivoga, 1423

Owing to the bewildering and often conflicting rules about nivega in the smrtis, commentators like Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, who wrote at a time when nivoga was almost unheard of, made heroic though unsatisfactory efforts to bring order out of chaos. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 69 states several views on the point. The first is that nivoga is bad in the present age as opposed to smrti texts (like Manu IX. 64 and 68) and to the usage of the śiṣṭas (respectable people). The second view was the same as Manu IX. 69 set out above. A third view was that there was an option (as nivoga was both forbidden and allowed). A fourth view (which seems to be the view of Viśvarūpa himself) was that the smrti texts about nivoga refer to śūdras 1424 (Manu IX. 64 uses the word 'dvijāti') and it was also allowed to royal families, when there was no male to succeed (and only a brāhmaṇa was to be appointed) and Viśvarūpa relies upon two

^{1421.} नातश्रद्धार्थं प्रसद्मापत्स्विप वद्नत्युत । अतः परं स्वैरिणी स्वाह्नम्थकी पश्चमे भवेत ॥ आदिपर्व 123. 77.

^{1422.} ब्राह्मणान् क्षत्रिया राजन् सुतार्थिन्योऽभिचक्रसः । क्रतास्ति नरम्यात्र न क्षामान्नान्ततो तथा ॥ तेभ्यश्च लेभिरे गर्भे क्षत्रियास्ताः सहस्रज्ञः । आद्विपर्व 64. 5-7; एवसन्ये सहेण्यासा ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्रिया सुति । जाताः परमधर्मज्ञा वीर्यवन्तो महाबलाः ॥ आदिपर्व 104. 56; ब्राह्मणो सुणवान्कश्चिद्धनेनोपनिमन्त्रपताम् । विचित्रवीर्यक्षेत्रेषु यः ससुत्पाद्योग्प्रजाः ॥ आदि. 105. 2; पत्यभावे पर्यव स्त्री देवरं सुकृते प्रतिम् । शान्ति 72. 12.

^{1423.} Vide Dr. Winternitz's paper (Notes on Mahābhārata) in J. R. A. S. 1897 pp. 716-732 'for Niyoga in the great opic'.

^{1424.} एवं तावच्छ्झाणां नियोगाधिकार उक्तः। विश्वस्य at the end of his com. on I. 69. A little above विश्वस्य remarks that there is a usage of नियोग among sūdras.

verses of Vrddhamanu 1425 and a gatha of Vavu. Visyarupa further says that the procreation of sons by Vyasa from the queens of Vicitravirya should be paid no heed (i. e. is not to be relied on) like the marriage of Draupadi (to the five Pandavas). The Mahābhārata probably reflects what happened owing to the incessant internecine wars among the princes of India. Whole princely houses must have been slaughtered. If nivoga was prevalent among them, the males appointed, when they had to be of the same caste, would have been ordinary soldiers (ksatri-The proud princely families very likely thought it below their dignity to associate widewed queens with ordinary ksatriyas. It is possible to held that they chose brahmanas for appointment, as the latter were deemed to be higher than even kings in the spiritual domain. It is impossible to believe that brāhmanas, who had no temporal power, could coerce the proud and warlike caste into choosing brahmanas for niyoga, unless the teaching of the smrtis fell in with the notions of the ruling houses themselves to some extent at least.

There was difference of opinion as to whom the child of nivoga belonged. Vas. Dh. S. 17. 6 expressly refers to this divergence. The first view was that the child belonged to the begetter; this view would cut at the very root of the purpose for which nivoga was recommended. Nirukta 1426 III. 1-3 supports this view and relies on Rg. VII. 4. 7-8. Gaut. 18. 9 and Manu IX. 181 state the same rule. Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 5 says that according to a Brahmana text the son belongs to the The second view was that if there was an agreement between the elders of a widow and the person appointed or between the husband himself and the begetter that the child should belong to the husband, then the son belonged to the latter. Vide Gaut. 18. 10-11, Vas. 17. 8, Adiparva 104. 6. 1427 A third view was that the son belonged to both the begetter and the owner of the wife. This is the view of Narada (stripumsa 58), Yāj. II. 127, Manu IX. 53, Gaut. 18. 13.

^{1425.} तथा च बृद्धमन्तः। शूद्धाणामेव धर्मार्य पत्यी प्रेतेऽन्यसंश्रयः। लोभान्मृद्धेर-विद्वद्भिः क्षत्रियेरपि चर्यते ॥ वागुपोक्तां तथा गाथां पठन्त्यत्र मनीविणः । विभाणां न नियोगास्ति प्रेते पत्यौ न वेद्यनम् ॥ and the गाथा is अकार्यमेतवृविमाणां विधवा यानि-प्रज्यते। उद्यते वा मृते पत्यौ देवरेण विशेषतः ॥ विश्वस्त्यः

^{1426.} तद्यथा जनियतुः प्रजा एवमर्थीये ऋ चाबुदाहरिष्यामः । निरुक्त III. 1.

^{1427.} उत्पादियतुः पुत्र इति हि ब्राह्मणम् । आपः धः स्. $II.\ 6.\ 13.\ 5$; पाणिग्राहस्य तंत्रय इति वेदेषु निश्चितम् । आदिपर्व $104.\ 6$.

As shown above (in note 1418) niyoga was forbidden in the Kali age by Brhaspati and it was included among practices forbidden in the Kali age by several works. Vide the Mit. on Yāj. II. 117 and Aparārka p. 97 quoting Brahmapurāṇa. 1427a

The practice of raising issue from the widow of one's brother or marrying her was a widespread one. Vide Westermarck's 'History of Human Marriage' (1921) vol. III. pp. In the Rgveda 1428 X. 40, 2 we read 'what sacrificer invites you (Asvins) in his house as a widow invites a brother-in-law to her bed or as a young damsel her lover'. But it is not clear whether this refers to marrying the widow of a deceased brother or to the practice of niyoga. Visvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 69) thinks that this refers to niyoga. The Nirukta (III. 15) explains Rg. X. 40, 2, where in some mss. the word 'devara' is explained as 'a second husband' (dvitīyo varaḥ). Medhātithi on Manu IX. 66 explains Rg. X. 40. 2 as applying to niyoga. According to the sūtras and smrtis niyoga was entirely different from marriage. In many ancient societies, women were inherited like property. On the death of the eldest brother, his younger brother took the family property as well as his widow. But the Rgveda had reached a stage much beyond that. Mac-Lennan thought that the practice of nivoga was due to polyandry. Westermarck combats this view and rightlyso. When nivoga was allowed in the sūtras, polyandry had been either unheard of or forbidden. Jolly in Recht und Sitte (English translation, pp. 153-157) thinks that apart from the religious importance of a son economic motives were at the bottom of the long list of secondary sons, including the ksetraja. This appears to be quite wrong. The practice of niyoga was a relic from the past and probably owed its origin to several causes, which are now obscure, but one of which was the great hankering for a son evinced by all in Vedic times. Vas. Dh. S. (17, 1-6) lends support to this view, since after quoting Vedic passages about the importance of a son for paying off the debt to ancestors and for securing heavenly worlds, he at once proceeds to the description of the kselraja. But the economic motive was never put forward by any of the sages, nor could it possibly have been the reason

¹⁴²⁷ a. उक्तं च। यथा नियोगधर्मों नो नानुधन्ध्यावधोपि वा। तथोद्धारविभागोपि नैव संप्रति वर्तते॥ इति। मिता॰ on या. II. 117; स्त्रीणां पुनर्विवाहस्तु देवरात्पुत्रसंततिः। स्वातन्त्रयं च कलियुगे कर्तन्यं न कत्याचन॥ मह्मपुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 97.

^{1428.} को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं मर्थ न योषा छुणुते सधस्थ आ. ॥ इत. X. 40, 2,

and main-spring of the practice. If many secondary sons were desired for economic reasons, then the same man could have had any number of secondary sons. But the dharmasastra texts do not allow this. A man who has an aurasa son can have no ksetraja or adopted son. If one kind of son was adopted, then another kind of son could not be adopted. So economic motives did not at all form the origin of this practice. Winternitz in J. R. A. S. for 1897 at p. 758 puts forward poverty, paucity of women and the joint family system as the causes of nivoga. There are no data to prove that there was paucity of women in India during historic times. There might have been a paucity of men owing to wars. Nor do the other two reasons bear close examination. It is better to say that niyoga was a survival from the remote past, that gradually it became rarer and rarer till in the first centuries of the Christian era it came to be totally prohibited.

CHAPTER XIV

REMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS

Remarriage of widows.—The word punarbhū is generally applied to a widow that has remarried. Before going into the detailed history of the remarriage of widows it is desirable to probe into the meaning of the word 'punarbhū'. 1429 (stripumsa, v. 45) says that there are seven sorts of wives (mentioned in order) who have been previously married to another man (parapūrvā); among them, the punarbhū is of three kinds 1130 and the svairing (wanton woman) is of four The three punarbhūs are: (1) a maiden whose hand was taken in marriage but whose marriage was not consummated: in her case the marriage ceremony has to be performed once more; (2) a woman who first deserts the husband of her youth, betakes herself to another man and then returns to the house of her husband; (3) a woman who is given by the husband's relatives (when the husband dies) to a sapinda of the deceased husband or a person of the same caste, on failure of brothers-in-law (this is nigoya and no ceremony is to be performed). The four svairinis are: (1) a woman, whether childless or not, who goes to live with another man through love while the husband is alive; (2) a woman who rejects after her husband's death his brothers and the like and unites herself with another through passion for him; (3) a woman, coming from a foreign country or purchased with money or oppressed by hunger or thirst, gives herself to a man saying 'I am yours'; (4) a woman who is given to a stranger by the elders relying on the usages of the

^{1429.} Vide Vedic Index vol. I. pp. 476-478, 'Die Witve in Veda', (the widow in the Veda), a paper by Dr. Winternitz in the Vienna Oriental Journal (1915) vol. 29, pp. 172-203 for discussion of some Vedic passages bearing on the question.

^{1430.} Compare Manu IX. 176 and Visnu 15. 8 for the first punarbhu, Manu IX. 176, Vas. Dh. S. 17.19 and Visnu 15. 9 for the second punarbhu.

country, but who incurs the blame of wantonness 1431 (as the about nivoga are not observed by them or smrti rules her). Nārada says that each preceding one of the punarbhūs and svairinis enumerated is inferior to the next in order. Yāi. (I. 67) does not give this elaborate classification: all he says is that a punarbhū is of two kinds, one whose marriage had not been consummated and another who has had sexual intercourse and that both have the marriage ceremony performed again (i. e. punarbhū is one who is 'punah samskrtā); a svairinī is one who forsakes the husband whom she married when a maiden and lives with another man of the same caste through love for the latter. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 67 remarks that the elaborate classification of Nārada and Śankha (3 punarbhūs and 4 svairints) is not of much use, that it only indicates the various degrees of blame (or sin) attaching to them and is also meant to discriminate among prayascittas to be performed by those women. It is the second husband and the son of the second marriage that bear the appellation 'paunarbhava' (pati or putra respectively) and not the first husband. Vide Sam. Pr. pp. 740-741. The Sm. C. (I. p. 75) quotes a passage from Baudhāyana and certain verses of Kasyapa. According to Kasyapa 1438 the seven kinds of punarbhū are: (1) the girl who had been promised in marriage, (2) one who was intended to be given: (3) one on whose wrist the auspicious band was tied by the bride-groom, (4) whose gift had been made with water (by the father), (5) whose hand was held by the bridegroom, (6) who went round the fire, (7) who had given birth to a child after marriage. In the first five cases it is to be supposed that the bride-groom either immediately died or left the further prosecution of the marriage rites. Even such girls would be styled punarbhūs, when they married another person later on, though

^{1431.} Dr. Jolly in his translation of Nārada (S. B. E. vol. 33 pp. 175-176) renders this verse of Nārada differently; but his rendering appears to me to be incorrect. The 3rd kind of punarbhū refers to the practice of niyoga; the 4th kind of svairiņī is one who is allowed to have intercourse by her elders for procreating a son for her deceased husband but without observing the strict rules of niyoga laid down in the smṛtis. That is the difference between the two. The action of the स्वरिणी is described as साहस, as it is no more than vyabhicāra, though with the elder's permission.

^{1432.} वाचा दत्ता मनोदत्ता कृतकौतुकमङ्गला। उद्कस्पर्शिता या च या चपाणि-गृहीतिका॥ आग्नें परिगता या च पुनर्भूः प्रसवा च या। इत्येताः कश्यपेनोक्ता द्हन्ति कुल-मग्निवत्॥ कश्यप quoted by स्मृतिचः I. 75.

the first marriage was not complete because the saptapadi had not been performed. The sixth case is one of completed marriage (though it refers to only going round fire). Baudhāyana's seven varieties are slightly different, the first two being the same as Kaśyapa's: the others are (3) one who went round the fire (with the bridegroom); (4) one who took the seventh step; (5) one who has had sexual intercourse (either after marriage or even without it); (6) one who has conceived: (7) one who has borne 1433 a child. These meanings of the word punarbhū must be borne in mind when one meets with the word punarbhū in Vedic texts. That even the promise to give in marriage without the performance of any ceremonies was looked upon as tantamount in its consequences to marriage follows from the words of Sukanyā quoted above (in note 1306) from the Sat. Br., where she had been only offered to the sage Cyavana by her father, but where no ceremonies had been performed as none are described or referred to therein. Manu (IX. 69-70) confines the rules of nivoga to a girl who was only promised (vāgdattā); while Vas. Dh. S. XVII. 72 speaks of the vāgdattā and one given with water as still a maiden, if no Vedic mantras have been repeated. 1434 Vas. Dh. S. XVII. 74 refers to the 4th variety of Baudhāyana. Yāi, I. 67 when he speaks of akşalā refers to all the six varieties of Kasyapa or the first four varieties of Baudhāvana and when he speaks of 'ksatā' he refers to the seventh variety of Kasyapa and the last three of Baudhāvana. Vas. Dh. S. 1435 17, 19-20 describes paunarbhava as the son of a woman, who leaves the husband of her youth and after having lived with another person, re-enters house of the husband or as the son of a woman who takes another husband after leaving an impotent, outcast or lunatic husband or after the death of the first husband. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 31 describes paunarbhava as the son of a woman who after abandoning an impotent or outcast husband goes to another husband. Nārada (strīpumsa, v. 97), Parāsara IV. 30 and Agnipurana 154. 5-6 have the same verse 'another husband

^{1433.} वाग्वत्ता मनोवृत्ता आग्नें परिगता सप्तमं पदं नीता भुक्ता गृहीतगर्भा प्रसूता चेति सप्तविधा पुनर्भूर्भवति। अतस्तां गृहीत्वा न प्रजां धर्मे च विन्दृते। बोधायन quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 75, सं. प्र. p. 735.

^{1434.} अद्भिवांचा च दत्तायां भ्रियेतादी वरो यदि। न च मन्त्रोपनीता स्यात्कुमारी पितुरेव सा ॥ पाणिश्राहे मृते बाला केवलं मन्त्रसंस्कृता। सा चेद्श्वतयोगिः स्यात्पुनः संस्कारमहिति ॥ वसिष्ठ 17. 72 and 74.

^{1435.} पौनर्भवश्चतुर्धः । या कौमारं भर्तारसुत्सुज्यान्येः सह चरित्वा तस्यैव कुदुम्बमा-श्रयति सा पुनर्भूर्भवति । या च क्लीबं पतितसुन्मत्तं वा भर्तारसुत्सुज्यान्यं पति विन्तृते सृते वा सा पुनर्भूर्भवति । वसिष्ठ 17. 18-20.

is ordained for women in five calamities viz. when the husband is lost (unheard of), is dead, has become a samnyāsin, is impotent or is patita.' 1436 Great controversies have raged round this verse. Some like the Par. M. (II. part I, p. 53) give the easy explanation (always given about inconvenient texts) that this verse refers to the state of society in another yuga (age) and has no application to the Kali age. Others like Medhātithi (on Manu V. 157) explain that the word pati means only 'pālaka' (guardian). Medhātithi 1487 (on Manu III. 10 and V. 163) is not dead against nivoga, but he is opposed to the remarriage of widows. Even the Smrtyarthasāra (which belongs to about 1150 to 1200 A.D.) mentions several views viz. some hold that a girl may be married to · another if the bride-groom dies before saptapadi, others hold that she may be remarried if the first husband dies before consummating the marriage, while still others are of opinion that if after marriage the husband dies before she begins to menstruate she may be remarried and some hold that remarriage is allowed before conception. 1438

Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 3-4 condemns remarriage 'if one has intercourse with a woman who had already another husband, or with a woman on whom no marriage samskāra has taken place or who is of a different varna, then sin is incurred; in that case the son also is sinful'. Haradatta quotes Manu III. 174 and says that the son procreated on another's wife is called kunda if the husband is living, and golaka if the husband is dead. Manu V. 162 is opposed to the remarriage of widows 'nowhere is a second husband declared for virtuous women'; so also Manu IX. 1439 65

^{1436.} नष्टे मृते प्रवाजिते क्लीये च पतिते पतौ। पश्चस्वापस्तु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते॥ नारद् (स्त्रीपुंसप्रकरण ⁹⁷).

^{1437.} यत्तु नष्टे विधीयते इति तत्र पाळनात्पतिमन्यमाश्रयेत सैरन्ध्रकर्मादिना-त्मवृत्त्यर्थम् । मेधातिथि on मन्तु V. 157; तथा स्वर्गे गच्छत्यपुत्रापीत्यनेनापत्यज्ञननमापिद् प्रतिविध्यते नियोगस्मृत्या तु तत्पुनरभ्यन्जज्ञास्यते । तदेतद्पत्योत्पाद्नसुक्तप्रतिविद्धत्वाद्वि-कत्पते । मेधा. on मन्तु V. 163.

^{1438.} मृतेऽन्यस्मै तथा देया वरे सप्तपदात्पुरा। पुरा पुरुषसंयोगान्मृते देयेति केचन॥ ऋताबहुष्टे कन्यैव पुनर्देयेति केचन। आगर्भधारणाःकन्या पुनर्देयेति चापरे। देशकालादिमा धर्मा अनुष्ठेया विज्ञानता॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 12.

^{1439.} न द्वितीयश्च साध्वीनां क्रचिद्धर्तोपद्दिश्यते। मनु V. 162; न विवाहविधानुक्तं विधवावेदनं पुनः ॥ मनु IX. 65; सकुत्क्वन्या प्रदीयते। मनु IX. 47; पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्राः कन्यास्वेव प्रतिष्ठिताः। मनु VIII. 226. Vide आश्व. ए. I. 7. 13, आप. म.पा. I. 5. 7 &o for the मन्त्राः 'अर्थमणं नु देवं कन्या अग्निमयक्षत &c.', where the word कन्या (a maiden) alone is used.

('in the procedure of marriage there is no declaration about the remarriage of widows), Manu IX. 47 'a maiden can be given only once' and Manu VIII. 226 (the Vedic mantras used in pānigrahaņa are applicable to maidens only) are opposed to the remarriage of widows. The Brahmapurana and other purānas forbid remarriage of widows in the Kali age (vide note 1427 a above). The Sam. Pr. quotes a text of Kātyāyana to the effect that a girl, who has gone through the ceremony of marriage with a sagotra, may be married again and remarks that the text refers to the state of society in another yuga. is the view of all the commentators and nibandha writers. Manu himself (in IX. 176) expressly allows the samskāra of remarriage in the case of a girl, whose first marriage has not been consummated or who left the husband of her youth, went to live with another and returned to the first husband. In this the author of the Manusmrti probably only reiterates popular usage which was too much for him in spite of his own view (in V. 162) denouncing remarriages. So it may be taken that Manu does not forbid the use of mantras in remarriage, but holds that even after the mantras are recited the remarriage of a widow is not dharmya (approved). It is said in the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva 104. 34-37) that Dīrghatamas forbade remarriage and also niyoga. 1440 Manu himself speaks of the samskara of a pregnant girl (IX. 172-173). Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 18, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 74, Yāj. I. 167 speak of the samskāra of remarriage (paunarbhaya samskāra). Manu III. 155 and Yāj. I. 222 include the paunarbhava (the son of a punarbhū) among brāhmanas that are not to be invited at a śrāddha. Aparārka (p. 97) quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāna itself which speaks of a fresh samskara of marriage for a child widow or for one who was forcibly abandoned or carried away by somebody, 1441

Several smṛtis contain certain rules about what the wife was to do when the husband had gone abroad for many years after marriage. Nārada (strīpumsa, verses 98-101) gives the

^{1440.} एक एव पितर्नार्या यावज्जीवं परायणम् । मृते जीवित वा तस्मिन्नापरं प्राप्तुया-त्पतिम् ॥ अभिगम्य परं नारी पितिष्यति न संशयः । अपतीनां तु नारीणामद्यप्रभृति पातकम् ॥ आदि 104. 35–36.

^{1441.} यदि सा बालविधवा बलास्यक्ताथवा क्रिचित्। तदा भूयस्तु संस्कार्या गृहीता येन केनिचत्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted by अपरार्क p.97.

following directions. 1442 'If the husband has gone to a foreign country a brahmana wife should wait for eight years, but four years if she has not given birth to a child; after that period (of 8 or 4 years) she may resort to another man (then Narada lays down lesser number of years for ksatriva and vaisva wives). If the husband is known to be living then the periods are double of those stated above; this is the view of Prajapati when no news can be had of persons and hence there is no sin if a woman resorts to another man (in such cases).' Manu (IX. 76) says 'If a man has gone to a foreign land for doing some religious duty the wife should wait for him for eight years, six years if he has gone for acquiring knowledge or fame, or three years if he has gone on a love affair (or for another wife). 'Manu does not state what the wife is to do after these years of waiting. Vas. (17. 75-76) requires that 'the wife of one who has gone to a foreign land should wait for five years and after five years she should go near her husband.' This may be all right as far as it will go. But if the husband is unheard of, how is she to reach him? Vasistha says nothing on that point. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 69 says that the periods of waiting prescribed for the wife of an emigrant are meant not for permitting nivoga thereafter, but for calling upon her to repair to her husband. Kautilya (III. 4) prescribes some interesting rules: 'the wife of one, who has long gone abroad, or who has become a recluse or who is dead, should wait for seven menstrual periods and for a year if she has a child already. Thereafter she may marry the full brother of her husband. If there be many brothers she should marry one who is near in age (to the first husband), who is virtuous, capable of maintaining her or who is the youngest or unmarried. If no such brother exists she may marry a sapinda of the husband or one of the same caste.' The story of Damayanti suggests that when the husband was not heard of for many years, a wife could marry again. Damayanti is said to have sent a message to Rtuparna that, as Nala was not heard of for many years. Damayanti was going to celebrate a svayainvara and Rtuparna hurries for it and does not think it a strange thing (Vanaparva 70. 24).

^{1442.} अष्टो वर्षाण्युदिक्षित ब्राह्मणी प्रोषितं पतिम्। अप्रमृता तु चस्वारि परतोऽन्यं समाश्रयेत् ॥ ...जीवति श्रूपमाणे तु स्यादेष द्विग्रणोऽवाधेः ॥ अप्रवृत्तौ तु भूतानां दृष्टिरेषा प्रजापतेः । अतीन्यगमने स्रीणामेष दोषो न विद्यते । नारद (स्रीपुंस ४४. 98-101.).

One question 1448 raised by Dr. Banerjee is: what is to be regarded as the gotra of a widow when she is to be remarried (is it to be her father's gotra or of the first husband's?). There are hardly any indications in the ancient smrtis or commentaries on this point. Viśvarūpa 1444 commenting on Yāj. I. 63 (on the word 'kanyāprada') observes that according to some the father gives away the bride even if she is not a virgin. So it appears that the father's gotra should be looked to in the remarriage of a widow. Vidyasagar, whom Dr. Banerjee follows, held the same opinion.

Certain passages of the Atharvaveda may be considered in connection with the question of the remarriage of widows. Atharva-Veda V. 17. 8-9 are 1445 when a woman has at first even ten husbands, who are not brāhmanas, if a brāhmana takes hold of her hand (i. e. marries her), he alone is her (real) husband. A brāhmana alone is (a real) husband, not a ksatriya or a vaisya—the sun goes proclaiming this to the five (tribes of) men'. The first verse is not to be taken literally in the sense that a woman married ten persons in succession and that the 11th was a brāhmana; the first verse contains rather what is called 'praudhivāda' (pompous assertion or boast) and this is indicated by the word 'uta'. The verse may at the most mean that if a woman has first a ksatriva or vaisva as husband, and she marries on his death a brahmana, then the brahmana is the real husband. The word 'pati' may also have been used loosely and all that is meant may be that if a girl is promised to ten persons one after another and then lastly to a brahmana, the latter is to be accepted as the best. Another passage 1446 of the

^{1443.} Vide 'Marriage and Strīdhana' (5th ed.) p. 309 'one of these rules of selection requires that the parties to marriage should be of different gotras; but what is to be regarded as the gotra of a widow-the gotra of her father in which she was born or that of her deceased husband to which she has been transferred by marriage?'.

^{1444.} कन्यापद इति वचनादक्षताया एव नैयमिकं दानम् । पिता त्वकन्यामपि द्यादिति केचित्। विश्वरूप on या. I. 63.

^{1445.} उत यस्पतयो दृश स्त्रियाः पूर्वे अवाह्मणाः। ब्रह्मा चेद्धस्तममहीत्स एव पतिरेक्षधा। ब्राह्मण एव पतिर्ने राजन्यो न वैश्यः। तत्सूर्यः प्रबुवक्षेति पश्चभ्यो मानवेभ्यः॥ अधर्ववेद् V. 17. 8-9. उत is explained by the निश्कतः (e. g. I. 19) generally as अपि, whenever it is at the beginning of a verse or pada.

^{1446.} या पूर्वे पितं विस्वाऽधान्यं विन्दतेऽपरम्। पञ्जोदनं च तावजं ददातो न वि योषतः ॥ समानलोको भवति पुनर्भुवापरः पितः। योऽजं पञ्जोदनं दक्षिणाज्योतिषं ददाति॥ अधर्ववेदः IX. 5. 27-28.

Atharvaveda (IX. 5. 27-28) is 'whatever woman, having first married one husband, marries another, if they (two) offer a goat with five rice dishes they would not be separated (from The second husband secures the same world with each other). his remarried wife, when he offers a goat accompanied with five rice dishes and with the light of fees'. Here the word $punarbh\bar{u}$ occurs. It is possible to hold that this may refer to the promise of a girl in marriage, subsequent death of the intended bridegroom before the marriage ceremonies take place and then the bestowal of her on another. Whatever the meaning of $punarbh\bar{u}$ here may be, it is clear that some sort of sin or inferiority attached to her and that such sin or opprobrium had to be removed by sacrifices. Other passages are discussed later on. But it must be admitted that remarriage of women was not prohibited in the times of the Atharvaveda. In the Tai. S. III. 2. 4. 4 'daidhisavya' (widow's son) occurs. The grhyasūtras are silent about remarriage; so probably by that time it had come to be prohibited generally, though sporadic instances might have occurred. Among the brahmanas and castes similar to them and holding or endeavouring to hold a high place in the hierarchy of castes widow remarriage has been forbidden for centuries. One of the earliest historical instances is the remarriage of Dhruvadevi, queen of Rāmagupta. who was after Ramagupta's death, married by her brother-in-law Candragupta (vide Journal Asiatique for 1923, pp. 201-208, Sanjan Plates in E. I. vol. 18, p. 255, 'Indian Culture' vol. 4, p. 216, Harsacarita VI, penultimate para). Among sūdras and other lower castes widow remarriage has been allowed by custom, though it is held to be somewhat inferior to the marriage of a maiden. 1447 Among these castes remarriage is allowed after the death of the husband or during his life-time with the consent of the husband who gives a writing called farkhat or sod-chitti (a deed of release). Such marriages are called put in Mahārāstra, natra in Gujarat, udki in the Canarese districts. In some cases the caste in a meeting assembled takes upon itself to bring to an end a marriage and allows the wife to re-marry. But the Bombay High Court does not recognize the authority of a caste to declare a marriage void or to permit a woman to remarry another person without the consent of the husband and have convicted of bigamy women re-marrying without the

^{1447.} Vide Steele's 'Law and Custom of Hindu Castes' pp. 26, 168-169.

consent of the first husband but with the permission of the caste. 1448 In modern times, the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act (XV of 1856) has been passed mainly through the efforts of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. That Act legalises the marriages of widows notwithstanding any custom or interpretation of the Hindu Law to the contrary and declares that the children of such marriages are legitimate. Owing to the sentiment of centuries widow remarriage is still looked down upon and during more than eighty years since the Act was passed not many widows have taken advantage of it. The Census 1449 of India for 1931 discloses certain appalling figures. Among infants of less than one year old there were in the whole of India as many as 796 males who were widowers and 1515 females who were widows, among children up to 5 years there were 12799 widowers and 30880. widows (out of these last the Hindus contributed 10266 as widowers and 23667 as widows). It is true that amongst the castes to which most of these must have belonged widow remarriage is allowed by custom, but there must be a certain number of females who are widows before five, who cannot remarry by the custom of the caste and who would not dare to take advantage of the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act. Between the ages of 5-10, 11-15, 16-20 the numbers of Hindu widows for the whole of India are respectively 83920, 145449, 404167. The age of marriage for girls is rapidly rising owing to economic causes, the spread of literacy among the masses, and the operation of the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929) and it may be hoped that these high figures of child widows will be substantially reduced in the near future. Persons finding fault with Hindu society for large numbers of child widows should not forget one thing. According to Hindu notions every girl must be married at any cost. Hence people rush into child marriages. But there has been no problem of old spinsters in Hindu society, as there is in Western countries, though it appears that in the near future that problem will arise even in Apart from the considerations as to religious texts prohibiting widow remarriage and the great concern among women for preserving a high ideal of chastity and single-minded devotion to the husband, many Hindus feel that, each girl

^{1448.} Vide Reg. v. Karsan Goja, 2 Bombay High Court Reports 117; Reg. v. Sambhu, 1 Bom. 347, Keshav v. Bai Gandhi, 39 Bom. 538.

^{1449.} Vide Consus of India 1931 vol. I. part 2, Imperial Tables, pp. 120-122.

having been given one chance of marriage, if she becomes a widow, that is her ill-luck, but she should not be allowed to compete with unmarried girls in the marriage market, which is already overcrowded with girls waiting to be married.

Certain verses of the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda have given rise to various explanations and opinion is divided as to whether they refer to nivoga, to the remarriage of widows or to the practice of the immolation of widows. First the two verses Rg. X. 18. 7-8 1450 which are part of a fun ral hymn will be set out: 'Let these women, who are not widows and who have good husbands, sit down with clarified butter used as collyrium; may the wives who are tearless, free from disease and wearing fine jewels (or clothes) occupy the seat in front (first). O woman! raise yourself towards the world of the living; you lie down near this departed (husband); come, this your wifehood of the husband who (formerly) held your hand and who loved you has (now) been fulfilled'. It is somewhat strange that Sayana understands the latter half as an invitation by the husband's brother to the wife of the departed to remarry him. meaning is far-fetched and does not bring out the proper force of 'hastagrābhasya', 'patyuḥ' and 'babhūtha'. The Asv. gr. 1451 (IV. 6. 11-12) prescribes that (in the expiatory rite performed on the death of an elder) the young women relatives should salve their eves with butter with their thumb and fourth finger and with tender darbha blades and then throw the blades away, when the performer of the rite should look at them while they are salving their eyes with the verse 'imā nārīr &c.'. same sūtra (IV. 2. 16-18) says that "(when a dead body is to

1450. इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्चनेन सर्पिषा सं विशन्तु । अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्ना आरोइन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥ उदीर्ष्यं नार्यभि जीवलोकं गतासुमेतसुप शेष एहि । इस्तग्राभस्य विधिषोस्तवेदं परयुर्जनित्वमाभि सं बभूध ॥ ऋ. Х. 18. 7-8. अधर्वेदद (XII. 2. 31 and XVIII. 3. 57) has the verse इमा नारीः, but reads संस्कृत्ताम् for संविशन्तु ते आ. VI. 10 has the verse इमा नारीः, but reads संस्कृत्ताम् and सुश्वाः for संविशन्तु and सुरत्नाः; ते. आ. VI. 1 and अधर्वेदद 18. 3. 2. have उदीर्ष्यं etc. but ते. आ. reads इतासुं for गतासुं, त्वमेतत् for तवेदं and वभूव for बभूध. The most difficult words are the last quarter of Rg X. 18. 8. बभूध requires a subject in the 2nd person which does not occur in the latter half of the verse.

1451. इमा नारिरविधवाः सुपत्नीरित्यक्षाना ईक्षेत । अश्व. यू. IV. 6. 12; उत्तरत पत्नीम् । धनुश्व क्षत्रियाय । तासुत्थापयेहेवरः पतिस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी जरहासो वोदीर्ष्व नार्याभ जीवलोकिमिति । आश्व. यू. IV. 2. 16.-18 These sutras are referred to by अपरार्क p. 112. The com. on Tai. Ar. holds that the latter half calls upon the wife of the deceased to remarry.

be cremated) they should place the wife to the north of the body and a bow for a ksatriya (if he be the dead person) and then her brother-in-law or some one else who can be the representative of her husband or a pupil or an old servant should make her rise up with the mantra 'udīrsva'". The Śān. Śr. S. IV. 16.16 also directs that the verse Rg. X. 18. 7 is repeated when the eyes of women are touched with blades of kusa grass and XVI. 13. 13 says that Rg. X. 18.8 and Rg. X. 85. 21-22 are called 'utthapinyah' (verses addressed for making one rise). There is another mantra in the Atharvaveda (18. 3. 1) and Tai. Ar. VI. 1 1452 'Oh (dead) man! this woman choosing the world of the husband lies down by thee, the deceased, observing the old universal custom; bestow on her in this world offspring and wealth'. The first verse (i. e. Rg. X. 18. 7) contains nothing about nivoga or remarriage. It has been made use of for giving Vedic authority to the practice of sati (which will be dealt with later That verse refers to the practice that young women of the household of the departed used to go to the cemetery and applied clarified butter to their eyes (by way of purification and $\delta \bar{a}nti$); this practice continued to the days of the $\bar{A}sv.$ gr, the Brhad-devatā (VII. 12) and the Baud. pitrmedhasūtra (I.21.11). The two verses 'iyam nārī' and Rg. X. 18.8 are employed by the Baudhāvana-Pitrmedhasūtra 1453 in the funeral rites, the first to be repeated when the wife is made to sit near the corpse and the next for making her rise. It is to be noted that Baud. directs that the corpse is placed on the funeral pile after the wife is made to rise from the vicinity of the corpse; while the Brhad-devatā appears to suggest that the wife ascends the funeral pile after the corpse is placed thereon and then the younger brother forbids her with the verse 'udirsva &c.'. But the Brhad-devatā 1454 does not mean that the wife burns herself on the funeral pyre and the brother-in-law contents himself with only repeating a verse to dissuade her. The Rgvidhana 1455 (III. 8.4) says that the brother-in-law should call back the wife

¹⁴⁵². इयं नारी पतिलोकं बृणाना निपद्यत उप त्वा मर्त्य प्रेतम् । विश्वं पुराणमनु पालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजां इवि मं चेह धेहि ॥ तै. आ. $VI.\ 1$; अधास्य भार्यामुपसंवेशयति । इयं नारीधेहि इति । तां प्रति हितः सन्ये पाणाविभिपाद्योत्धापयति उद्दीर्ष्वः... बभूव इति । बो पितृमेधसूत्र $I.\ 8.\ 1-2$.

^{1453.} अधैनमेतयासन्द्या सह चितायामाद्रधाति । बौ. पितृमेधसूत्र I. 8. 7.

^{1454.} उर्दृष्ट्यं नारीत्यनया मृतं पत्न्यतुरोहति । भ्राता कनीयान् मेतस्य निगद्य मतिषेधति ॥ बृहहेवता VII. 13.

^{1455.} भ्रातुर्भार्यामपुत्रस्य संतानार्थे मृते पतौ । देवरोऽन्वाचरक्षन्तीसुद्गिर्ध्वेति निव-र्तयेत् ॥ ऋग्विधान III. 8. 4 (ed. by Meyer).

of his sonless brother when she is about to ascend the funeral pyre for procreating a son on her with Rg. X. 18. 8. It appears that the verse Rg X. 18. 8 symbolically describes what even in the days of the Rgveda was probably only a tradition viz. that in hoary antiquity a wife burnt herself with her husband. In the times of the Rgveda this practice had altogether ceased, but a symbolical imitation of it had come into vogue, viz. that the wife lay near the corpse in the cemetery and then she was asked to get up and was told that by following her husband to the very doors of death she had fulfilled all that was expected of her and that she should return. The same idea is referred to by the verse 'iyam nārī', but the latter half appears to refer to the practice of nivoga when it calls upon the departed to bestow on the wife offspring and wealth. It is possible to argue that Rg. X. 18. 8 also impliedly has nivoga in view. But both these verses do not expressly refer to the parctice of sati at all. They at the most might lead to the inference that the woman had either to marry the deceased husband's brother or go in for niyoga because the husband died sonless. The latter appears to me to be the more probable of the two hypotheses, if those are the only explanations. The symbolic use made in the grhyasūtras and in the Brhad-devatā of Rg. X. 18.8 shows that they practically are against the burning of widows. It is probable that these authors knew of the custom of niyoga, that it was not then much approved of and so they are silent about it, while the Rgvidhāna which appears to be comparatively a late work takes the verse 'udīrsva' as referring to niyoga (which is most probably referred to in Rg. X. 40. 2 ko vām śayutrā vidhaveva devaram). The consideration of the practice of widow burning naturally arises here from the above discussion and will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

Divorce

In the Vedic literature there are at least some texts capable of being interpreted as relating to the remarriage of widows and we have the word 'punarbhū'. But as regards divorce there is absolutely nothing in the Vedic texts nor is there much in post-vedic literature. The theory of dharma-sastra writers is that marriage when completed by homa and saptapadi is indissoluble. Manu IX. 101 says 'Let mutual fidelity (between husband and wife) continue till death; this in brief may be understood to be the highest dharma of man and wife.' In another place Manu (IX. 46) declares 'neither by sale nor by

desertion is the wife released from the husband; we understand that this is the law ordained by the Creator in former times.' The position of the writers on dharmasastra is that marriage is a samskara, that the status of wife-hood arises from that samskara, that even if the husband or wife became patita, the samskara already performed is not annulled by that fact, that even if a wife committed adultery she still remains a wife and that when she performs a penance for her lapse, it is not necessary to have a fresh samskara of marriage performed on her. 1456 We have seen (pp. 552-553) that a man was allowed to supersede a wife and marry another or others or to abandon his wife altogether in certain circumstances. But that does not amount to divorce (i. e. dissolution of the marriage tie); the marriage is still there intact. It was also shown (at pp. 610-611) that according to Nārada, Parāśara and a few others a woman was allowed to remarry in case the husband died, or was unheard of &c.: but according to the digests and commentaries these rules apply to a former yuga (age). Therefore divorce in the ordinary sense of the word (i.e. divorce a vinculo matrimonii) has been unknown to the dharmasastras and to Hindu society for about two thousand years (except on the ground of custom among the lower castes). Even when the husband was allowed to abandon the wife for her lapse, still she was in most cases entitled to at least starving maintenance. Therefore tyaga (abandonment) was not only no divorce a vinculo at all but was not even a divorce a mensa et thero (divorce from board and bed). Later surtis and medieval digests could hardly conceive of any ground for which the wife could desert her husband altogether, though Nārada and a few others allowed her to desert one husband and marry another if he was impotent, or became a samnyāsiu or an outcast. The Mit. on Yāi, I. 77 says that a wife is not under the control of her husband as long as he remains patila (outcast or excommunicated) and that she should wait till he is purified by penance and restored to caste and that thereafter she again becomes dependent on him. gravest sins can be expiated by penance (vide Manu XI. 89,

^{1456.} Vide विश्वरूप on या. III. 253-254 के चित्तु परित्यक्तासु पारदारमायश्चित्तं नेच्छन्ति संबन्धिनिमित्तत्वाद्दारशब्दस्य । तथा च सित विधवास्वपि पारदार्थं म स्यात् । न च व्यभिचारादिभिस्तस्यापगमो युक्तः संस्कारिनमित्तत्वाद् द्वारशब्दस्य । तस्य च पतनेप्यनपगमात् । अत एव पतिता योषितः कृतप्रायश्चित्ताः पुनर्न संस्कियन्ते । अन्यथा तु पतनेन संस्कारस्यापगमात् कृतप्रायश्चित्ता अप्यदाराः स्युः । अतो व्यभिचारिणीव्वप्यस्त्येव पारदार्यम् ।

92, 101, 105-106); therefore it follows that a wife could not for ever desert even a patita husband. In modern times the Indian courts 1457 have held that mere change of faith apostasy by a Hindu wife or husband does not ipso facto dissolve the marriage and that if the wife changes her religion and then marries another while the first husband is still living. she would be guilty of bigamy. Mere desertion or separation for many years or even adultery does not dissolve a Hindu marriage (vide 42 Madras Law Journal 276). Only in cases where the husband or wife becomes a convert to Christianity, a special procedure is prescribed for the dissolution of the original Hindu marriage by the Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act (XXI of 1866), which is not set out here as it is beyond the scope of this work to do so. Further those Hindus who marry under the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872 as amended by Act XXX of 1923) can secure divorce under the Indian Divorce Act (IV of 1869). The Malabar Marriage Act (Madras Act IV of 1896) forbids polygamy if the first marriage is registered and allows divorce (sec. 19) among those who are governed by the Marumakkatayam or Aliyasantana Law prevalent in Malabar.

The Arthasastra of Kautilya contains some interesting observations bearing on divorce. 1458 'A wife hating her husband cannot be released from the husband if he is unwilling (to let her go), nor can the husband release himself from the wife (if she is unwilling); but if there is mutual hatred then release is possible. If a man fearing danger (or injury) from his wife desires release from her, he shall return to her whatever was given to her (at the time of marriage). If a woman out of fear of danger (or injury) from the husband desires release, the latter need not return to her what was given to her (at the time of marriage); marriages in the approved form cannot be dissolved. 'Kautilya himself says (in III. 2) that the first four forms viz. brāhma, prājāpatya, ārsa and daiva are dharmya (approved), since they are brought about under the authority of the father. 1459 Therefore according to Kautilya there can

^{1457.} Vide The Government of Bombay v. Ganga I. L. R. 4. Bom. 330; in the matter of Ram Kumari I. L. R. 18 Cal. 264; Budansa v. Fatma Bi 26 Madras Law Journal p. 260.

^{1458.} अमोक्ष्या भर्तुरकामस्य द्विषती भार्या। भार्यायाश्च भर्ता। परस्परं द्वेषान्मीक्षः श्लीविषकाराद्वा पुरुषश्चेन्मोक्षमिन्छेद्यथागृहीतमस्य द्वात्। पुरुषविष्रकाराद्वा खी चेन्मोक्ष-मिन्छेसास्य यथागृहीतं द्वात्। अमोक्षो धर्मविवाहानामिति। अर्थशास्त्र III. 3.

^{1459.} पितृपमाणाश्चत्वारः पूर्वे धम्याः । अर्थज्ञास्त्र III. 2.

be no dissolution of the marriage tie if the marriage was celebrated in one of the first four forms. But if the marriage was in the gāndharva, āsura or rākṣasa form, then the tie may be dissolved by mutual consent, if both have come to hate each other. But he seems to hold that there can be no release at the instance of only one party to the marriage who has begun to feel aversion to the other party in whatever form the marriage may have been performed. Even in this latter case he apparently makes an exception, where physical danger is apprehended by one party from the other.

It is beyond the scope of this work to compare the law of divorce in other countries or under other religious systems. may be stated, however, that according to the strict theory of the Roman Catholic Church the marriage tie is indissoluble. 1460 though decrees of nullity of marriage were sometimes granted by that Church to those who could pay for them. In England after the Restoration divorce could be secured through the Parliament by a private Bill where a divorce a vinculo matrimonii was desired. But this method could be resorted to only by the rich, as the passage of a private Bill for divorce cost at least 500 £. The Ecclesiastical courts in England granted divorces a mensa et thoro on the ground of adultery, cruelty or unnatural offences, though such a divorce did not dissolve the marriage. But this procedure also was costly, as even an undefended suit for divorce a mensa et thoro would ordinarily cost from 300 to 500 £. Then came the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 (20 and 21 Vic. chap. 85) by sec. 27 of which a wife could petition for divorce only if she proved that since the celebration of marriage the husband was guilty of incestuous adultery, or of bigamy with adultery, or of adultery coupled with such cruelty as, without adultery, would have entitled her to a divorce a mensa et thoro or of adultery coupled with desertion. The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1923 (13 and 14 Geo. 5 chap. 19) placed women on an equality with men by allowing them to apply for divorce merely on the ground of adultery by the husband without having to prove anything more. Then the Act of 1937 known as A. P. Herbert's Act (1Edw. 8 and 1 Geo. 6 chap. 57) allows the husband or wife to petition for divorce on four grounds. It will be noticed

^{1460.} Vide the Gospels of Mark X. 2-12 and of Luke XVI. 18, which altogether forbid divorce.

from this that the absence of divorce and rigorous restrictions thereon are not a peculiarity of the Brahmanical religion or of the caste system, but existed even in so-called progressive, casteless and Christian countries up to very recent times. In modern times even in Roman Catholic countries divorce is allowed on various grounds; and in India too efforts are being made to enact legislation permitting divorce among Hindus for various reasons. And it may be admitted that some legal provision is necessary for securing divorce in hard cases even as to marriages celebrated under the ancient sastric system on grounds similar to those in the English Act of 1937,

CHAPTER XV

SATĪ (Self-immolation of widows)

The word is often written as 'suttee' in English works and papers. This subject is now of academic interest in India, since for over a hundred years (i. e. from 1829) self-immolation of widows has been prohibited by law in British India and has been declared to be a crime. A portion of sec. 1 of the Regulation XVII of 1829 passed by the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck is set out below. We are now in a position to take a dispassionate view of the practice, to trace its origin and follow its working down to the date of its being declared illegal. It is not possible in the space available here to go into all details. Those interested may read the latest book on the subject by Mr. Edward Thomson. 1461 The burning

'Suttee' (1928), which gives an account of it from the most ancient times, of the efforts made to suppress it by Raja Rama Mohan Roy and the British Government. In an appendix the author gives extracts from the accounts reported by those who witnessed widow burning from 317 B. C. to 1845 A. D. Vide also Max Muller's H. A. S. L. p. 48 for references to the custom of widow-burning among Greeks and Scythians; 'Die Frau' pp. 74-79 for accounts of travellers and eye witnesses; Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays vol. I (ed. of 1837) pp. 114-116 (for description of the rite), vol. II. chap. III. pp. 153-158; Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute vol. 14. p. 219. In the 'Travels of Peter Mundy' (1608-1669) published by the Hakluyt Society in 1914 vol. II. pp. 34-36, the author gives an account of the burning of a widow at Surat in 1630 with a sketch showing the widow having on her lap the head of her deceased husband. That writer also notes that the practice had in his time become rare, as under the Mogul rulers a special license from the Ruler or Governor was required. Similarly Barbosa (a Portuguese) describes the burning of a sati in the Vijayanagar kingdom (vide translation by M. L. Dames, vol. I. pp. 213-216).

Section 1 of Regulation XVII of 1829 which declared the practice of sat illegal and a crime punishable in the courts (and passed by the Governor-General in Council on 4th December 1829) is: The practice of Suttee or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos is revolting to the feelings of human nature; it is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindoos as an imperative duty; on the contrary a life of

of widows was not peculiar to Brahmanism, as many are prone to believe, but the custom owes its origin to the oldest religious views and superstitious practices of mankind in general. The practice of widow burning obtained among ancient Greeks, Germans, Slavs and other races (vide 'Die Frau' pp. 56, 82-83 and Schrader's 'Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan People,' English Translation of 1890, p. 391 and Westermarck's 'Origin and Development of Moral Ideas', 1906, vol. I, pp. 472-476), but was generally confined to the great ones, the princes and nobles.

There is no Vedic passage which can be cited as incontrovertibly referring to widow-burning as then current, nor is there any mantra which could be said to have been repeated in very ancient times ¹⁴⁶² at such burning nor do the ancient grhyasūtras contain any direction prescribing the procedure of widow burning. It therefore appears probable that the practice arose in Brahmanical India a few centuries before Christ. Whether it was indigenous or was copied from some non-Aryan or non-Indian tribes cannot be demonstrated. None of the dharmasūtras

(Continued from last page)

purity and retirement on the part of the widow is more especially and preferably inculcated and by a vast majority of that people throughout India the practice is not kept up or observed; in some extensive districts it does not exist; in those in which it has been most frequent, it is notorious that, in many instances, acts of atrocity have been perpetrated, which have been shocking to the Hindoos themselves, and in their eyes unlawful and wicked.......Actuated by these considerations the Governor-General in Council, without intending to depart from one of the first and most important principles of the system of British Government in India that all classes of the people be secure in the observance of their religious usages, so long as that system can be adhered to without violation of the paramount dictates of justice and humanity, has deemed it right to establish the following rules &c.

1462. Raja Radhakant Deva relied upon two verses which he found in the Aukhya śākhā of the Tai. S. quoted in the 84th Anuvāka of the Nārāyaṇīya Upaniṣad as the most explicit authority for widow burning; vide Prof. H. H. Wilson's Works vol. II. pp. 293-305. The two so-called Vedic texts are: असे नतानां नतपतिरसि पत्न्यानुगमनतं चरिण्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यताम् । इह त्वा असे नमसा विधेम सुवर्गस्य लोकस्य समेरये । जुषाणो अस हविषा जातवेदो विशानि त्वा सक्ततो नय मापत्युरसे (pp. 295-296). These, to say the least, are of doubtful authenticity.

except Visnu contains any reference to sati. The Manusmrti is entirely silent about it. It is stated in Strabo (XV. 1.30 and 62) that the Greeks under Alexander found sati practised among the Cathaei in the Punjab and that that practice arose from the apprehension that wives would desert or poison their husbands (Hamilton and Falconer's Translation vol. III). The Visnu-dharmasūtra1468 says 'On her husband's death the widow should observe celibacy or should ascend the funeral pyre after him.' The Mahābhārata, though it is profuse in the descriptions of sanguinary fights, is very sparing in its references to widow burning. Madri, the favourite wife of Pāndu, burnt herself with her husband's body. 1464 Virāta-parva Sairandhri is ordered to be burnt with Kicaka, 1465 just as in ancient times it is said there was a custom to bury a slave or slaves along with the deceased ruler. The Mausala parva (7.18) says that four wives of Vasudeva, viz. Devaki, Bhadra, Rohini and Madira burnt themselves with him and (chap. 7.73-74) that Rukmini, Gandhari, Saibya, Haimayati, Jambayati among the consorts of Krsna burnt themselves along with his body and other queens like Satvabhāmā went to a forest for The Visnupurāna also says that eight queens of Krsna, Rukmini and others, entered fire on the death of Krsna. 1466 The Śāntiparva (chap. 148) describes how a kapotī (female pigeon) entered fire on the death of her husband the bird. 1467 In the Striparva (chap. 26) the Great Epic describes the death ceremonies performed for the fallen Kauravas, but no mention is made of any widow immolating herself on the funeral pyre though the chariots, clothes and weapons of the warriors are said to have been consigned to fire. From the above it appears

- 1463. मृते भर्तरि ब्रह्मचर्ये तद्वन्वारोहणं घा। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 25. 14 quoted by the मिताक्षरा on या. I. 86.
- 1464. आदिपर्व 95. 65 'तन्त्रेनं चिताग्रिस्थं मादी समन्वाकरोह।; आदि 125. 29 'राज्ञः शरीरेण सह ममापीदं कलेवरम्। तृग्धन्यं सुप्रतिच्छन्नमेतदार्थे प्रियं कुरु॥.'
 - 1465. सैरन्ध्रजाः स्तपुत्रेण सह दाहं विशां पतिः। विराटपर्व 23, 8.
- 1466. अष्टौ महिष्यः कथिता रुक्मिणीमसुखास्तु याः । उपगुह्य हरेदेंहं विविश्चस्ता हृताशनम् ॥ विष्णुपुराण V. 38. 2.
- 1467. पतिव्रता संप्रदीष्तं पविवेश हुताशनम्।। ततिश्वित्राङ्गद्वधरं भर्तारं सान्वपश्यतः। ततः स्वर्गे गतः पक्षी भार्यया सह संगतः। शान्ति 148. 10-12. This passage is quoted in the Mit. on Yaj. I. 86 in support of the plea that sati is enjoined and leads to great bliss in the other world.

that the practice was originally confined to royal families and great warriors even in India and that cases of widow burning were rare. Several texts are cited by Apararka from PaithInasi. Angiras, Vyāghrapād which apparently forbid self-immolation to brahmana widows. 1468 The authors of digests explain away these passages by saying that they only prohibit self-immolation by a brahmana widow on a funeral pyre different from that of the husband i. e. a brahmana widow can burn herself only on the funeral pyre of her husband and if his body is cremated elsewhere in a foreign land, his widow cannot, on hearing of his death, burn herself later. They rely on the text of Usanas that a brāhmana widow should not follow her husband on a separate funeral pyre. The Veda-Vyāsa-smrti (II.53) says that a brahmana wife should enter fire, clasping the dead body of her husband; if she lives (after her husband) she should give up adorning her hair and emaciate her body by austerities.1469 In the Rāmāyana. 1470 (Uttarakānda 17. 15) there is a reference to the self-immolation of a brahmana woman (the wife of a brahmarsi and mother of Vedavati, who when molested by Ravana burnt herself in fire). The Mahabharata (Striparva 23. 34 ff.) on the other hand describes how KrpI, the wife of Drona, the brāhmana commander-in-chief of the Kauravas. appeared with dishevelled hair on the battle-field on the death of her husband, but does not say that she burnt herself. 1471 appears therefore that the burning of brahmana widows began much later than that of ksatriya widows.

The burning of a widow on the death of her husband is called sahamarana or sahagamana or anvārohana (when she

^{1468.} पैठीनसिः। मृतानुगमनं मास्ति बाह्मण्या ब्रह्मशासनात्। इतरेषां तु वर्णानां स्विधिमोयं परः स्मृतः ॥ अङ्गिराः। या स्वी बाह्मणजातीया मृतं पतिमन्त्रवजेत्। सा स्वर्गमात्म-धातेन नात्मानं न पतिं नयेत् ॥ ध्याव्रपात्। न ब्रियेत समं भर्ता बाह्मणी शोकमोहिता। प्रवज्यागतिमामोति मरणादात्मघातिनी ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 112. These are quoted by the मिताः on या. I.86 but without name. पृथक्चितिं समारुद्य न निप्रा गन्तुमहीति। अन्यासां चैव नारीणां स्वीधमीयं परः स्मृतः॥ उशनस् quoted by अपरार्क p. 112 and by मिताः on या. I.86.

^{1469.} मृतं भर्तारमादाय बाह्मणी विह्निमाविशेत् । जीवन्ती (v. l. ब्राह्मणी) चेस्यक्त-केशा तपसा शोषयेद्वपु: ॥ वेद्व्यास II. 53 quoted above in note 1379.

^{1470.} अपरार्क p. 112 refers to the रामायण 'अत एव रामायणादौ बाह्म-ण्यादीनां स्वभर्तृश्विरालिङ्गनपूर्वकं स्वश्ररीरवृहनसुपाख्यायते।'

^{1471.} तां पश्य रुवृतीमार्ती सुक्तकेशीमधोस्रखीम् । इतं पतिसुपासन्तीं द्रोणं शस्त्रभृतां वरम् ॥ बाणिभिस्नतसुत्राणं भृष्टसुम्नेन केशव । उपास्ते व मुधे द्रोणं जित्तेला ब्रह्मचारिणी ॥ स्त्रीपर्व 23.

ascends the funeral pyre of her husband and is burnt along with his corpse), but anumarana occurs when, after her husband is cremated elsewhere and she learns of his death, the widow resolves upon death and is burnt with the husband's ashes or his padukās (sandals) or even without any memento of his if none be available 1478 (vide Aparārka p. 111 and Madanapārijāta p. 198). In the Kumārasambhava (IV. 34) of Kālidāsa, Rati, the wife of Kāma who was burnt by Siva, speaks of throwing herself into fire, but is held back by a heavenly voice. In the Gāthāsaptaśatī (VII. 33) there is a reference to a woman being decked for anumarana (Nirn. ed.). The Kāmasūtra VI. 3.53 speaks of anumarana. It has been shown (at p. 579) how Varāhamihira admires women for their courage in being burnt with their husbands. The Harsacarita (Ucchvāsa 5) describes how Yasomati, the chief queen of king Prabhākaravardhana and mother of Harsa, consigned herself to fire when the king was dying. But this is not a proper case of sati, as she burnt herself even before her husband died. In another passage of the Harsacarita (V, in the description of night) the glory of moon-lotuses is said to be laughing like a woman intent on anumarana, who is decked with ear ornaments and wears garlands on her head. 1473 Bana in his Kadambari in a most eloquent and well-reasoned passage condemns anumarana.1474 The Bhagavatapurana 1475 I. 13. 57 speaks of Gandharl's burning herself on the death of her husband, Dhrtarāstra.

- 1472. देशान्तरमृते तस्मिन्साध्वी तत्पादुकाद्वयम् । निधायोरसि संशुद्धा पविशेजात-वेदसम् ॥ ऋग्वेदवादात्साध्वी स्त्री न भवेदात्मधातिनी । त्र्यहाच्छौचे तु निर्वृत्ते आद्धं प्रामोति शाश्वतम् ॥ ब्रह्मधुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 111., where अपरार्क tells us that Vedic verses which render self-immolation free from the sin of suicide are verses like 'ima narîr' (Rg. X. 18. 7) quoted in note 1450.
- 1473. Vide the passage beginning with 'वृन्तामलपत्रमसाधितकाँणेकासु केसरमालाकल्पितसुण्डमालिकासु अनुमर्तुमिवोद्यतासु पहसितसुखीषु कुसुव्लक्ष्मीषु ' हर्ष-चित्त V (6th para from the end).
- 1474. यदेतद्द्यमरणं नाम तद्तिनिष्फलम् । in paragraph 177 of my edition of the purvabhaga, which Candrapida addresses to Mahasveta, where he gives instances of famous women like Rati, Pṛtha, Uttura, Duḥsala that did not resort to sahagamana and winds up 'अन्याश्च रक्षःसुरासुरस्निमञ्ज-सिद्धगन्धर्वकन्यका भर्नुरहिताः श्च्यन्ते सहस्रक्षो विधृतजीविताः'.
- 1475. रघुनन्दन in his शुद्धितस्य (p. 242) quotes the passago of the भागवतपुराण.

Rājatarangiņī cites in several places (e.g. VI. 107, 195; VII. 103, 478) examples of satī.

In numerous epigraphic records reference is made to the practice of sati. Among the earliest is the one in 191 of the Gupta era (510 A. D.) in the Gupta Inscriptions (ed. by Fleet) p. 91. Vide also the Eran posthumous stone pillar Inscription of Goparaja which says that his wife accompanied him on the funeral pyre when he was killed in battle: I. A. vol. IX. p. 164 (Nepal Inscription of 705 A. D., where Rajyavati, widow of Dharmadeva, bids her son Mahādeva to take up the reins of government that she may follow her husband): the Belaturu Inscription of saka 979 of the time of Rajendradeva Cola (E. I. vol. VI, p. 213) where a śūdra woman Dekabbe, on hearing of her husband's death, burnt herself in spite of the strong opposition of her parents who then erected a stone monument to her: E. I. vol. 14 p. 265, 267 where a grant is made in śaka 1103 to a temple by Sinda Mahāmandaleśvara Rācamalla on a request by two satīs, widows of his general Becirāja; E. I. vol. 20, p. 168 (of Cedi sainvat 919) which refers to three queens that became satis: E. I. vol X. p. 39 where the Temara gate stone inscription of śaka 1246 speaks of Mānikyadevī as sati on the death of her husband Amana who was an officer of king Hariscandra; E. I. vol. 20 p. 58 (Mistra Deoli Inscription in Jodhpur when two queens of a Gohila Rana became satis); E. I. vol. 16, p. 10, n. 4 and p. 11, n. 2 for sati records of saka 1365 and 1362. In an article on 'Satī memorial stones' in J. B. O. R. S. vol. 23, p. 435 ff, it is shown how the memorial stones usually bear the figure of the upraised arm and of the sun and the moon on either side and a group of stars. well-known latest historical examples of satī is that of Ramābāi, wife of the Peshwa Madhavrao I, in 1772 A. D. The Jauhar practised by the Rajput ladies of Chitor and other places for saving themselves from unspeakable atrocities at the hands of the victorious Moslems are too well-known to need any lengthy notice.

In the Indian Antiquary vol. 35 p. 129 there is a paper on 'Satī immolation which is not satī', where several examples of men who killed themselves out of devotion to their masters or for other causes are cited and it is pointed out how stone monuments (called mūstikkal i. e. stone monument for mahūsatī a great satī, and 'virakkal' for brave and devoted men) are erected

in memory of satis and men. The Harsacarita (V. 3rd para from end) describes how many of the king's friends, ministers, servants and favourites killed themselves on the death of Prabhākaravardhana. The Rajatarangini VII, 481 narrates how when the queen of king Ananta became a satī on her husband's death, her littercarrier and some other men and three of her $d\bar{a}s\bar{i}s$ followed her in death. There is the example of a mother burning herself on the funeral pyre of her son (vide Rajatarangini VII. 1380). shall see later on that suicide at holy places like Prayaga was practised for attaining heavenly worlds and bliss. seems to have been deemed of small account in those ages and though the death of women or men on the funeral pyre of the husband or for their masters appears to us sophisticated people of modern days as very horrible, it did not so appear to the ancients. Sali was not in historic times a practice imposed by priests or men on unwilling women. It somehow grew and it is improper to say that men imposed it on women. It may be that examples of sati occurred because of the force of popular sentiment. It was first confined to kings and nobles, because the lot of the wives of conquered kings and warriors was most miserable in all countries as well as in India. Vengeance for the truculence of their husbands was wreaked on the poor wives by carrying them as captives and making them work as slaves. Manu (VII. 96) allows a soldier to retain women (probably 'slaves') conquered by him along with other booty. When queen Yasomati narrates to her son Harsa the great honour and glory that was hers during the reign of her husband king Prabhākaravardhana, she refers to the fact that the wives of the enemies defeated by her husband waved chowries over her. 1476 From kings the practice spread among brāhmanas, though as shown above, several smrtikāras disapproved of the practice among brāhmaņa wives. Once it took root learned commentators and digest writers were found to support it with arguments and promises of future rewards. Even in modern times we can secure learned writers to support any pet theory of a coterie or clique. When Manchester and Liverpool were prosperous, English economists preached the doctrine of free trade and laissez faire to all nations, but in more difficult times we have now the anotheosis of Empire Preference and discriminating preference for home-made goods. IV. 178 asks people to do whatever their forefathers did.

^{1476.} आपीती युष्मद्विधेः पुत्रैरमित्रकलत्रबन्दीवृन्द्विधूयमानचामरमस्चलचीनां-शुक्रधरौ पयोधरौ। हर्बचरित V.

The rewards promised to a sati were as follows: Sankha and Angiras 1477 say 'she who follows her husband in death dwells in heaven for as many years as there are hair on the human body, viz. 3½ crores of years. Just as a snake-catcher draws out a snake from a hole by force, so such a woman draws her husband from (wherever he may be) and enjoys bliss together with him. In heaven she being solely devoted to her husband and praised by bevies of heavenly damsels sports with her husband for as long as fourteen Indras rule. Even if the husband be guilty of the murder of a brahmana or of a friend or be guilty of ingratitude, the wife who dies (in fire) clasping his body, purifies him (of the sin). That woman, who ascends (the funeral pyre) when the husband dies, is equal to Arundhati in her character and is praised in heaven. As long as a woman does not burn herself in fire on the death of her husband she is never free from being born as a woman (in successive births)'. Hārīta savs 'that woman who follows her husband in death purifies three families, viz. of her mother, of her father and of her husband'. The Mit, after quoting the above passages adds that this duty of anvarohana is common to the women of all castes from the brahmana to the candala. provided they are not pregnant or they have no young children (at the husband's death)'.1478

There were old commentators who were opposed to the practice of satī. Medhātithi on Manu V. 157 (Kāmam tu &c.) compares this practice to syenayāga which a man performed by

- 1477. तिम्रः कोट्योर्धकोटी च यानि लोमानि मानुषे। ताबकालं वसेत्स्वर्गं भर्तारं यानुगच्छति॥ व्यालग्राही यथा सर्पं बलादुद्धरते बिलात्। तद्वदुद्धृत्य सा नारी सह तेनेव मोद्रते॥ तत्र सा भर्तृपरमा स्तूयमानाप्सरोगणैः। क्रीडते पतिना सार्धं यावदिन्दाश्चतुर्द्शः॥ ब्रह्मग्नो वा कृतन्नो वा मित्रन्नो वा भवेत्पतिः। पुनात्यविधवा नारी तमादाय मृता तु या॥ मृते भर्तिर या नारी समारोहेद्धृताशनम् । सारुन्धतीसमाचारा स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ याव-च्चाग्नौ मृते पत्यौ स्त्री नात्मानं पदाहयेत्। तावन्न सुच्यते सा हि स्त्रीशरीरात्कर्यचन ॥ quoted by the मिताक्षरा on या. I. 86, अपरार्क p. 110, द्युद्धितत्त्व p. 234. The two verses तिम्नः कोट्यो &c. are also पराहार IV. 32 and 33 and ब्रह्मपुराण, गौतमीमाहात्म्य chap. 10. 76 and 74.
- 1478. अयं च सर्वासां स्त्रीणामगर्भिणीनामबालापत्यानामाचाण्डालं साधारणो धर्मः। भर्तारं यानुगच्छतीत्यविशेषोपादानात्। मिता॰ on या. I. 86; vide the same words in मद. पा. p. 196 and स्मृतिसु॰ (संस्कार p. 162), in which latter they are expressly quoted from विज्ञानेश्वर.

way of black magic to kill his enemy. He says 1479 that though Angiras allowed 'anumarana' it is suicide and is really forbidden to women. Just as the Veda says 'syenenābhicaran yajet 'and yet syenavāga is not looked upon as dharma, but rather as adharma (vide Sabara on Jaimini I. 1. 2), so, though Angiras speaks of it, it is really adharma; and that a woman who is in a hurry and extremely anxious to secure heaven quickly for herself and her husband might act according to Angiras, still her action is aśāstrīya (not in accordance with the śastras); besides anyarohana is opposed to the Vedic text one should not leave this world before one has finished one's allotted span of life '." The Mit. on Yaj. I. 86 combats these arguments. It says that syenayaga is no doubt undesirable and therefore adharma, but that is so because the object of syenayaga is injury to another. Anugamana on the other hand is not so; there the result promised is heaven which is a desirable result and which is enjoined by śruti in such sentences as one should sacrifice a white goat to Vayu if one desires prosperity'. Similarly the smrti about anugamana is not opposed to the sruti quoted, the meaning of which is different; that sruti means 'one should not waste one's life for securing heavenly bliss which is fleeting and insignificant as compared with the supreme bliss of Brahma knowledge'. As the woman in anumarana desires only heaven, she is not doing anything contrary to the śruti texts. This is the reasoning of the Mitākṣarā which looks like special pleading. Aparārka p. 111, the Madanapārijāta p. 199, Par. M. II. part I pp. 55-56 follow the reasoning of the Mit. and add that the Vedic text about the allotted span of life is a general rule, while the smrti about anumarana is a special or exceptional sastra and so there is no contradiction as the rule applies to all cases outside the excepted one. Madanapārijāta (p. 200) further explains that the texts about purifying a husband guilty of brahmana murder are not to be taken literally but only as hyperbolically extolling anvārohaņa.

^{1479.} पुंबत्क्षीणामि पतिषिद्ध आत्मत्यागे यद्प्याङ्गिरसे पतिमद्धिमेरी तद्गि नित्यवद्वरुपं कर्तम्यम् । फलस्तुतिस्तचास्ति फलकामायाश्वाधिकारे रूपेनतुल्यता । तथैव रूपेनेन हिस्याङ्कृतानीत्यधिकारस्यातिप्रवृद्धतरद्वेषान्धतया सत्यामि प्रवृत्तो न धर्मत्वम्, एव-मिहापि अतिप्रवृद्धफलाभिलाषायाः सत्यपि प्रतिषेधे तद्तिक्रमेण मरणे प्रवृत्युपपत्तेन शास्त्री-पत्मतोस्त्येव पतिमनु मरणेऽपि स्त्रियाः प्रतिषेधः । किं च 'तस्माद्ध ह न पुरायुषः प्रेयात् ' इति प्रत्यक्षश्चतिविरोधोयम् । मेधा० on मनु V. 156. The words of ज्ञाबर are 'नैव रूपेनाद्यः कर्तय्या विज्ञायन्ते । यो हि हिंसितुमिच्छेत्तस्यायमस्युपाय इति तेषाग्रुपदेशः । रूपेनेनाभिचरन्यजेतिति हि समामनन्ति नाभिचरितस्यमिति । on जै. I. 1. 2. p. 19.

The Sm. C. also expressly says that anvārohaņa, 1480 though recommended by the Viṣṇu Dh. S. (25. 14) and Angiras, is inferior to brahmacarya (leading a celibate life), since the rewards of anvārohaṇa are inferior to those of brahmacarya. As against this may be cited the extreme view of Angiras 'for all women there is no other duty except falling into the funeral pyre, when the husband dies.' 1481 The Śuddhitattva remarks that this extreme or sweeping statement is made by way of belauding sahamarana.

We saw above that brāhmaṇa widows were only allowed anvārohaṇa, but not anumaraṇa. There were other restrictions enjoined by the smṛtis on all widows 'wives who have a child of tender years, who are pregnant, who have not attained puberty and who are in their monthly course do not mount the funeral pyre of their husbands' 1482—from the Bṛhan-Nāradīya purāṇa. There is a similar verse of Bṛhaspati. The wife who was in her course was allowed to burn herself after she bathed on the fourth day.

Apastamba (verse) prescribes the Prājāpatya penance for a woman who having first resolved to burn herself on the funeral pyre turns back from it at the last moment. The Rājatarangini (VI. 196) refers to a queen who having pretended to have resolved on becoming satī ultimately regretted the step and turned back.

The Suddhitattva sets out the procedure of widow burning. 1484
The widow bathes and puts on two white garments, takes kusa blades in her hands, faces the east or north, performs ācamana (sipping water); when the brāhmanas say 'om, tat sat' she remembers the God Nārāyana and refers to the time (month, fortnight,

- 1480. यत्तु विष्णुना धर्मान्तरसक्तं मृते भर्तरि ब्रह्मचर्यं तद्वन्वारोहणं वा तदेत- द्वर्मान्तरमपि ब्रह्मचर्यधर्माज्जधन्यम्। निकृष्टफलत्वात् । स्मृतिच॰ on व्यव. p. 254.
- 1481. सर्वासामेव नारीणामग्रिप्रपतनाहते । नान्यो धर्मो हि विज्ञेयो मृते भर्तरि कहिंचित् ॥ अङ्गिरस् quoted by अपरार्क p. 109, परा. मा. II. 1. p. 58, ह्युद्धितस्व (p. 234 reads साध्वीनामेव नारीणां). साध्वीनामिह नारीणां is also वृद्धहारीत XI. 202.
- 1482. बालापत्याश्च गर्भिण्यो अदृष्टअतवस्तथा। रजस्वला राजसुते नारोहन्ति चितां शुमे॥ नारदीयपुराण quoted by परा. मा. II. part 1, p. 58, शुद्धितस्व p. 236, स्मृति-सुक्ताफल I. p. 162 (ascribes to और्व). 'बालसंवर्धनं त्यक्त्वा बालापत्या न गच्छति। रजस्वला सुतिका च रक्षेद्रभे च गर्भिणी॥ बृहस्पति quoted by परा. मा. and शुद्धितस्व.
- 1483. चितिभ्रष्टा तु या नारी मोहाद्विचिलता ततः। प्राजापत्येन शुध्येत्तु तस्माद्वे पापकर्मणः॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by अपरार्क p. 1193 and शुद्धितस्व p. 243.
 - 1484. Vide appendix under 1484.

tithi) and then makes the samkalpa (declaration of resolve) set out below. She then calls upon the eight lokapālas (guardians of the quarters), the sun, the moon, the fire &c. to become witnesses to her act of following her husband on the funeral pyre, she then goes round the fire thrice, then the brahmana recites the Vedic verse 'imā nārīr &c.' (Rg. X. 18. 7) and a Purāna verse 'may these very good and holy women who are devoted to their husbands enter fire together with the body of the husband, the woman utters 'namo namah' and ascends the kindled pyre. The long-winded preamble of the samkalpa 'arundhati...patipūtatvakāmā' is based upon the verses of Angiras quoted above (in n. 1477). The Suddhitattva as printed is corrupt but it appears that it read the last quarter of Rg. X. 18. 7 as 'ārohantu jalayonim-agne' (let them ascend the watery seat or origin, O fire!) meaning probably 'may fire be to them as cool as water'. Some writers have charged the brahmana priest-hood (or Raghunandana) with having purposely changed the reading of the verse Rg. X. 18. 7 in order to make it suit the rite of immolating oneself in fire (i. e. 'agne' or 'agneh' was substituted for 'agre'). But this charge is not sustainable. That the verse Rg. X. 18. 7 as it actually is was held to refer to widow burning centuries before Raghunandana follows from the fact that even the Brahmapurāna 1485 and Aparārka (quoted above on p. 628) take it in that sense. It was therefore not necessary to alter the reading. Further even if some priests or Raghunandana had changed it that fact would have been detected in no time, as in those days there were thousands of people who knew every syllable of the Rgveda by heart. Therefore it must be admitted that either the MSS, are corrupt or Raghunandana committed an innocent slip. That mantra was not addressed to widows at all, but to ladies of the deceased man's household whose husbands were living and the grhyasūtra of Asv. made use of it with that meaning. Raghunandana, a profound student of dharmasastras and smrtis (and often styled Smärta-bhattacarya), could not have been ignorant of what Asv. said. The procedure as prescribed in the Nirnayasindhu¹⁴⁸⁶ of Kamalākarabhatṭa, whose mother became a satī

^{1485.} शुद्धितस्व (p. 235) itself quotes the ब्रह्मपुराण text 'ऋग्वेदवादात् साध्वी श्री'

^{1486.} Vide निर्णयसिन्धु III, उत्तरार्ध p. 623 and धर्मसिन्धु pp. 483-484. The निर्णयसिन्धु expressly refers to the Gauda procedure as different from his "गौडास्तु 'इमा नारीरविधवाः ' इति 'ओं इमाः पतिव्रताः … विभावसुम् ' इति च विषः पटेवित्याहुः । ".

and who pays a very tender and touching reverence to her memory in his works, is somewhat different and it is followed by the Dharmasindhu.

It appears from all accounts of travellers and others that widow-burning prevailed more in Bengal during the centuries immediately preceding its abolition than anywhere else in India. 1487 If that was so, there were certain good reasons for that state of things. In the whole of India, except Bengal, the widows of members in a joint Hindu family are only entitled to maintenance and have no other rights over the property of the family. In Bengal, wherever the Dayabhaga prevails, the widow of a sonless member even in a joint Hindu family is entitled to practically the same rights over joint family property which her deceased husband would have had. must have frequently induced the surviving 1488 members to get rid of the widow by appealing at a most distressing hour to her devotion to and love for her husband. This rule of the widow's right was not for the first time propounded by Jimūtavāhana; he makes it clear that he followed a predecessor called Jiten-The figures given above lend support to the view expressed here, since Benares, where the rights of widows were insignificant, was responsible for a small number of satis only. It is impossible, however, to believe that the number of widows in ordinary stations of life burning themselves was very large at any time or that most of the widows that did so were coerced into doing it. There is a good deal of epigraphic and other evidence particularly in other parts of India that relatives tried to dissuade the widow from taking Even in Bengal the number of satis must never have been very

1487. Thomson in his book on 'Suttee' (pp. 69,72) gives the figures for satis reported from the Bengal Presidency (which then included Bihar and extended up to Benares) during 1815-1828. The lowest figure was 378 in 1815 and the highest 839 in 1818. Out of the total of 2366 cases during the four years 1815-1818, the Calcutta division alone contributed 1485, the Benares division, the seat of orthodoxy, contributed only 343. Vide H. H. Wilson's 'History of India' (ed. of 1858), vol. III (for 1805-1835 A. D.), pp 185-192. At p. 189 a table of the number of satis for 1815-1828 is given, from which it appears that in 1828 there were 463 cases of satis out of whom 420 came from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, out of which 287 were from the Calcutta division alone.

1488. Vide दायभाग (ed. by Jivananda, 1893) 'अताऽविशेषेणैव विभक्ताद्यनपेक्षयैव अपुत्रस्य भर्तुः कुत्स्नधने पत्न्यधिकारो जितेन्द्रियोक्त आद्ररणायः । १ p. 46; 'पत्नी च भर्तुधन भुक्षीतैव परं न तु तस्य दानाधमनविक्रयान्कर्तुमर्हति ' p. 56. large. Colebrooke, who had spent the best part of his life in Bengal and who was a profound Sanskrit scholar, observes in a paper written about 1795 A. D. 'Happily the martyrs of this superstition have never been numerous. It is certain that the instances of the widow's sacrifices are now rare'. The very fact that there was no disturbance of peace or ebullition of popular feeling or even any great verbal protest from the vast Hindu population (except a petition to the Privy Council) against Bentinck's sweeping measure indicates two things, viz. that the burning of widows was a rare occurrence and that people were not very keen on observing the practice nor had they any very deep-seated convictions about its absolute religious necessity. 1490

Modern India does not justify the practice of satī, but it is a warped mentality that rebukes modern Indians for expressing admiration and reverence for the cool and unfaltering courage of Indian women in becoming satīs or performing the jauhar for cherishing their ideals of womanly conduct. If Englishmen can feel pride in their ancestors who grabbed one fourth of the world's surface or if Frenchmen can feel pride in the deeds of their Emperor Napoleon who tried to enslave the whole of Europe and yet are not held up to ridicule or rebuke, there is no reason why poor Indians cannot express admiration for the sacrifices which their women made in the past, though they may condemn the institution itself which demanded such terrible sacrifice and suffering.

^{1489.} Vide Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays (ed. of 1837) vol. I. p. 122.

^{1490.} Vide Fitz-Edward Hall's paper in J. R. A. S. vol. III New Series (1868) pp. 190-191, footnote, where he quotes extracts from the writings of Prof. Wilson, Marshman and others that show how fears of violent resistance to Bentinck's measure were singularly falsified.

CHAPTER XVI

VESYĀ

Vesyā—(Courtezan). This work dealing among other matters with the position of women and marriage in India would be incomplete if nothing were said about prostitutes and concubines. Prostitution has existed from the dawn of history in all countries and in the absence of statistics it is difficult to say whether it flourished more in one country than in another or whether it existed to a greater or lesser extent in ancient days as compared with modern times. The article in the Encyclopædia Britannica on prostitution will be an eye-opener to many who will be inclined to turn their nose at Indian conditions.

From the Rgveda we find that there were women who were common to several men i. e. who were courtezans or prostitutes In Rg. I. 167. 4 the bright Maruts (storm gods) are said to have become associated with the young (lightning), just as men become associated with a young courtezan. 1591 It has already been seen how in Rg. II. 29. 1 reference is made to a woman who gives birth in secret to a child and leaves it aside. 66. 4, I. 117. 18, I. 134. 3 and other places $j\bar{a}ra$ (paramour or secret lover) is spoken of. In Gaut. XXII. 27 it is said that for killing a woman who is a brahmant by birth only and who subsists by harlotry no prayascitta is necessary but eight handfuls of corn may be gifted. Manu IV. 209 forbids a brahmana from taking food offered by harlots (vide also IV. 219); and Manu IX. 259 requires the king to punish clever (or deceitful) harlots. In the Mahābhārata courtezans are an established The Adiparva (115, 39) narrates how a vesya institution. waited upon Dhrtarāstra when his wife Gandhari was In the Udyogaparva (30.38) Yudhisthira sends pregnant. 1492 greetings to the vesyās of the Kauravas. Courtezans are described as going out to welcome Krsna when he came on a mission of peace to the Kaurava court (Udyoga 86.15). When the Pāndava armies are described as about to start for battle it

^{1491.} परा ह्युम्रा अयासो यग्या साधारण्येव मस्तो मिमिश्चुः । ऋ. I. 167. 4.

^{1492.} गान्धार्यो क्लिश्यमानायासुद्रेण विवर्धता । भूतराष्ट्रं महाराजं वेश्या पर्यचर-रिकल ॥ आदि $115.\ 39.$

is said that carts, markets and courtezans also accompanied them (Udvoga 151.58). Vide also Vanaparva 239. 37, Karnaparva 94. 26. Yāj. 1493 II. 290 divides concubines into two sorts, avaruddhā (one who is kept in the house itself and forbidden to have intercourse with any other male) and $bhujisy\bar{a}$ (concubine who is not kept in the house, but elsewhere and is in the special keeping of a person) and prescribes a fine of fifty panes against another person having intercourse with them. Nārada 1494 (stripumsa, 78-79) says 'intercourse is permitted with wanton women (svairini) who are not brahmana by caste, with a prostitute, a female slave, or a female not restrained by her master, if these belong to a caste lower than oneself; but it is forbidden with women of superior caste. But when these very women are the kept mistresses (of a person) intercourse with them by a stranger is as much a crime as intercourse with another's wife. Such women must not be approached, though intercourse with them is not forbidden (on the ground of caste &c), since they belong to another.' On Yāj. II. 290 the Mit., after quoting the Skandapurana to the effect that prostitutes constitute a separate caste being sprung from certain Apsarases (heavenly nymphs) called pañcacūdās, states that such courtezans as are not kept specially by a person do not incur any sin, nor punishment at the hands of the king, if they have intercourse with men of the same or a superior caste, nor do men approaching them incur any penalty if they are not avaruddh \bar{a} . But the men who visit them incur sin (which is an unseen result), since the smrtis ordain that men should be devoted to their wives (vide $Y\bar{a}j$. I. 81) and the prājāpatya penance is prescribed for him who has intercourse with a veśyā (vide Atri v. 271). Nārada 1495 (vetanasyānapākarma 18) lays down that if a public woman after getting her fee refuses to receive the customer, she shall pay twice the amount of the fee and the same fine shall be imposed on a man who does not pay the (stipulated) fee, after having had intercourse with a vesyā. Vide Yāj II. 292 and Matsvapurāna 227, 144-145 for

^{1493.} अवरुद्धासु वृासीषु भुजिष्यासु तथैव च । गम्यास्विप पुमान्वाप्यः पञ्चाशत्यिक दमम् ॥ याज्ञः II. 290. The मिता॰ explains 'ता एव स्वामिना शुश्रूषाहानिग्युदासार्थे यह एव स्थातस्यमित्येवं पुरुषान्तरीयभोगतो निरुद्धा अवरुद्धाः । पुरुषनियतपरिग्रहा भुजिष्याः । ११

^{1494.} स्वैरिण्यबाह्मणी वेश्या दासी निष्कासिनी च या । गम्याः स्युरान्नलोम्येन क्रियो न प्रतिलोमतः ॥ आस्वेव तु भुजिष्यासु दोषः स्यात्परदारवत् । गम्या अपि हि नोपेया पत्ताः परपरिग्रहाः ॥ नारदः, स्त्रीपुंस 78-79.

^{1495.} शुरुकं ग्रहीत्वा पण्यस्त्री नेच्छन्ती द्विस्तद्गारतुयात् । अप्रयच्छस्तद्ग शुरुकमन्त्रभूय श्वमान् श्वियम् ॥ नारद् (वेतनस्यानपाकर्म 18).

similar provisions. The Matsyapurāna chap. 70 dilates upon vešyādharma. The Kāmasūtra I. 3. 20 defines a $ganik\bar{a}$ as a $vešy\bar{a}$ who is most accomplished and proficient in the 64 $kal\bar{a}s$. Aparārka (p. 800, on Yāj II. 198) quotes Nārada (c ed above) and several verses of the Matsyapurāna about vešyās.

Concubines being recognized by society, the smrtis provided for their maintenance. During the life-time of a person keeping a concubine, the latter has no legal right to proceed against the Nārada (dāyabhāga 1496 52) and Kātyāyana lay down that even when the property of a deceased person escheats to the king for want of heirs (except in the case of the deceased being a brahmana) the king has first to provide for the maintenance of the concubines of the deceased, of his slaves and for his śrāddhas. The Mit. says that the concubines here referred to are those called avaruddhā (and not bhujisyā) and that even the kept mistresses of a deceased brahmana are entitled to maintenance from his property. The Privy Council in Bai Nagubai v. Bai Monghibai have gone beyond the Mit. and have held that all concubines (whether kept in the house practically as members of the family i. e. avaruddhā or not so kept i. e. bhujisyā) within the exclusive keeping of a Hindu till his death are entitled to maintenance from his property after his death, provided they are continuously chaste thereafter. 1497

The rights of the illegitimate children of concubines to inheritance or maintenance will be dealt with later on under inheritance.

Out of the samskāras enumerated above (pp. 195-197), the Mahāyajñas, Utsarjana and Upākarma will be described under the next chapter, viz. āhnika and antyesti under āśauca.

^{1496.} अदायिकं राजगामि योषिद्भृत्यौध्वंदिकम् । अपास्य श्रोत्रियद्रण्यं श्रोत्रियेन्यस्तद्र्पयेत् ॥ कात्यायन quoted in the मिता॰ on या. II. 135. मिता॰ 'तत्स्त्रीणामझन्नाच्छाद्नोपयुक्तं औध्वंदिहकं धनिनः आद्धाद्युपयुक्तं चापास्य परिहृत्य राजगामि भवतीति संवन्धः । अस्यापवादः । श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं च योषिद्भृत्योध्वंदिहकमपास्य श्रोत्रियायोपपाद्येव्दिति । एतद्यव्यवरुद्धश्चिष्वयम् । योषिद्ग्रहणात् । नारद्वचनं च अन्यत्र बाह्मणात् ... इत्यवरुद्धश्चिषयमेव श्लीशृद्धग्रहणात् । '.

^{1497.} L. R. 53. I. A. 153 = 50 Born. 604.

CHAPTER XVII

ĀHNIKA AND ĀCĀRA

(Daily and periodical duties and ceremonies)

This forms a very important topic of dharmasastra. The daily duties of the brahmacarin have been already described above and those of the vanaprastha and yati will be spoken of later on. Under this section we are concerned principally with the duties of the snataka (the would-be householder) and the grhastha (the householder).

Before the ahnika duties are described a few remarks about the importance of the stage of householder would not be out of It has already been shown (pp. 424-425) how one school of dharmaśāstra writers represented by Gautama and Baudhāvana looked upon the stage of householder as the only asrama. eulogies of the householder are sung in numerous passages of the Dharmaśāstra works. Gaut. 1498 (III. 3) declares that the householder is the source (support) of all the other asramas, because the other three do not produce offspring. Manu (III. 77-78) states that as all creatures live by receiving support from the air, so other asramas subsist by relying for support on the householder and that as men belonging to all the three other orders (aśramas) are supported from day to day by the householder alone with (gifts of) food and sacred knowledge, the householder's is therefore the most excellent asrama. (VI. 89-90) reiterates the same sentiments under a different figure 'just as all big and small rivers find a resting place in the ocean, so men of all asramas find support in the householder and the householder is declared to be the most excellent of all the asramas by the precepts of the Veda and smrtis, since he supports the other three'. Visnu Dh. S. (59.27-29) contains almost the same remarks as Manu. Vide Vas. VIII, 14-16 (15 being identical with Manu VI. 80). Vas. VII. 17 (and X. 31). Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 1, Udyogaparva 40. 25 say that a householder observing the rules laid down for him does not fall

away from the world of Brahma. 1499 In the Mahābhārata also the eulogy of the order of householder is frequent. Śāntiparva 296. 39 is the same as Manu VI. 90. 270. 6-7 states 'as all beings live on the support given by their mothers, so other asramas subsist on the support of the order of householders' 1500 In the same chapter (verses 10-11) Kapila condemns those who hold that moksa (final release from samsāra) is not possible for him who remains a householder. Santi 12, 12 holds that, if weighed in the balance, the order of householders is equal to all the other three put together. Vide also Śānti 11. 15, 23, 2-5, Vanaparva chap. 2. The Ayodhvākānda 106, 22 also says that the stage of householder is the most excellent of all asramas.

The brahmana householder is again divided into several varieties from different points of view. Baud. Dh. S. III. 1. 1. Devala (quoted in the Mit. on Yai, I. 128) and other works divide a householder into two varieties viz. śalina and vavavara, 1501 the latter being superior to the former. 1502 The salina

1499. नित्योदकी नित्ययज्ञोपवीती नित्यस्वाध्यायी पतिताखवर्जी । ऋती च गच्छन्ति-धिवञ्च ज्रह्नक माद्राणश्च्यवते महालोकात ॥ वसिष्ठ VIII. 17 (X. 31 is the same in prose). Vide note 691 above.

1500. यथा मातरमाश्रित्य सर्वे जीवन्ति जन्तवः । एवं गार्हस्थ्यमाश्रित्य वर्तन्त इतरा-अमा: ॥ ज्ञान्तिपर्व 270. 6-7 (= Vas. VIII. 16, where the last pada is सर्वे जीवन्ति भिक्षकाः).

1501. अथ शालीन-यायावर-चक्रचरधर्मकाङ्किणां नविभर्वृत्तिभिर्वर्तमानाम् । शाला-श्रयस्वाच्छालीनस्वम् । वृत्त्या वरया यातीति यायावरस्वम् । अनुक्रमेण चरणाचक्रचरस्वम् । बौ. ध. स. III. 1. 1., 3-5. बौ. derives ज्ञालीन from ज्ञाला (a house) and यायाचर from या (to go) and बर (best). पाणिनि V. 2. 20 (which is explained in the Mahabhasya) teaches that जालीन in the sense of bashful (अधूष्ट) is derived from sucor. Probably in Panini's day householders had not come to be divided into झालीन and यायावर. बी. appears to hold that there is a third variety called चक्रचर, but this does not occur elsewhere.

1502. यथाह देवल:। द्विविधो ग्रहस्थो यायावर: शालीनश्च। तयोर्यायावर: प्रवरो याजनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहरिक्थसं चयवर्जनात् । षद्वकर्माधिष्ठितः प्रेष्यचतुष्पादगृहग्रामधनधान्य-युक्तो शालीनः । इति । शालीनोपि चतुर्वियः । याजनाध्यापनमतिग्रहकुषिवाणिज्यपाञ्च-पाल्यैः षद्धभिर्जीवत्येकः । याजनादिभिश्चिभिरन्यः । याजनाध्यापनाभ्यामपरः । चतुर्थस्त्वध्या-पनेनेव । मिताः on या. I. 128. कुसुलधान्यको वा स्यात्कुम्भीधान्यक एव वा । ज्यहाँहिको धापि भवेदश्वसानिक एव वा॥ मनु IV. 7. मेधा॰ explains the kusula as a granary built with bricks and indicates that he may store in it as much as such a granary will hold; while kumbhī means a receptacle storing as much as will last for six months. हारीत quoted in Gr. R. derives ' सर्वा-स्ववस्थास बह्वचोस्य जाला इति जालीनः जालावानिति वा जालीनः ज्ञालायामात्मवृत्तिभिर्षा लीनः शालीनः । शालीनादात्मवृत्तियापनाद्वर इति यायावरः । दश दश रात्रीर्वसन्यातीति यायावरः । परास्वष्टम् वृत्तिव्वात्मानं यापयतीति यायावरः । अधारयाष्टौ वृत्तयो भवन्ति। उच्छितिलायाचितोपपक्सं दर्शनवभस्कन्धकदालकपोती। (pp. 415 and 419).

is one who dwells in a house, is possessed of servants and cattle, has a fixed place and a fixed village and has grain and wealth and follows the life of worldly people; the yayavara is one who subsists by the best of livelihood, viz. picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken to the house or threshing floor by the owner and who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as priest, or by teaching or by accepting gifts. Manu (IV. 7) appears to divide brahmana householders into four varieties, viz. one who possesses enough to fill a granary or a store filling a corn jar, one who collects as much as will satisfy his needs for three days, or one who makes no provision for the morrow. Vide Santiparva 244.1-4 and Laghu-Visnu II. 17 for similar statements. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 128 says that 'salina. is of four varieties viz. (1) one who maintains himself by officiating as a priest, teaching Veds, accepting gifts. agriculture, trade and breeding cattle, (2) one who subsists by the first three out of the above six. (3) one who subsists by officiating as a priest and by teaching, (4) one who subsists by teaching alone. Manu IV. 9 (as interpreted by the Mit.) refers to these four varieties. The Ap. Sr. (V. 3. 22) distinguishes between salina and vavavara. 1503 The Baud, gr. III, 5, 4 refers to yāyāvara. The word 'yāyāvara' occurs in the Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 7 1504 'therefore the active man lords it over one who is easygoing'; but here the word has not probably any technical sense.

In the Vaik. VIII. 5 1505 (= Vaik. Dh. S. I. 5) householders are divided into four classes. The first class (called vārtāvrtti)

^{1503.} उद्वसाय ज्ञालीन आद्धीतानुद्वसाय यायावरीय: । आप. श्री. V. 3. 22. The com. रहदत्त explains यायावर as यात्वा यात्वा यत्र कचन वासीति.

^{1504.} तस्माद्यायावरः क्षेम्यस्येके। ते. सं. V. 2. 1. 7.

^{1505.} गृहस्थाश्रद्वाविधा वार्तावृत्तिः शालीनवृत्तिर्यायावरो घोराचारिकश्चेति । वार्तावृत्तिः कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्योपजीर्धा । शालीनवृत्तिर्नियमैर्धृतः पाक्रयज्ञेरिष्टुाशीनाधाय पक्षे पक्षे दर्शपूर्णमासयाजी चतुर्षु चतुर्षु मासेषु चातुर्मास्ययाजी षट्सु षट्सु मासेषु पद्मुवन्धयाजी प्रतिसंवत्सरं सोमयाजी च । यायावरो हविर्यज्ञैः सोमयज्ञैश्च यजते याजयत्यधीते ऽध्यापयिति द्वाति प्रतिगृह्णाति षट्कर्मानिरतो नित्यमग्निपरिचरणमतिथिभ्योऽभ्यागतेम्योऽकाद्यं च कुरुते । घोराचारिको नियमैर्धुक्तो यजते न याजयत्यधीते नाध्यापयित द्वाति न प्रतिगृह्णाते उञ्चवृत्तिसुपजीवित नारायणपरायणः सार्यपातरग्निद्वोत्तं हुत्वा मार्गशिष-ज्येष्टमासयोरिसधारावतं वन्तेषिभिरग्निपरिचरणं करोति । वैद्यानसगृद्धा VIII. 5. Vide also IV. 2 for शालीन and यायावर. The आसिधाराव्रत according to the com. consists in standing in water for tapas in मार्गशिष्टं and in the midst of five fires in ज्येष्ट. The असिधाराव्रत is differently defined in other works. Vide नितिशतक of भर्नृहरि verse 64 (Telang's ed.) 'प्रदानं पच्छक्तं…विषममसिधाराव्रतमिवमः.'

maintains itself by agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade; the second (śālīna) observes various niyamas (vide Yāj. III. 313), offers pākayajñas (sacrifices of cooked food), kindles the śrauta fires, offers the darśa and pūrņamāsa sacrifices each half month, offers cāturmāsyas, in each half year offers an animal sacrifice and each year the soma sacrifice; the third (yāyāvara) is engaged in the six actions viz. offering sacrifices of havis and soma, officiating as priest at such sacrifices, studying the Veda and teaching it, making gifts and receiving them, constantly attends his fires (śrauta and smārta), and gives food to guests that come to him; the fourth (called ghorācārika, one whose rules are awfully difficult to observe) is observant of niyamas, offers sacrifices but does not officiate at others' sacrifices, studies the Veda but does not teach it, makes gifts but does not receive them, maintains himself on corn fallen in the fields &c., is absorbed in Nārāyana, performs agnihotra in the morning and evening, in Margasirsa and Jyestha performs observances that are like the edge of a sword and attends upon his fires with herbs from a forest. These four names occur also in Brhat-Parāśara p. 290 (Jivānanda's ed.).

In numerous smrtis, puranas and digests the duties of householders have been described in detail. For example, vide Gaut. V and IX, Ap. Dh. S. II. 1. 1-II. 4. 9, Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 1-17 and XI. 1-48, Manu IV, Yāj. I. 96-127, Visnu Dh. S. 60-71, Daksa II, Vedavyāsa III, Mārkandeya-purāna 29-30 and 34, Nrsimha-purāna 58. 45-106, Kūrmapurāna (uttarārdha chap. 15-16), Laghu-Hārīta IV. p. 183 ff (Jivānanda), Dronaparva 82, Vanaparva 2. 53-63, Aśvamedhika 45. 16-25. Anuśāsana-parva 97. Among the digests may be mentioned the Sm. C. (I. pp. 88-232), the Smrtyarthasara (pp. 18-48). the Madanapārijāta (pp. 204-345), the Grhastharatnākara, the Ahnikatattva of Raghunandana, the Viramitrodaya (Ahnikaprakāśa), the Smrtimuktāphala (Āhnikakānda). It would be impossible to present in the space at our disposal all the details of the duties of the householder contained in the Some of the usual, outsources indicated above. standing or important matters alone can be dealt with Some of the works contain moral exhortations to the householder. For example, the Anuśasanaparva 1506 (141. 25-26)

1506. अहिंसा सत्यवचनं सर्वभूताचुकम्पनम् । शमो दानं यथाशिक्तः, गार्हस्थ्यो धर्म उत्तमः ॥ परदारेज्वसंसर्गो न्यासञ्जीपरिरक्षणम् । अद्तादानिवरमो मधुमांसस्य वर्जनम् । एष पञ्जविधो धर्मो बहुशाखः सुखोद्यः ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 141. 25-26. says 'ahimsā, truthfulness, compassion towards all beings, quiescence, charity according to one's ability—this is the best dharma for a grhastha (householder). Non-contact with the wives of others, guarding one's wife and deposit (made by another), abstaining from taking what is not given (by the owner), avoiding honey and meat—this five-fold dharma has many branches and gives rise to happiness.' Dakṣa (II. 66-67) also has similar provisions. But such moral exhortations (called sādhāraṇa dharmas) have already been discussed above (pp. 3-11).

From very ancient times there were several ways Sometimes the word 'ahah' dividing the day. of distinguished from night and stands for sometimes it the period from sunrise to sunrise (and includes day and night). For example, in Rg. VI. 9. 1 we have 1507 the dark day (i. e. night) and the bright day (i. e. the period when there is light). This part (viz. the period of sunlight) is divided some times into two parts viz. pūrvāhņa (period before noon) and aparahna (the time after noon) Vide Rg. X. 34. 11. Manu III. 278. Day time is also divided into three parts. morning, midday and evening, which correspond to the three libations of Soma juice in prātahsavana, mādhvandina-savana and trtiya-savena. Vide Rg. III. 53, 8 where these three parts of the day are mentioned when Indra comes to drink Soma for a muhūrta each time and III. 28. 1, 4 and 5 (where all three savanas are named) and III, 32, 1, III, 52, 5-6. The day (of 12 hours) was often divided into five parts. 1508 viz. prātah or udaya (sunrise), saingava, mādhyandina or madhyāhna (mid-day), aparāhņa (afternoon) and sāyāhna or astagamana or sāyam (evening). Each of these five parts of day time will be equal to three muhurtas. In some smrtis and puranas these five parts are mentioned and defined; e.g. in the Prajapatismrti,

^{1507.} अहश्च कुष्णमहरर्जुनं च विवर्तेते रजसी वैद्याभिः। वैश्वानरो जायमानी न राजावातिरज्ज्योतिषाग्निस्तमांसि॥ ऋ. VI. 9. 1. This verse is explained in the निरुक्त II. 21 'अहश्च कुष्णं रात्रिः शुक्कं च अहरर्जुनम्। &c. '

^{1508.} उता यातं संगवे प्रातरह्नो मध्यन्दिन उदिता सूर्यस्य । ऋ. V. 76. 3. Here प्रातः, संगव and मध्यन्दिन are expressly named. संगव is the time of milking the cows after they return from grazing pastures to which they were taken at dawn. Vide आश्व. श्री. III. 12. 1-2 प्रदोषान्तो होमकालः संगवान्तः पातः on which the com. says 'यस्मिन्काले गावो वत्सैः सहास्रते स संगवः कालः तावत्यर्यन्तं पातहंमिकालः .'. तस्मा उथन्ध्यों हिङ्काणोति संगवः प्रस्तौति । मध्यन्दिन उद्गायत्यपराह्वः प्रति-हरस्यस्तं यक्तिथनम् ॥ अध्ववेद IX. 5. 4-5.

vv. 156-157, Matsyapurāna 22. 82-84, 124. 88-90, Vāyu 50. Vide Aparārka p. 465 (on Yāj. I. 226) where a 170-174. śruti passage and verses from Vyāsa are quoted about these five The whole day of twenty-four hours was divided into thirty muhurtas; vide Sat. Br. XII. 3. 2. 5. S. B. E. vol. 44. p. 169 where the year is said to have 10800 muhurtas (360 x 30). The Tai. Br. III. 10. 1 gives the names of the fifteen muhurtas of day-time, such as Citra, Ketu &c.

The Madanapārijāta p. 496 quotes Vyāsa for the fifteen parts of the day.

The smrtis however generally divide day-time into eight parts. Daksa II. 4-5 divides the day into eight parts and then treats at length about the duties to be performed during those eight parts. Kātyāyana divides day-time into eight parts and asks the king to assign three parts after the first to the investigation of judicial proceedings. 1510 That this was a very ancient division follows from several considerations. tilya 1511 divides the day and night each into eight parts and prescribes what the king is to do in the eight parts of the day and also in the eight parts of the night. Vas. XI. 36, Laghu-Hārīta 99, Laghu-Sātātapa v. 108 say 'the sun becomes mild-rayed in the 8th part of the day and that time is called kutapa '. 1512 The Kādambarī of Bāna (para 24) speaks of the light of the sun becoming clear and bright in the first eighth part of the day. 1513 In the Mahabharata frequent reference is made to the sixth part of the day as a somewhat late hour for taking one's meal (and as making one hungry). Vide Vanaparva 179, 16, 180, 16, 293, 9, Asyamedhika parva 90, 26-27, 1514

1509. प्रातःकालो सङ्घर्तस्त्रीन्संगवस्तावदेव तु । मत्स्य 22. 82 ; रेखाप्रभृत्यधादित्ये जिसहुर्त गते रवौ । प्रातस्तनः रष्ट्रतः कालो भाग सोह्रस्त पञ्चमः ॥ विष्णुपुराण quoted by कुछक on मनु 3. 280.

1510. आद्यादह्वोऽष्टभागाद्यद्रध्ये भागत्रयं भवेत । स कालो व्यवहारस्य शास्त्रवृष्टो मनीषिभिः ॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 601 (on Yaj. II. 1.)

1511. नाडिकाभिरहरष्टधा रात्रिं च विभजेत् छायाप्रमाणेन वा। द्वितीये पौरजान-पदानां कार्याणि पश्येत । अर्थशास्त्र I. 19. According to the ब्रह्मपुराण, two नाडिकाड are equal to a सहूर्त ' नाहिकाभ्यामध द्वाभ्यां सहूर्ता द्विजसत्तमाः ।.' The सर्यसिद्धान्त (मध्यमाधिकार v. 12) has 'नाडीषष्टचा तु नाक्षत्रमहोरात्रं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ ग

1512 दिवसस्याष्टमे भागे मन्दीभवति भास्करः । स कालः कुतयो ज्ञेयः पितृ गां दसम-अयम् ॥ वसिष्ठ XI. 36.

1513. न चिरादिव दिवसाष्ट्रमभागभाजि स्पष्टभासि भास्वति भूते । कादम्बरी para 24.

1514. षष्ठे काले मयाहार: प्राप्तोऽयमनुजस्तव। वनपर्व 180. 16; षष्ठे षष्ठे तदा काले चभूच मितभोजनः । चनपर्व 293. 9.

The principal matters to be discussed under āhnika are: getting up from bed, śauca (bodily purity), dantadhāvana (brushing the teeth), snana (bath), samdhya, tarpana, the five mahāyaiñas (including brahmayaiña and honouring guests), attending on fire, bhojana (mid-day meal), obtaining wealth, studying and teaching, evening samdhyā, gifts, going to bed, performing sacrifices at certain stated times. The Parāśara smrti I. 39 summarises the most important daily duties as bathing, performing the samdhyā prayers, japa, homa, worship of gods and honouring of guests, and vaisvadeva are the six (principal) daily actions. 1515 Manu (IV. 152 = Anusasana parva 104, 23) also enumerates in one place the principal daily actions that must be got through in the morning viz. answering calls of nature, toilet, bathing, brushing the teeth, applying collyrium to the eyes and worship of the gods 1516.

Although as stated in the Sūryasiddhānta 1517 the day was calculated from sunrise, daytime for practical purposes was extended for a short time before sunrise and after sunrise. According to the Brahmavaivarta-purana the four nadis (or ahatikās) before sunrise and the four nādīs after sunset are included in daytime (dina) i. e. when a man takes his bath before sunrise on a particular day that bath is one for the day that is to begin after he takes his bath 1518. Several smrtis like Manu IV. 92, Yāj. I. 115 enjoin that a man should get up from bed at the brāhma muhūrta, 1519 should reflect over dharma and artha that he would seek to attain that day and over the bodily efforts that he would have to undergo for securing his object and think out the real meaning of Vedic injunctions. Kullūka and others say that the word muhūrta in Manu IV. 92 means

^{1515.} संध्या स्नानं जपे। होमो देवतातिथिप्रजनम् । आतिथ्यं वैश्वदेवं च षद कर्माणि दिने दिने ।। पराशर I. 39.

^{1516.} मैत्रं प्रसाधनं स्नानं दन्तधावनमञ्जनम् । पूर्वाह्न एव कुर्वीत देवतानां च पूजनम् ॥ सन् IV. 152. मित्र is the presiding deity over the anus and so maitra means mūtrapurīsotsarga.

^{1517.} उदयाद्दयं भाने।भूमिसावनवासरः । सूर्यसिद्धान्त (मध्यमाधिकार v. 36.)

^{1518.} त्रियामां रजनीं पाहुस्त्यक्ताद्यन्त चतुष्टयम् । नाडीनां तद्दभे संध्ये दिवसाद्यन्त-संज्ञिते ॥ बहावैवर्तप्राण quoted in the आहिकतन्त्र p. 327 and सं. प्र. p. 81.

^{1519.} बाह्रो सहते बुध्येत धर्मार्थी चातुन्तिन्तयेत्। कायक्रेशांश्च तन्मुलान्वेदतस्तार्थमेव च ॥ मनु IV. 92; ब्राह्मी सहतारात्रेः पश्चिमी यामः । ब्राह्मी भारती तत्प्रबोधहेतुत्वात् । सहूर्त-शब्दोऽत्र कालमात्रवचनः। कुलुक. The first half also occurs in अनुज्ञासनपर्व 104. 16. बद्धापुराण 113. 17, मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 17. The कुर्मपुराण as quoted in परा. मा. I. 1. p. 220-221 has almost the same verse as मन. Compare 'गहनमपर-रात्रपातबुद्धिप्रसादाः कवय इव महीपाश्चिन्तन्त्ययर्थजातम् ॥ १ शिश्चपालबध् 11. 6.

only time generally and not a period of two ghatikas and that it is called brāhma because that is a time when one's intelligence and one's power to compose a literary work are at their best. The Par. M. (I.1.p. 220) 1520 says that there are two muhurtas in the half watch before sunrise, the first of the two is called brahma and the second raudra. Pitamaha quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 88) says that the last watch of the night is called brāhma muhūrta'. From very early times getting up before sunrise was prescribed specially for a student and generally for everyone. Gaut. 23. 21 says that if the sun rose while a brahmacārin was asleep he should stand up the whole day without food and mutter the Gayatri throughout the day (as a penance) and if the sun set while he was asleep he should sit up the whole night engaged in muttering the Gayatri. Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 13-14 and Manu II. 220-221 contain similar rules and they employ the word abhinirmukta 1521 (or abhinimrukta) to denote one who is asleep when the sun sets. The Gobhilasmrti (in verse) I. 139 says that on getting up one should wash one's eyes. In the Rgvidhana it is ordained that on getting up one should wipe one's eyes with water after reciting Rg. X. 73. 11 the latter half of which says 'remove away from us darkness, fulfil our eyes and release us who are as if bound with snares '.

The Sm. C. (I. p. 88) quotes the Kūrmapurāṇa to the effect that on getting up from sleep some time before sunrise one should contemplate on God. The Āhnika-prakāśa (p. 16) quotes five verses from the Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 23-27) which are to be recited on getting up as a morning hymn, one of which is quoted below. 1522 These verses are repeated even now by some

¹⁵²⁰. सूर्योद्यात्प्रागर्धपहरे द्वी सुदूर्ती तत्राद्यो बाह्मो द्वितीयो रौदः। परा. मा I. part 1 p. 220. रात्रेश्च पश्चिमे यामे सुदूर्ती यस्तृतीयकः। स बाह्म इति विख्यातो विहितः संप्रवोधने॥ सुमन्तु q. in आद्विकतस्व p. 326; रात्रेस्तु पश्चिमो यामो सुदूर्ती बाह्म उच्यते। इति पितामहस्मरणात्। स्मृतिच. I. p. 88.

^{1521.} सूर्याम्युद्तितो ब्रह्मचारी तिष्ठेदहरभुआनोऽभ्यस्तिम्ब रात्रिं जपन् सावित्रीम्। गौ. 23. 21; 'स्वपन्नभिनिर्मुक्तो नाइवान् वाग्यतो रात्रिमासीत श्वोभूत उद्क्रमुपस्पृक्ष्य वाच्यं विस्रुजेत्। आप. ध. स. II. 5. 12. 13; वयः सुपर्णा इत्येतां जपन्वे विन्द्ते श्रियम्। इत्युपक्रम्य-अक्षिणी पातकत्थाय निमुजीतैतया सह। चशुष्मान्भवति श्रीमान्नालक्ष्मीः प्रतिवाधते। इति ऋग्विधाने उक्तम्। आद्विकप्रकाश p. 19; वयः सुपर्णा is Rg. X. 73. 11. This verse is explained in निकृक्त IV. 3.

^{1522.} बह्मा स्रारिश्चिपुरान्तकारी भातः शशी भूमिस्रतो बुधश्र । ग्रदश्र शुकः शानि-राहुकेतवः कुर्वन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥. This is वामनपुराण 14. 23. These five are quoted in आद्विकप्रकाश p. 16, आचारमयूख p. 6, स्मृतिस्. (आद्विक) p. 210 (where they are ascribed to दक्ष).

old people. Some works say that he who repeats the four verses called Bhāratasāvitrī in the morning obtains the reward of hearing the whole Mahābhārata and attains the highest Brahma. The Ahnikatattva (p. 327) quotes a verse to be repeated on getting up from bed in which the serpent Karkotaka, Damayantī, kings Nala and Rtuparņa are remembered for removing the effects of Kali, 1524 and the Smṛtimuktāphala quotes a verse about Nala, Yudhisthira, Sītā and Kṛṣṇa as puṇyaśloka (singing of whose glory is holy) 1525. The Ācāraratna (p. 10 a) states that one should repeat the names of certain famous and long-lived (cirajīvins) personages viz. Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanūmān, Bibhīsana, Kṛṇa, Paraśurāma and Mārkandeya and also the names of five holy women, Ahalyā, Draupadī, Sītā, Tārā and Mandodarī. Even now old men brought up in the orthodox ways repeat these names on getting up.

In some works it is said that if on getting up a man sees a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda, a lady whose husband is living, a cow, an altar where fire is kindled, he becomes free from adversities and that if a man sees on getting up in the morning a very sinful man, a widow, an untouchable, one naked, one whose nose is cut off, that is an indication of kali (misfortune or strife). Parāśara XII. 47 says that one who has built the fire altar (for Vedic sacrifices), a dark-brown cow, one who is engaged in a sattra (or performed it), the king, an ascetic, the ocean—these purify a man the moment they are seen, so one should see them always.

Then the next act is to answer the calls of nature. Very detailed rules are laid down about these even in the most ancient sutras and smrtis. Many of the rules are simply hygienic, but as religion, rules of law, of morality, of health and

^{1523.} Vide नित्याचारपद्धति pp. 15-16, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 21. These verses viz. महाभारत, स्वर्गारोहणिक पर्व 5. 60-63, are called भारतसावित्री (in verse 64). Their first padas are मातापितृसहस्राणि, हर्षस्थानसहस्राणि, ऊर्ध्व- बाहुर्विरोम्येष, न जातु कामास भयास लोभाद्.

^{1524.} कर्कोटकस्य नागस्य दमयन्त्या नलस्य च। ऋतुपर्णस्य राजर्षः कीर्तनं कलिनाज्ञानम् ॥ महाभारत, वनपर्व 79. 10, quoted in आद्विकतस्य p. 327 and स्मृतिमु. (आद्विक) p. 211.

^{1525.} पुण्यश्लोको नलो राजा पुण्यश्लोको युधिष्ठिरः। पुण्यश्लोका च वेदैही पुण्य-श्लोको जनार्दनः॥ quoted in स्मृतिम्. (आङ्क्रिक p. 210), आचारमयूख p. 6.

^{1526.} These verses are from गोभिलस्मृति II. 163 and 165 (called कर्मपदीप also) quoted in आह्रिकतस्व p. 327, आह्रिकम. p. 22, स्मृतिम्. (आह्रिक) p. 211. I read पापिष्ठं दुर्भगामन्त्यं (and not मद्यं or मत्यं as these do).

hygiene are mixed up in the ancient works, they are given in works on dharma. Even in the Atharvayeda (XIII. 1. 56) it 1587 is said 'I cut off thy root who kick a cow with the foot or who urinate opposite the sun (facing the sun); thou shall not further cast a shadow.' Urinating while standing seems to have been condemned in the time of the Atharvaveda; vide VII. 102 (107). 1 'I shall urinate standing erect; let not the lords harm me. ' Gaut. IX. 13, 15, 37-43, Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 15-30 and I. 11. 31. 1-3, Vas. Dh. S. VI. 10-19 and XII. 11-13, Manu IV. 45-52, 56, 151, Yāj. I. 16-17, 134, 154, Visnu Dh. S. 60. 1-26, Sankha, 1528 Vāyupurāņa 78. 59-64 and 79. 25-31, Vāmanapurāna 14. 30-32 may be summarised as follows: one should not void urine or ordere on the road, on ashes, on cowdung, in ploughed or sown fields, under the shade of trees, in rivers or water, on grassy or beautiful spots, on bricks made ready for erecting altars, on mountain-tops, near dilapidated shrines or cowpens, on ant-hills, in cemeteries or in holes, on threshing floors, on sandy shores. Nor should one answer calls of nature looking at or facing fire, the sun, the moon, a brāhmana, water, the image of some god, cow, wind. Nor should one do these acts on the bare ground, but on ground covered with dry twigs or leaves or grass or loose earth. One should cover one's head and should face the north by day or when there is twilight and face the south at night, but when there is a danger one may face any direction. One should not urinate while standing or walking (Manu. IV. 47) nor should one speak while doing so. 1529 One should answer calls of nature away from a human habitation towards the south or south-Manu V. 126 and Yaj. I. 17 prescribe that, after answering calls of nature, one should perform cleansing the parts with water held in a pot and lumps of earth to such an extent that no smell or filth will stick. According to Manu V. 136 and 137 and Visnu Dh. S. 60, 25-26 one lump of earth is to be applied to the penis, three to the arms, ten to the left hand

^{1527.} यश्च गां पदा स्फुराति प्रत्यङ्क सूर्य च मेहाति। तस्य वृश्चामि ते मूलं न च्छायां करवोऽपरम् ॥ अथर्व XIII. 1. 56; मेक्ष्याम्यूर्ध्वस्तिष्ठनमा मा हिंसिपुरीश्वराः ॥ अथर्व VII. 102 (107). 1.

^{1528.} न गोमयञ्चले। सहा। द्वलचिति-इमशान-वल्मीक-वर्त्मखलगोष्टविलपर्वतपुलिनेषु मेहेत भृताधारत्वात् । शङ्क quoted in मिता॰ on या. I. 134.

^{1529.} उचारे मैथुने चैव प्रसाव दन्तधावने। स्नाने भोजनकाले च षद्भु मौनं समाचरेत्॥ हारीत quoted in आद्विक्षप्रकाश p. 26. This is लघुहारीत verse 40; अत्रि 323 is पुरीषे मैथुने होते प्रसाव दन्तधावने। स्नानभोजनजप्येषु सदा मौनं समाचरेत्॥

and seven to both hands, three to both feet together. This is the extent of sauca required for householders, and for brahmacarin, forest hermit and samnyasin, twice, thrice and four times as much is required. The Mit. on Yai, I. 17 remarks that for all āśramas the cleansing required is only as much as will remove foul smell and filth and the several numbers of lumps of earth prescribed in different smrtis are only precribed for unseen (or spiritual) results. Gaut. I. 45-46, Vas. III. 48 and Manu V. 134 say that cleansing of the body is to be so effected first with water and then with earth that foul smell and filth will be totally removed. Devala (quoted in the Gr. R. p. 147) says that respectable people do not emphasize the number of times mentioned in the smrtis, but they say that cleansing should be carried on till one feels that it is all right. 1580 The Smrtyarthasāra 1521 (p. 19) following Daksa V. 12 says that at night only half of the sauca prescribed for the day is required, only one-fourth of it is prescribed for the ailing and only one-eighth when a man is on a journey and that no special number of lumps of earth are prescribed for women, śūdras, boys whose upanayana has not been performed. In cleansing one is not to employ stones, clods of earth, and green twigs cut off for the purpose from herbs and trees (Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 30, Gaut. IX. 15) nor is one to use earth from inside a river or water reservoir or from a temple, from an ant-hill or from the hiding places of rats or from dung-hills or what is left after being used for a prior cleansing (Vas. Dh. S. VI. 17) nor what is taken from a road or cemetery, nor should one use earth that has worms, coals, or bones or gravel in it. Daksa V. 7 prescribes that for the first time as much earth as will fill half of the outstretched hand and for the second time half of that is to be taken and so on. 1532 The lump of earth should not be bigger than a myrobalan fruit (Kūrmapurāņa in Sm. C. I. p. 182). One is not to answer calls of nature with the shoes on (Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 18) and one's yajñopavīta should be suspended from the right ear or he should throw it on his

^{1530.} यावत्साध्विति मन्येत ताबच्छीचं विधीयते । प्रमाणं शौचसंख्यायां न शिष्टेरुपदिश्यते ॥ देवल in गृह. र. p. 147 and स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 93.

^{1531.} Vide विश्वरूप on या. I. 17 वल्मीकाखुत्करेत्था वा जलात् पांधे कृता च या । कृतशौचावशिष्टा च षड्भिः शौचं न विद्यते ॥; also मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 65-66, स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 19.

^{1532.} अर्धप्रसुतिमात्रा तु प्रथमा मृत्तिका स्मृता । द्वितीया च तृतीया च तद्र्धार्धा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ दक्ष V. 7. The first half is quoted even by विश्वस्त्य on या. I. 17.

back in the nivīta form. 1523 According to Yāj. I.16 the yajñopavīta should be suspended from the right ear only. Vanaparva 59. 2 describes that kali (the principle of evil and strife) entered Nala when the latter did not wash his feet after urinating.

This cleansing of the body in the morning is only a part of general sauca. Sauca is according to Gaut. VIII. 24 one of the ātmagunas. Even the Rg. (in VII. 56, 12 and other verses) appears to emphasize cleanliness (sucitva). 1534 According to Hārīta 'sauca is the first path to dharma, it is the resting place of brahma (Veda), the abode of srI (prosperity), the means of clearing (or soothing) the mind, the favourite of gods, the means of realizing the Atman and the awakener of intelligence. 1535 According to Baud. Dh. S. III. 1. 26, Hārīta, Daksa V. 3 and Vyāghrapāda (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 93) sauca is of two kinds. 1536 bāhya (outward) and antara or abhyantara (inward), the first being effected by water and loose earth and the latter is the purity of one's sentiments. Harita divides the first into three, that of kula (being free from impurity due to birth or death in the family), of artha (i. e. of the vessels and things to be used in all matters) and of śarīra (cf one's body); Hārīta divides ābhyantara into five, mānasa (mental), cāksusa (of the eye i. e. not looking at things that should not be looked at), ghranya (of the nose), vācya (of speech), svādya (of the tongue). According to a verse quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. VIII. 24 sauca is of four kinds, viz. of dravya (the vessels and things employed by one), of the mind, of speech and of the body. Vrddha-Gautama (Jivānanda p. 632) speaks of five kinds of sauca viz, of the mind, of actions, of kula (family), of the body and of speech. According to Manu V. 135, Visnu Dh. S. 22, 81. Atri v. 31 and others there are twelve malas (filthy exudations or impurities) of the human body, viz. fat, semen, blood, marrow, urine, fæces, mucus of the nose, ear-wax, phlegm, tears,

^{1533.} अङ्गिरा अपि। कृत्वा यज्ञोपवीतं तु पृष्ठतः कण्ठलम्बितम्। विण्मूत्रं तु गृही कुर्याद् यद्वा कर्णे समाहितः। कर्णे निधानमेकवस्त्रविषयम्। तथा च सांख्यायनगृह्यम्। यद्येक-वज्ञो यज्ञोपवीतं कर्णे कृत्वा मूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गे कुर्यात् इति। स्मृतिचः I. p. 89. Vide शाङ्कायनगृह्य IV. 12. 22 (S. B. E. vol 29 p. 126).

^{1534.} शुची वो हत्या मरुतः शुचीनां शुचि हिनोम्यध्वरं शुचिभ्यः । ऋतेन सत्यमृत-साप आयञ्ज्ञिजन्मानः शुचयः पावकाः ॥ ऋ. VII. 56. 12.

^{1535.} तत्र हारीत: । शोचं नाम धर्मादिएथो ब्रह्मायतनं श्रियोधिवासो मनसः प्रमादनं देवानां प्रियं शरीरे क्षेत्रदर्शनं बुद्धिषवोधनम् । गृहः र. p. 522.

^{1536.} हाौचं च द्विविधं प्रोक्तं बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं तथा। मृज्जलाभ्यां स्मृतं बाह्यं भावशुद्धि-स्तथान्तरम् ॥ दक्ष V. 3 and ब्याप्रपादः

rheum of eyes, sweat; and the first six of these are removed by water and earth and the latter six by water (Atri v. 32).

After preforming sauca one has to rinse the mouth with twelve mouthfuls (gandūsa) of water (vide Smrtimuktāphala, āhnika p. 220). When one finishes the purification of the body by washing the hands and feet and by rinsing the mouth one has to engage in acamana. 1637 A good deal has been said about acamana above (pp. 315-316) under upanayana. Acamana (sipping water) is to be done after tying the top-knot and tucking up the garment from behind; the water is to be poured in the hollowed palm of the hand in such a quantity that a grain of masa (bean) will be plunged in it and the three fingers except the thumb and the small one are to be joined together and the water is to be drunk from that part of the hand which is called brāhma tīrtha described above (n. 750). The word tirtha means that part of the right hand by which water is taken in or poured in religious rites and the parts are given the names of deities for lauding them, as Visvarūpa says. 1528 In most smṛtis their number is four, viz. prājāpatya orkāya, pitrya, brāhma, and daiva (for example in Manu II. 59. Visnu Dh. S. 62. 1-4, Yāj. I. 19, Mārkandeya-purāna 34. 103-109, Daksa II. 18). Some works like the Satyayanakalpa and Vrddha-Vasistha quoted by Visvarūpa on Yāj. I 19 name five tīrthas viz. daiva (when a brahmana faces the east, the front part of his hand), pitrya (the right portion of the right hand), brāhma (the portion of the hand opposite the fingers), prajapatya (the portion of the hand near the small finger) and paramesthy a (the centre of the right palm). The Par. gr. parisista names the above five, except that it substitutes the name agneya for pāramesthya. The Śankha-smrti (in verse, X. 1-2) distinguishes kāya and prājāpatya and omits the name of brāhma altogether which is called prājāpatya by it. Vaik. I. 5 has six, the usual four, the fifth being agneya (centre of the palm) and the sixth being area (the roots and tips of all fingers together). According to some, daiva tirtha means the tips of the fingers and the centre of the palm is either saumya or āgneya. According to Hārīta the

^{1537.} तत्र हस्ती पादी पक्षाल्य यज्ञोपवीती शुद्धभूमी पादी प्रतिष्ठाप्य बद्धकच्छाशिखः पुण्डरीकाक्षमिष्टदेवतां स्मृत्वा प्रकृतिस्थं फेनबुद्बद्रहितं संहताङ्कुलिपाणिनाऽम्बु गृहीत्वाऽङ्कु-ष्ठकनिष्ठिके सु≉त्वा शेषं वीक्षितं ब्रह्मतीर्थेन त्रिश्चतुर्वारं समाहितः पिवेत्।स्मृत्यर्थसार् p. 20.

^{1538.} तीर्थमिति च दक्षिणहस्तेऽवतारपदेशनामधेयम् । लोकेप्युद्काद्यवतारे तीर्थ-शब्दः प्रसिद्धः । तानि च विशेषकार्योपयिकत्वात् रहत्यर्थे देवताभिराख्यायन्ते । विश्वस्य on या. I. 19.

daiva 1589 tirtha is to be used in mārjana, worship of gods, offering of bali and in bhojana; the kāya tīrtha is to be employed in lajahoma (homa of fried grain) and daily homa, the pitrya in all rites for dead ancestors. Touching the kamandalu (water jar), eating curds and fresh products of the fields (navānna) are to be done with the saumya tirtha (Smrtyarthasāra p. 20). When there is difficulty of getting water and an occasion for purification by acamana arises, one should touch one's right 1540 ear. Very elaborate rules are laid down in the digests on the subject of ācamana (e. g. Sm. C. I. pp. 95-104), Smrtimuktāphala, Ahnika-prakāśa pp. 221-240, Ahnika-tattva pp. 333-344. Gr. R. pp. 150-172 &c., which have to be all passed over for want of space. One matter to be noticed is that according to the Apastamba smrti (in verse) the procedure of acamana is of four kinds, viz. paurānika (in which each sipping of water is accompanied by the names, Keśava, Nārāyana, Mādhava &c.); smārta (as laid down in the smrtis like Manu II. 60 ff), agama (i. e. taught in the sacred books of Saiva and Vaisnava sectarians) and śrauta (laid down in the Śrautasūtras for Vedic sacrifices 1541). The first of these four is the method usually followed now by most brahmanas.

 $Danta-dh\bar{a}vana$ (brushing the teeth).

Danta-dhāvana comes after sauca and acamana and before snāna (bath). Vide Yāj. I. 98 and Daksa II. 6. The practice of daily danta-dhāvana has existed in India from the most ancient times. The Tai. S. 1542 (II. 5. 1. 7) when enumerating the actions which a rajasvalā (a woman in her monthly period) was to avoid mentions dantadhāvana among them and remarks that if she indulges in it during that period, she gives birth to a son whose teeth are naturally black. Dantadhāvana is an independent act by itself performed for rendering the body (here the mouth) clean and it is not an anga (a subordinate

^{1539.} तत्र हारीतः । मार्जनार्चनबिकर्मभोजनानि देवेन तीर्थेन कुर्यात् । इति । देवं तीर्थमङ्गल्यग्रम् । स्मृतिच् . $I_{\rm c}$ p. 226.

^{1540.} आपत्सु नैमित्तिककर्माङ्गाचमनस्थानं अवगस्पर्शनं स्थान्तनः शुद्धवर्षम् । स्थान्तर्याक्षातः p. 21.

^{1541.} आपस्तम्बस्मृतौ । आदौ पौराणिकं मोक्तं स्मार्तमागममेव च । श्रौतं चतुर्विधं पाहुराचामं ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥ अच्युताद्येः समाचामेत्केशवाद्येस्तु नामभिः । अङ्गानां स्पर्शनं कुर्यादेतस्पौराणिकं मतम् ॥ स्मृतिसः (आद्भिक) p. 221.

^{1542.} या वती धावते तस्यै इयावदन् । तै. सं. 11. 5, 1. 7.

constituent part) of bath or morning prayer. ¹⁵⁴⁸ Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 5 forbids ¹⁵⁴⁴ one who has returned from his teacher's home after finishing his studies to engage in the sight of his teacher in such acts of pleasure as cleansing the teeth, shampooing the body and combing the hair and also forbids the study of the Veda while such actions are going on (*ibid*. I. 3. 11. 10-12). ¹⁵⁴⁵ The brahmacārin was not to engage in the leisurely actions of brushing the teeth (but was to rinse his mouth) according to Gaut, II. 19 and Vas. Dh. S. VII. 15.

In dantadhāvana one has to take the twig (with its bark) of certain trees, crush the end of the twig with his teeth so as to make a brush of it and then to cleanse his teeth with the brush-like end. According to Gobhilasmṛti¹⁵⁴⁶ (which is also called Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa in some works) if a man only rinses his mouth with river water or at home, he has not to repeat a mantra, but if he uses a twig he has to repeat a mantra 'Oh tree, bestow on me long life, strength, fame, brilliance, offspring, cattle, wealth, brahma (Veda), memory and intelligence.' In the Pār. gr. II. 6 and Āp. gr. 12. 6 brushing of the teeth with an udumbara twig is prescribed in Samāvartana with a mantra 'may you be ready for food; here comes the king Soma; may he clean my mouth with glory and good luck.' 1547 Therefore the same mantra is to be employed every day after samāvartana. In some of the digests (like the Āhnikaprakāśa

^{1513.} अत्र संध्यायां स्नाने च दन्तधावनस्य नाङ्गत्वम्। मुखे पर्युषिते नित्यं भवत्य-प्रयतो नरः। तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम् ॥ इति वृद्धशातातपवचनेन स्वतन्त्रस्येव श्चिद्धिहेतुत्वाभिधानात् । आद्धिकप्रकाश p. 121; the verse मुखे पर्युषिते is स्रधु-शातातप् 74.

^{1544.} स्वैरिकर्मसु च यथा दन्तप्रक्षालनोत्सादनावलेखनानीति । आप. ध. 1. 2. 8. 4-5; vide आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 11. 10-11 for the same words followed by तावन्तं कालं नाधीयीताध्यापयेष्टा.

^{1545.} खद्वाशयनदन्तधावनपक्षालनाश्रवाश्यक्षतोपानच्छत्रवर्जी। वसिष्ठ VII. 15.

^{1546.} दन्तान् प्रश्नाल्य नद्यादौ गृहे चेत्तद्मन्त्रवत्। नारद्याद्युक्तवार्थं यदृष्टाङ्कुलम पाटितम्। सत्वचं दन्तकाष्ठं स्यात्त्वमेण प्रधावयेत् ॥ परिजय् च मन्त्रेण प्रश्नयेहन्त-धावनम्॥ आयुर्वलं यशो वर्चः प्रजां पश्च्त् वस्ति च। ब्रह्म प्रज्ञां च मेधां च खं नो देहि वनस्पते॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 137-140. This मन्त्र is quoted by the मिता॰ on याज्ञ. I. 98 and by almost all digests on धर्मशास्त्र.

^{1547.} औदुम्बरेण द्न्तान्धावेत। अलाद्याय ग्यूहध्वं सोमो राजायमागमत्। स मे मुखं प्रमार्थिते यशसा च भगेन च। इति। द्न्तप्रक्षालनादीनि नित्यम्। पारस्तर II. 6. The मन्त्र 'अलाद्याय occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 7. 19 with variations सोम is the king of plants and hence the udumbara twig is called 'this king Soma'.

pp. 121-122) it is stated that that mantra may be employed by the students of the Sukla Yajurveda, while those who study the Gobhila grhya may use the mantra 'āyurbalam &c'.

Very detailed rules are laid down about the length of the twig, about the trees the twigs of which are allowed or forbidden, about the days or occasions or times on which there is to be no dantadhāvana. A few of these details are given Trees having thorns on their trunk or from which a milky fluid oczes out when a twig is broken off are allowed and so are vata, asana, arka, khadira, karañja, badara, sarja, nimba, arimeda, apāmārga, mālatī, kakubha, bilva, āmra (mango), punnāga, śirīsa and further the twig must be astringent, pungent or bitter in taste and not sweet or sour. 1548 Vide Brhat-Samhitā of Varāhamihira chap, 85, Laghu-Hārīta (Jivānanda part I. p. 183), Laghu-Vyāsa I. 17-18, Nrsimhapurāna 58, 47, Before the advent of the modern dentrifrices people in India followed these directions and even now many even in the cities still follow them and brush their teeth with twigs of various trees. Among the trees which are not to be used for dantadhāvana are palāša. 1549 ślesmātaka, arista, vibhītaka, dhava, bandhūka, nirgudī, śigru, tilva, tinduka, inguda, guggulu, śamī, pilu, pippala, kovidāra &c. (Visņu Dh. S. 61. 1-5). The twig may be undried or dried, but one dried on the tree itself is not to be taken (Visnu Dh. S. 61. 8, Nrsimhapurāna 58. 46). One must brush the teeth facing north or east, but not west or south (Visnu Dh. S. 61, 12-13). Visnu Dh. S. (61, 16-17) prescribes that the twig should be as big as the end of one's small finger and twelve angulas in length and it should be washed before its use and after using it it should not be cast off in an impure place. There are various opinions about the length of the twig employed. The Nrsimhapurana (58, 49, 50) says that it may be of eight angulas in length or a

^{1548.} वटासनार्कखदिरकरञ्जबदरसर्जनिम्बारिमेदापामार्गमारुतीकक्रभिवल्वानामन्यत-मस् । कषायं तिक्तं कद्वतं च । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 61. 14-15; आग्रपालाश्चिल्वानामपा-मार्गिशिरीषयोः। खादिरस्य करअस्य कदम्बस्य तथैव च ॥ अर्कस्य करवीरस्य कटजस्य विशेषतः ॥ वाग्यतः प्रातकत्थाय भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम् ॥ माण्ड्रकीशिक्षा of अथर्ववेद (ed. by Bhagavad-datta, Lahore) IV. 1-2; सर्वे कण्टकिनः पुण्याः क्षीरिणश्च यज्ञा-स्वितः । नारदः, आम्रपुन्नाग-बिल्वानामपामार्गशिरीषयोः । भक्षयेत् मातरुत्थाय वाग्यतो दन्तधावनम् । अङ्गिरस्. All these are quoted in the स्मृतिच॰ I. pp. 105-106 and other digests. ' सर्वे कण्टिकनः यशस्विनः ' is दृसिंहपुराण 58. 49.

^{1549.} पालाशमासनं पादके दन्तधावनिमति च वर्जयेत्। गौतम IX. 44, आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 32. 9 (reads दन्तपक्षालनं), विसेष्ठ XII. 34., बी. ध. सू. II. 3. 30.

span in length (prādeśa); Garga (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 105) says that the twig should be 10, 9, 8, 7 or 4 angulas in length respectively for the four varnas and women. One was not to cleanse one's teeth with pieces of brick or with clods of earth or with stones or with the bare fingers (except the thumb and the finger next to the small finger). 1550

According to Laghu-Hārita (Jivānanda I. p. 183) and Nrsimhapurāna 58. 50-52 there is to be no brushing of the teeth with a twig on the 1st tithi, the parva tithis (i. e. new moon, full moon, 8th day, 14th day and the day on which the Sun enters a new zodiacal sign, according to Visnu-purana III. 11, 118), on the 6th tithi and 9th tithi and on those days when twigs are not available one may rinse one's mouth with twelve mouthfuls of water 1551. PaithInasi (quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 106) says 'one may brush one's teeth with grass, leaves and water and with the fingers except the 4th finger.' One may also cleanse with mouthfuls of water when one has no teeth (Ahnikaprakāśa, p. 127). One may also rub one's tongue with these or with a twig on the days on which it is allowed. There is to be no dantadhavana on śraddha day (for the performer), on the day of a sacrifice, when one is observing niyama, when the husband has gone to another country, when there is indigestion, on marriage day, on a fast or a vrata (Smrtyarthasāra p. 25). Visnu 1552 Dh. S. 61, 16 prescribes dantadhāvana not only in the morning but also after taking one's meal. This, as stated by Devala, is intended for removing particles of food sticking to the teeth or the gums.

Snāna.—After dantadhāvana comes snāna. As ācamana, snāna (bath), japa (muttering of holy Vedic texts), homa and

1550. यदाह बुद्धयाज्ञवल्क्यः । इष्टकालोष्टपाषाणैरितराङ्गुलिभिस्तदा । सुक्त्वा चानामिकाङ्गष्टो न कुर्यादन्तधावनम् ॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 106 ; vide लघुजातातप v. 73.

1551. प्रतिपत्त्वविष्ठीसु नवस्यां चैव सत्तमाः । दन्तानां काष्टसंयोगाद्वहत्या सप्तमं कुलम् ॥ अभावे दन्तकाष्टानां प्रतिबिद्धदिनेषु च । अषां द्वादशगण्डूषेस्वशुद्धिं समाचरेत्। लघुहारीत, द्वसिंहपुराण 58. 50-52; vide लघ्वाश्वलायन 1. 14-15, स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 25; अञ्चशासन 127. 4 condemns the use of a twig on the new moon day.

1552. प्रातर्भुक्ता च यतवाग्भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 61. 16; एतेन प्रातःकाले भोजनोत्तरं दन्तलग्नानिर्द्धापि भोजने दन्तलग्नानि निर्द्धत्याचमनं चरेदिति देवलस्वरसासिद्धमि दन्तधावनं कार्यम् । आद्विकप्र. p. 125. The अष्टाङ्गसंग्रह I. 3 also recommends this 'प्रातर्भुक्त्या च यतवाग्भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम् ॥. Vide Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 52 (for 1932) p. 163 ff for references to the twigs used for brushing teeth from ancient Buddhist works and Fa Hien's 'Record of Buddhist kingdoms' (Legge p. 54) for the dantakāṣṭha of Buddha.

other rites are to be performed after holding kuśa grass in the right hand some remarks must be offered on kuśas. Kurmapurana says 'whatever action is done without darbha or without vaiñopavita, it becomes useless and brings no reward here or in the next world' (quoted in Krtyaratnākara p. 47). Śātātapa 1553 says 'in japa, homa, dāna, svādhyāya (study of the Veda) or in pitrtarpana one should have in his hand gold. silver and kusas'. One should have at the time of acamana &c. a pavitra (a ring-like loop) of darbhas in his right hand or in both his hands on the finger next to the small one or have kuśa in his right hand. There were several views about wearing a paritra or darbhas, as stated in note 1553. The darbha grass is to be collected on the darsa day (new moon) in the month of Śrāvaņa and the darbhas so collected are never stale and may be used again and again 1554. The pavitra of the four varnas should be made with 4 darbhas or with 3, 2, or 1 respectively or it should be made with two darbhas for all (Smrtyarthasara pp. 36-37). Those darbha blades from which no further blades shoot forth are called simply darbhas, blades from which fresh ones sprout forth are called kuśas, blades with their roots are called kutapas and those the tips of which are cut off are called trna 1555 (grass). The darbha grass growing in a field of sesame and having seven blades is very auspicious.

The darbhas to be used in yajñas should be green in colour, yellowish for use in $p\bar{a}kayajñas$, they should be with roots when used in rites for the pitrs and variegated when used in vaisvadeva. Those darbhas that were held in the hand at the time of offering pindas to the dead or in śrāddhas or in pitrtarpaṇa or at the time of urination or voiding fæces should be thrown away (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 37). If kuśa grass is not available, then kāśa or dūrvā may be employed instead.

1553. ज्ञातातपः। जपे होमे तथा दाने स्वाध्याये पितृतपंगे। अञ्चून्यं तु करं कुर्यात्सु-वर्णरजतैः कुरोः॥ स्मृतिचः I. p. 108; vide स्मृत्यर्थसार for a similar verse. अञ्च चत्वारः पक्षाः। हस्तद्वये दर्भधारणम्। हस्तद्वये पवित्रधारणं दक्षिणे पवित्रं वामे छुद्गाः दक्षिण एवोभयमिति।. आचाररत्न p. 24 b. Vide गोभिलस्मृति I. 28 quoted by अपरार्क pp. 43 and 480.

1554. मासे नभस्यमावास्या तस्यां वृभींचयो मतः । अयातयामास्ते वृभी नियोज्याः स्युः पुनः ॥ हारीत quoted in स्युतिच. I. p. 107. Vide स्युत्यर्थसार p. 36, लिखितस्यति v. 41, मरीचि quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 67.

1555. अपस्ताः स्मृता दर्भाः पस्तास्तु कुशाः रमृताः । समूलाः कुतपाः पोक्ताश्चिकाः (बास्तुणसंज्ञिताः ॥ बुद्धहारीत VII. 44; this is quoted as कौशिक's in स्मृतिस् o I p. 108.) and as of कारपायन in स्मृतिस्. (आक्निक p. 231.)

The subject of snana can be treated from various points of Snāna 1556 is either mukhva (principal) or gauna (secondary), the first being a bath with water and the second being Each of these is again subdivided into various without water. kinds. According to Daksa II. 48 snāna is nitya (obligatory every day), naimittika (to be performed on certain occasions), and kāmya (to be performed only if one desires certain rewards). All the varnas 1557 have to bathe in or with water every day the whole body together with the head also (Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 4, Manu II. 176 and IV. 82) and dvijātis have to do it with Vedic mantras. This is nitya. This 1558 is required to be done, because a man who has not bathed is not entitled to perform homa, japa and other rites (Sankha VIII. 2, Daksa II. 9). body is dirty and from it ooze various exudations day and night and a bath in the morning cleanses and purifies the body. this way snana has seen and unseen (i. e. spiritual) results 1559.

Some works (Yāj. I. 95, 100, Laghu-Āśvalāyana I. 16, 75, Dakṣa II. 9 and 43 &c.), prescribe two baths a day for brāhmaṇa house-holders, one before day-break and another at noon. There is only one bath a day for brahmacārins, two for forest hermits (Manu VI. 6). According to Manu VI. 22 and Yāj. III. 48 the forest hermit has to bathe thrice (in the morning, at noon and in the evening) and a yati has also to bathe thrice ¹⁵⁶⁰. Though even now some orthodox brāhmaṇa householders do perform two baths a day, the usual rule for all Hindus (including even the so-called untouchables) is to bathe once a day, which also has

1556. स्नानं तु द्वित्रिधं मोक्तं गाणस्रेत्यप्रभेदतः। तयोस्तु वारणं सुरूपं तत्त्रुनः षड्विधं भवेत्॥ नित्यं नैतित्तिकं काम्यं कियाङ्गं महक्क्षणम्। कियास्नानं तथा षष्ठं षोढा स्नानं प्रकीतितम् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 127, मद्, पा. 236, स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 110, गृह. र. pp. 200-201, परा. मा. I. 1. p. 268. The 2nd verse is ज्ञञ्जसमृति VIII. 1.

1557. अपोवगाइनं स्नानं विहितं सार्ववर्णिकम् । मन्त्रवत्पांक्षणं चापि द्विजातीनां विशिष्यते ॥ यो. ध. स्. $11. \ 4. \ 4$; स्नानं च सर्ववर्णानां कार्यं शौचपुरःसरम् । समन्त्रकं द्विजानां स्यात्स्त्रीशूद्राणाममन्त्रकम् ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार् $p.\ 26$.

1558. अस्नातस्तु पुमाञ्चाहीं जप्याग्निहयनादिषु। प्रातःस्नानं तद्र्थे च नित्यस्नानं मकीर्तितम् ॥ शृङ्ख VIII. 2 quoted in अपरार्क p. 127.

1559. अत्यन्तमिलनः कायो नवच्छिद्दसमन्वितः । स्रवत्येष दिवा रात्रौ प्रातःस्नानं विशोधनम्॥ प्रातःस्नानं प्रशंसन्ति दृष्टादृष्टकरं हि तत् । सर्वमहिति शुद्धातमा प्रातःस्नायी इत्यादिकम्॥ दृक्ष II. 7 and 9 quoted in अपरार्क p. 125 and स्मृतिच. I. p. 111.

1560. प्रातर्मध्याद्वयोः स्नानं वानप्रथग्रहस्थयोः । यतेश्चिषवणं प्रीक्तं सकुत्तु ब्रह्मा-चारिणः ।। दृक्ष quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 181 and स्मृत्यर्थसार. p. 26; उमे संध्ये तु स्नातव्यं ब्राह्मणेस्तु गृहाश्रितैः । तिसुष्विप च संध्यासु स्नातव्यं च तपश्विभिः ॥ योगियाज्ञ बस्क्य quoted in मृह. र. p. 191.

been the general rule for centuries (vide Smrtyarthasāra p. 26 'sarve vāpi sakrt kuryur). Snāna is usually done now before noon, that in the early morning being done only by a vali, one observing a vrala, a brahmacārin, sacrificial priests, students of the Veda and those engaged in austerities (Smrtvarthasāra p. 27). The morning bath is to be taken immediately after brushing the teeth before day-break when one sees the eastern direction lit up by the morning rays of the rising sun (Visnu 1561 Dh. S. 64. 8). Gobhila-smrti (II, 24) says that 1558 one should not lengthen out the process of taking the morning bath (by repeating too many mantras) as it would come in the way of performing the morning home at the proper time, which is between the first appearance of light and the sun's reaching about one cubit above the eastern horizon (Gobhila I. 122-123). Vide Manu II. 15 also. The madhyahna (midday) bath is to be performed in the fourth part of the day-time divided into eight parts (Daksa II. 43, Laghu-Vyāsa II. 9) and one has to bring together loose earth, cow-dung, flowers, whole rice grains, kuśas, sesame and sandalwood paste 1563. This midday bath is not to be performed by one who is ill. The third bath (in the case of forest hermits and yatis) is to be performed before sunset, but not after sun-set or at night. No bathing is allowed for any one at night except when there is an eclipse or the sun passes into the zodiacal signs of Cancer and Capricorn (at night), a marriage, a birth or death or when a vrata is undertaken with some object 1564. Night means specially the two middle watches (Manu IV. 129, Kullüka thereon and Parāśara XII. 27).

^{1561.} पातःस्नाटयक्णिकरणग्रस्तां प्राचीनवलोक्य स्नायात् । विष्णुय. सू. 64. 8; उषस्युषसि यत्सानं संध्यायामुद्धितेऽपि चा । प्राजापत्येन तत्तुल्यं सर्वपायनणाशनम् ॥ चतु-विश्वतिमत ।; both quoted by the स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 111.

^{1562.} अल्पत्वाद्धोमकालस्य बहुत्वात्स्नानकर्मणः। प्रातर्न तन्नुयात्स्नानं होमलोपो विगरितः॥ गोभिल II. 24, quoted in स्थातिच् I. p. 111.

^{1563.} चतुर्थेऽद्वस्तथा भागे ज्ञानार्थे मृद्माहरेत् । तिलपुण्यकुशार्द्धेश्व स्नायाचाकृत्रिमे जले। दक्ष II. 43; ततो प्रध्याद्वसमये स्नानार्थे मृद्माहरेत्। पुष्पाक्षतान्कुशतिलान् गोमयं गन्धमेव च ॥ लघुन्यास II. 9 (Jivānanda, part 2). The first is quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 181 and by अपरार्थ p. 128 and the 2nd in परा. मा. I. 1. p. 269.

^{1564.} अस्तिमिते च स्नानम् (वर्जयेत्)॥ आप. ध. स. I. 11. 32. 8, बी. ध. स. II. 3. 29; राहुदर्शनसंक्रातिविवाहात्ययद्विषु । स्नानदानादिकं कुर्श्वनिशि काम्यवतेषु च॥ देवल quoted by अपराकं pp. 135, 229, स्मृतिच॰ I. pp. 120, 229; vide प्राज्ञर XII. 26 to the same effect.

The obligatory (nitya) bath is to be taken with cold water and ordinarily hot water is not allowed. Sankha (VIII. 9-10) says that if one bathes with heated water or in water belonging to another individual, he may effect the cleansing of the body but he would not secure the unseen spiritual result of a bath. Dakṣa II. 64 is to the same effect 1555. Naimittika and kāmya baths must be performed with cold water, there is an option only as to nitya (daily obligatory) bath (Garga quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 123).

Manu IV. 203, Visnu Dh. S. 64, 1-2 and 15-16, Yāj. I. 159, Daksa II. 43, Veda-Vyāsa-smrti III. 7-8, Śankha VIII. 11 and others say that one must daily bathe in natural water, i. erin rivers, in tanks connected with temples, in lakes, in deep reservoirs and in mountain springs. One should not bathe in water belonging to an individual (i. e. a well or reservoir dug or dammed by him &c.) but if no water is otherwise available one may bathe with such water after removing three or five lumps of clay (from the bottom of the reservoir 1566) or three or five jars from the well. The idea is that either the private owner would participate in the merit of the bath (as Baud, Dh. S. II. 3. 7 remarks) or that the bather incurs a fourth part of the sin of the owner of the water (Manu IV. 201-202). If no such water is available or one is unable to go to a river &c. for a bath one may bathe in the court-yard of one's house with water drawn in a vessel (from a well &c.) till his clothes are wetted. The words 'nadi' and 'garta' (used in Manu IV. 203) are defined as follows: a nadi (river) is one that has a stream of water at least 8000 bows in length, while all other streams are called garta (a pool). As in the months of Śrāvana and Bhādrapada all rivers are full of mud (rajasvalā is used in a double sense) one should not bathe in them in those months, except in rivers that

^{1565.} स्नानं तु चिह्नितसेन तथैव परवारिणा ॥ शरीरश्चिद्धिर्विज्ञेया न तु स्नानफलं लभेत्। शङ्क VIII. 9-10; वृथा तसोदकं स्नानं वृथा जाप्यमवैदिकम् । वृथा रतमपुत्रस्य वृथा सुक्तमसाक्षिकम् ॥ दृक्ष IV. 64. The first is quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 128.

^{1566.} निरुद्धास न कुर्वीरजंशभाकतत्र सेतुकृत्। तस्मात्परकृतान्सेतृन् सूपांध्य परिवर्ज-येत्॥ उद्गृधृत्य वापि त्रीन्पिण्डान्कुर्याद्यापत्स नो सद्या। निरुद्धास तु सृत्पिण्डान्कूपाश्चीन-व्यटास्तथा॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 7 and 9. Vide गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 195 for explanation.

directly reach the sea. 1567 But even in these months one may bathe in muddy rivers at the time of upākarma or utsarga, or on the death of a person or on the eclipse of the sun or the moon. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 17 which says that out of water drawn in a pot, water standing in a reservoir, a spring, a river, water in which noble men of the past bathed, Ganges water, each succeeding one is holier than each preceding one for a bath. 1568

The actual bath is described differently in different sutras. smrtis and digests. Gobhila-smrti (I. 137) says 1569 that the morning bath contains the same procedure as the mid-day bath. morning bath has to be brief, as already stated, in the case of one who has consecrated the śrauta fires. The procedure of bathing will be indicated by a few brief extracts. The Visnu Dh. S. (64. 18-22) says 'having removed 1570 the dirt from his body with water and loose earth, he should plunge in water, he should invoke the water with the three verses 'apo hi stha' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3), with the four verses 'hiranyayarnāh' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1-2) and with the verse pravahata' (Rg. I. 23. 22 or X. 9. 8). Then while still plunged in water he should thrice mutter the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg. X. 190. 1-3, rtam ca satyam &c.) or he may mutter 'tad visnoh paramam padam' (Rg. I. 22, 20) or the Drupadā Sāvitrī verse (Vāj. S. 20. 20) or the anuvāka beginning with 'yunjate mana' (Rg. V. 81. 1-5) or the Purusasūkta (Rg. X. 90, 1-16). 'Having bathed he should, with his garment still wet, perform tarpana of gods and Manes while still in the water has changed his clothes, then he may do it (tarpana) after

1567. मासद्वयं आवणादि सर्वा नद्यो रजस्वलाः । तासु स्नानं न कुर्वीत वर्जयित्वा सस्द्रगाः ॥ धतुःसहस्राण्यष्टो च गतिर्यासां न विद्यते । न ता मदीशब्दवहा गर्तास्ते परि-कीर्तिताः ॥ उपाकर्माणे चोत्सगें प्रेतस्राने तथैव च । चम्द्रसूर्यग्रहे चैव रजोदोषो न विद्यते ॥ गोभिलस्सृति I. 141–143, quoted by अपरार्क p. 135, स्मृतिचः I. pp. 130–131, यह. र. 197–198 &c. अपरार्क p. 905 quotes a smṛti that a dhanus is equal to 96 aṅgulas and that 2000 bows are equal to one krośa.

1568. उर्धुताञ्च्मिष्ठसुद्कं पुण्यं स्थावरात्त्रस्रवणं तस्माञ्चादेयं तस्माद्विष साधुपिर-गृहीतं सर्वत एव गाङ्गम् । विष्णुधर्मस्त्र 64. 17.

1569. पथाहिन तथा प्रातिनिःयं स्नायादनातुरः । दन्तान्प्रक्षालय नद्यादी गृहे चेत्तद्-मन्त्रवत् ॥ गोभिल 1. 137; vide गृह. र. p. 179 for explanation.

1570. सुत्तोयैः क्रुतमलापकषाँप्स निमञ्यापो हि होति तिस्भिहिरण्यवर्णा हाति चतस्भि-रिद्मापः प्रवहतेति चतुर्धमभिमन्त्रयेत् । ततोऽप्स निमग्नस्त्ररघमर्षणं जपेत् । तिहण्णोः परमं पद्मिति वा । द्रुपदां सावित्रों वा । युञ्जते मन इत्यत्रवाकं वा । युरुषस्तं वा । स्नातश्चार्द्वासा देवितृतर्पणमम्भःस्थ एव कुर्यात् परिवर्तितवासाश्चेत्तीर्थस्तिर्य । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 64. 18-24.

coming out of the water'. Even now many brahmanas mutter the Purusasūkta while bathing. Śankha-smṛti (IX) has a brief description of snana which consists in invoking water, then mārjana with the three verses (āpo hi sthā), then repeating certain Vedic verses like 'hiranya-varnāh', 'san-no devīr', 'sam na apah' (Atharvaveda I. 6. 1 and 4) and thrice repeating Aghamarsana. Vide Madanapārijāta pp. 270-271, Gr. R. pp. 206-208 and Par. M. I. 1. pp. 274-275 where the whole of Sankha (IX) is quoted. The Snanasūtra 1571 of Katyayana says "Now then will be treated the daily obligatory bath in a river and the like. Having fetched loose earth, cowdung, sesame, kuśas and flowers, having approached the water side, having placed (the above) materials on a pure spot, having washed one's hands and feet, holding kuśa blades (or pavitra) in his hand, tying up his topknot and wearing the yajñopavīta, he should perform ācamana and invoke the water with the verse 'urum hi' (Rg. I. 24.8=Vāj. S. 8. 23), stir it (with his thumb) with the verses 'ye te satam' (vide Par. gr. I. 2). He should fill his joined hands with water with the verse 'sumitriyā nah' (Vāj. S. VI. 22) and should cast it on the ground with the verse 'durmitriya' (Vaj. S. VI. 22) in the direction of his enemy. He should apply loose earth thrice to each of the limbs, viz. the waist, the abdomen, thighs, feet and hands. then perform acamana, should do obeisance to the water and should smear his body with loose earth. Facing the sun with the verse 'idam visnur' (Rg. I. 22. 17 = Vāj. S. 5. 15), he should dive into the water and baths with the verse 'apo asman' (Rg. X. 17. 10 = Vaj. S. IV. 2), then raise up his body with the mantra 'ud-id-ābhyaḥ' (Vāj. S. IV. 2), again dip into water and again raise his head out of the water, perform acamana and smear his body with cowdung with the mantra 'mā nastoke.' (Rg. I. 114. $1 = V\bar{a}i$. S. 16. 16). Then he should bathe with the

^{1571.} अथातो नित्यस्नानं नद्यादौ । मुद्रोमयकुङ्गतिलसुमनस आहृत्योदकान्तं गत्वा सुची देशे स्थाप्य प्रक्षाल्य पाणिपादं कुङ्गोपग्रहा बद्धशिखी यञ्चोपवीत्याच्ययोर्ष हीति तोयमामन्य्यावर्तयेद्यं ते शतमिति । सुप्तित्रिया न इत्यपोऽख्रिलिनाद्य दुर्मिः त्रिया इति द्वेष्यं प्रति निषिश्चेत् । किंदं बस्त्यूरुजङ्के चरणौ करौ मृद्य त्रिक्षः प्रक्षाल्याच्य्य नमस्योदकमालभेदङ्गानि मृदेदं विष्णुरिति सूर्याभिसुखो निमज्ञेदापो अस्मानिति स्नात्वोदिदाय्य इत्युक्त्मच्य निमज्योन्मज्याच्य्य गोमयेन विलिम्पेन्या नस्तोक इति । तत्तोभिषिश्चेदिमं मे वर्षणित चत्रस्भिमाप उद्गुत्तमं सुख्यन्त्ववभूथेत्यन्ते चैतक्षिमज्योन्मज्याच्यय दुर्भैः पावयेदापो हिष्टति तिस्भिरिद्यापो हविष्मतिदेवीराप इति द्वास्यामपो देवा द्वपदादिव शक्तो देवीरपा समपो देवीः पुनन्तु मेति नवभिश्चित्पतिर्मेत्योकारेण व्याहृतिभिर्मायञ्चा चाद्यवन्ते चान्तर्जलेऽधमर्पणं त्रिरावर्तयेद् द्वपदादिवायं गौरितं वा वृच्चं प्राणायामं वा सिश्वरसोमिति वा विष्णोद्यं स्मरणम् । कात्यायनीय स्नानस्त्र. गृह. र. (pp. 208–211) quotes this and explains some pertion and differs from a Bhasya thereon.

four mantras 'imam me Varuna' (Vāj. S. 21, 1-4), and with the verses 'mā āpo', 'uduttamam' (Vāj. S. 12. 12), 'muñcantu', (Rg. X. 97. 16 = Vāj. S. 12. 90), 'avabhrtha' (Vāj. S. III. 48). At the end of these mantras he should dive into the water and then rise up out of it, perform acamana and sprinkle with darbha blades his body with the nine verses, viz. the three beginning with 'āpo hi sthā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3 = Vāj. S. 11, 50-52), 'idam-āpaḥ' (Vāj. S. VI. 17), with the two verses 'havismatīr' (Vāj. S. VI. 23) and 'davīrāpaḥ' (Vāj. S. I. 12), 'apo devāḥ' (Vāj. S. X. 1), 'drupadād-iva' (Vaj. S. 20. 20), 'san-no devīr' (Vāj. S. 36. 12), 'apām rasam' (Vāj. S. 9. 3), 'āpo devīh', and 'punantu mā'. Then he should repeat thrice, while diving in water, the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg. X. 190. 1-3) preceded by the mantra 'cit patir-mā' (Vāj. S. 4.4), by the syllable om, by the vyāhrtis, by the Gāyatri and followed by the same; or he may repeat the verse 'drupadad-iva' (Vaj. S. 20, 20) or the three verses 'āyam gauh' (Rg. X. 189. 1-3 = Vāj. S. 3. 6) or he should perform pranayama with the siras (viz. apo jvoti raso Smṛtam brahma &c. cited above on p. 304 from Tai. A. X. 15) or he should repeat simply 'om' thrice or he should only contemplate on Visnu. Having come out of the water, he should put on two washed garments, should wash his hands and thighs with loose earth, should perform acamana and then prānāvāma thrice ".1572

Yogi-Yājñavalkya queted by Aparārka and other works says that when a man is unable to perform the elaborate snāna described by himself and others, he should engage only in this; he should invoke the water, then perform ācamana, then mārjana (sprinkling water on body with kuśa blades) and then snāna and muttering of Aghamarsana (Rg. X. 190.1-3)¹⁵⁷³ thrice. The Gr. R. (pp. 215-217) quotes the method of snāna according to the Padmapurāna and the Nṛṣimhapurāna and remarks that the procedure in the Padmapurāna may be observed by all varṇas and by men following all the different Vedic schools (except the Vedic mantras in the case of śūdras). The Smṛṭyarthasāra (p. 28) also gives a brief procedure of snāna.

^{1572.} उत्तीर्य धौते वाससी परिधाय मुदोरू करी प्रक्षाल्याचम्य त्रिरायम्यास्त् । कात्यायनीयस्नानसूत्र 2.

¹⁵⁷³ चोऽसी विस्तरतः प्रोक्तः स्नानस्य विधिष्तसाः। असामध्यांत्र कुर्याचेत्रत्रायं विधिष्क्यते ॥ स्नानमन्तर्जले चैव मार्जनाचमने तथा। जलाभिमन्त्रणं चैव तीर्थस्य परिकल्पनम् ॥ अधमर्षणस्केन त्रिराष्ट्रचेन नित्यशः । स्नानाचरणमित्येतत्ससिद्धं महात्मभिः ॥ योगियाञ्चबल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क p. 134, ग्रह. र. p. 212 (where it is explained).

There are certain rules to be observed when bathing. One was not to bathe naked (Gaut. IX. 61 and Manu IV. 45), nor with all clothes on (but only with the lower garment) nor after taking one's meal (Manu 4.29); one was not to rub the body in water but outside on the bank, one should not strike the water with one's foot or hand or dash a portion of the water against the rest. 1574

The earth to be employed (like soap) for cleansing the body was to be obtained from a pure place and not from an 1575 ant-hill or from places infested by mice, nor from under water. nor from the public road, nor from the bottom of a tree, nor from near temples, nor out of what was left by some person after using a portion for his own sauca and is to be invoked with two verses 'asvakrānte¹⁵⁷⁶ &c. ' Laghu-Hārīta (v. 70-71) says 'earth secured after digging eight angulas from the surface should be used, all earth is pure which is taken from a place not frequented by people and that ten kinds of earth should not be used at the time of bathing' (verses 72-73).

The brahmacarin was not to bathe in a leisurely or sporting manner but to dive in water motionless like a stick.

The Mahābhārata, Daksa and others say that ten good consequences follow from snana viz. strength, beauty, clearness of complexion and voice. (pleasant) touch and odour (of the body), purity, prosperity, delicacy and fine women. 1577

Bathing with water is divided into six varieties by Sankha smrti (VIII. 1-11), Agnipurāna 155, 3-4 and others, viz. nitua. naimittika, kāmya, kriyānga, malāpakarsana (or abhyanga-snāna),

- 1574. शङ्कालिखितौ । अनरनन् अनग्नः स्नायासावमेहेत नोद्धर्षणं कुर्यास पारेन पाणिना वा जलमतिहन्याद्यस्मादापो वै सर्वा देवता: । गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 191-192; vide विसेष्ठ VI, 36-37 म पादेन पाणिना वा जलमीभहन्यात । न जलेन जलम् ॥.
- 1575. मृत्तिकाः सप्त न ग्राह्या वल्मीकान्मूषकस्थलात् । अन्तर्जलाञ्च मार्गान्ताष्ट् वृक्षमुहातसुरालयात् ॥ परशौचाविशष्टा च श्रेयस्कामैः सदा बुधैः । श्रुचिदेशास् संग्राह्या स्तिका स्नानहेतचे ॥ दक्ष II. 44-45. Vide ज्ञातातप quoted by गृह. र. p. 188 and पुरा, मा. I. part 1 p. 271. Vide आचे 321-322 for the seven kinds of earth to be avoided.
- 1576. The verses अश्वकान्ते are दक्ष II. 46-47 and occur in ते. आ. X. 1, the मत्रयपुराण 102. 10-12. Vide स्मातिच. I. p. 183.
- 1577. ग्रुणा दश स्नानशीलं भजन्ते बलं रूपं स्वरवर्णप्रशाद्धिः । स्पर्शश्च गन्धश्च विश्वद्धता च श्रीः सौकुमार्ये प्रवराश्च नार्यः ॥ उद्योगपर्व 37. 33. दक्ष II. 13 is similar which occurs also in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 25.

kriyāsnāna. Nitya snāna (daily bath) has been described above. A few observations are made below on each of the others. On certain occasions or on coming in contact with certain persons or things one has to bathe, although one may have already bathed that day. This is called naimittika (due to some occasion or cause) snana. For example, on the birth of a son, in a sacrifice (at the end), on the passing away of a relative, in eclipses, one has to bathe and even at night 1578 (Parāśara XII. 26 and Devala quoted above). Similarly a man has to bathe with all his clothes on if he touches an outcast (who is guilty of one of the mortal sins), a cāndāla, a woman who has recently delivered, a woman in her monthly course, a corpse, or one who has touched a corpse or one who has touched another that has come in contact with a corpse or when a man follows a corpse 1579 (Gaut. 14. 28-29, Vas. 4. 38, Manu V. 85 and 103, Yāj. III. 30, Laghu-Aśvalāvana 20, 24). According to Manu V. 144, Śańkha-smrti VIII. 3, Mārk. purāna 34. 82-83, Brahmapurāna 113. 79, Parāsara XII. 28, if a man vomits or has many purges (ten or more), if he has a shave or has a bad dream, has had sexual intercourse, if he repairs to a cemetery, or is covered with smoke from a funeral pyre or touches a sacrificial post or a human bone, he has to undergo a bath to purify himself 1580. Ap. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 16 prescribes a bath if a man is bitten by a dog and Gaut. 14. 30 prescribes it even for touching it. If a man touches Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, atheists, dvijātis living by condemned actions and sudras he should bathe with his clothes 1581 on. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 30, the Sm. C. I. pp. 117-119 and other digests speak of snana being necessary on coming in contact with

प्रज्ञजनमनि यज्ञे च तथा चात्ययकर्मणि । राहोश्च दर्शने दानं प्रशस्तं नान्यदा निशि ॥ पराश् XII. 26.

^{1579.} पतितचण्डालस्तिकोद्वयाशवस्यृष्टितस्स्यृष्टचगस्पर्शने सचेलोद्दकोपस्पर्शना-च्छध्येत । ज्ञवानगमने च । गौ. 14. 28-29; सपिण्डमरणे चैच पुत्रजन्मानि चे तथा। स्नानं नैमित्तिकं शस्तं प्रवद्धन्ति महर्षयः ॥ लध्याश्वलायन २०. २४.

^{1580.} इ:स्वमे मेथने वान्ते विरिक्ते धरकर्मणि। चितियुपदमशानास्थनां स्पर्शने स्नान-माचरेत ॥ पराज्ञर quoted in मिता॰ on या. 111. 30, which is slightly different from the printed पराज्ञर XII. 1.; क्षुरकर्मणि वान्ते च स्त्रीसंभागे च पुत्रक । स्नायीत चेलवान्त्राज्ञ: कटभूमिसुपेत्य च ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 82-83; vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 52 for a verse similar to quaters.

^{1581.} शैवान्पाञ्चपतान् स्पृष्टा लोकायःतिकनास्तिकान् । विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् शूदान्त्र-चासा जलमाविशेत् ॥ ब्रह्माण्हपुराण quoted in मिता॰ on या. III. 30.; स्मृतिन्द I. p. 118 quotes षद्भिशम्मत reading 'बौद्धान् पाश्रपताञ्जीनान् लोकायतिक-कापिलान् । विक सृष्टा सवासा जलमानिशेत् १.

several birds (like the crow) and animals (like the cock and village hog), which are passed over for want of space.

Kāmya-snāna ¹⁵⁸⁸ (bath for some desired object) is that which is taken when one goes to a tirtha (a sacred place) or when there is some astrological conjunction like the moon being in the constellation of puṣya (vide Śańkhasmṛti VIII. 4) or when one bathes in the morning in the two months of Māgha and Phālguna for securing abundant pleasures. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 122-123 for numerous examples.

When a man has to take a bath as a part of the religious rite such as the rite of dedicating a well, a temple, a park to the public, that is called $kriy\bar{a}nga-sn\bar{a}na$.

When a man applies oil to his body, uses myrobalans and engages in a bath solely for cleaning the body (and with no idea of performing an obligatory duty or securing religious merit) that is called malāpakarṣaka or abhyanga-snāna. The Sm. C. I. p. 125, Aparārka pp. 195-196 and other works lay down elaborate rules about this snāna. One rule is that on certain tithis like parva (vide Manu IV 128 and Yāj I. 79 above on p. 204) there is to be no bath with oil &c. It is said that one desiring prosperity should use dried myrobalan (āmalaka) at the time of bath except on the 7th and 9th tithis and on parva days. 1584 Vide Vāmanapurāna 14.49 ff. (quoted in Sm. C. I, p. 125) for astrological rules.

When a man regards bathing at a sacred place the reward of his pilgrimage and engages in the procedure prescribed by Śańkhasmṛti IX. that is called kriyā-snāna. 1585

A person who is ill may bathe with hot water or he may, if he cannot bear that, only wash his body except the head or his body may be rubbed with a wet piece of cloth. This last method

^{1582.} पुष्यस्नानादिकं स्नानं देनज्ञाविधिचोदितम्। तद्धि काम्यं सम्राहिष्टं नाकाम-स्तत्त्रयोजयेत्॥ शङ्क VIII. 4.

^{1583.} इष्टापूर्विक्रयार्थे यत् क्रियाङ्गं स्नानसुच्यते। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 27; मलापकर्ष-णार्थे तु स्नानमभ्यङ्गपूर्वकम्। मलापकर्षगार्थाय प्रवृत्तिस्तस्य नान्यथा॥ शङ्कः VIII. 6.

^{1584.} श्रीकामस्तु सदा स्नानं कुर्वीतामलकैर्नरः। सप्तमीं नवमीं चैव पर्वकालं च षर्जयेतु॥ मार्कण्डेय quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 123.

^{1585.} स्नानमेव फलं तीथे क्रियास्नानं तहुस्यते। समुत्यर्थसार p. 27. Śańkha IX is quoted by Sm. C. I. p.127, Gr. R. pp. 206-8, Par. M. I. part 1 p. 274.

is called $k\bar{a}pila \cdot sn\bar{a}na$. There is another method where a man is ill and something happens on which it is absolutely necessary for him to bathe; in this case one who is not ill should touch him and then bathe himself and then again touch him and bathe; when this is repeated ten times the person who is ill is deemed to have become pure as if he had bathed. Is In the case of a woman in her monthly course, if on the fourth day she has high fever, she is not to be bathed, but another woman is to touch her and bathe with all her clothes on and perform a camana and touch her and bathe again; this is to be carried out ten or twelve times and in the end the clothes worn by the ailing woman are to be taken off and new ones to be given to her and she becomes clean.

The bath with water is called Vāruna (as Varuna is the lord of waters, according to Rg. VII. 49. 3 'yāsām rājā Varuņo' &c.) and. Vāruna is the principal kind of bath. There are six kinds of gauna snānas which may be employed when one is either ill and so unable as to undergo a regular bath or when there is no time or room to take a regular bath. These six (with Varuna as the seventh) are enumerated and defined in Yogayājñavalkya and other works and they are: mantrasnana, bhauma, agneya, vāyavya, divya, mānasa. Daksa II. 15-16 and Parāsara XII. 9-11 mention these except bhauma and manasa and employ the word brahma in place of mantrasnana. The Vaik. gr. (I. 2 and 5) employs both words 'mantra' and 'gurvanujñā' as synonymous. Garga and Brhaspati omit bhauma and mānasa and speak of sārasvata-snāna instead, which consists in the blessing pronounced by a learned man in the case of a dvijāti, or a pupil or his son 'may you have a bath with golden jars of Ganges water and of other sacred waters' (vide Ahnika-prakāśa

- 1586. अशिरस्कं भवेत् स्नानं स्नानाज्ञक्तोत् कर्मिणाम् । आर्द्रेण वाससा वापि मार्जनं दृष्टिकं विदुः ॥ जाबालि quoted by अपरार्क p. 135; 'आर्द्रेण कर्पटेनाङ्गज्ञोधनं कापिलं विदः । ' ब्रहस्पति : both quoted by स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 134, आह्निकमकाज्ञ p. 197.
- 1587. आतुरस्नान उत्पन्ने दशकुत्वो ह्यनातुरः । स्नात्वा स्मात्वा स्पृशेदेनं ततः शुध्येश्स आतुरः ॥ यम (Jivānanda, part 1 p. 565), बृहत्यराशर chap. VI. p. 208 (Jivānanda, part II); quoted as यम's in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 121, आद्विकमकाश p. 197.
- 1588. ज्वराभिभूता या नारी रजसा च परिप्रुता।... चतुर्थेहिन संप्राप्ते स्पृशेद्न्या तु तां श्चियम्। सा सचैलावगाक्षापः स्नात्वा स्नात्वा एनः स्पृशेत् ॥ वृशद्वावशक्रत्वो वा आचामेच पुनः पुनः। अन्ते तु वाससां त्यागस्ततः शुद्धा भवेतु सा। उशनस् quoted by स्मृतिच । 1. p. 121,

pp. 196-197). The mantrasnāna¹⁵⁸⁹ consists in sprinkling water with the verses 'āpo hi sthā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3), the bhauma (or $p\bar{a}rthiva$) in smearing the body with loose earth, $\bar{a}gneya$ in smearing the body with holy ashes, $v\bar{a}yavya$ in taking on the body the dust raised by the hoofs of cows, divya in wetting one's body with a shower of rain accompanied with sunshine and $m\bar{a}nasa$ in reflecting on God Viṣṇu.

Tarpana (offering water to gods, sages and Manes) is an anga (a subsidiary constituent part) of snāna, just as it is an anga in brahma-yajña. When a person plunges his whole body in water including the head, he has to perform tarpana while still standing in the water. Vide Manu II, 176, Visnu Dh. S. 64. 23-24 (quoted above in n.1570), Parāsara XII. 12-13 for this. He joins his two hands together, takes water in the joined hands and casts the water into the stream in which he is standing. If he changes his clothes, then he may perform the tarpana There was a difference of opinion on the bank of the river. about tarpana. Some said 1590 that a man had to perform tarpana as an anga of snana immediately after it and before samdhya prayer and then again the same day as an anga of brahmayajña; while others held that tarpana was to be performed only once in the day after samdhyā prayer. One has to perform tarpana according to the procedure prescribed in one's śākhā (Vedic school) but Sankha prescribes a brief tarpana which consists in the words 'may the universe from Brahmā down to a bunch of grass be satisfied' (or satiated) and offering three anjalis (joined hands) of water. When he performs tarpana

^{1589.} असामर्थ्याच्छरीरस्य कालशक्तवस्याद्यवेक्षया। मन्त्रस्नानादितः सप्त केचिदि-च्छिन्ति सूरयः। मान्त्रं भोमं तथाग्नेयं वायस्यं दिग्यमेव च। वारुणं मानसं चैव सप्त स्नानान्य-झुक्रमात्॥ आपो हिष्ठादिभिर्मान्त्रं मृदालम्भश्च पार्थिवम्। आग्नेयं भस्मना स्नानं वायन्यं गोरजः स्मृतम्॥ यस्तु सातपवर्षेण तिहृष्यं स्नानसुच्यते। वारुणं चावगाहस्तु मानसं विष्णु-चिन्तनम्। कालाह्येशाद्सामर्थ्यासर्वे तुल्यफलं स्मृतम्॥ मानसं भवरं स्नानं केचिदि-च्छन्ति सूरयः। योगयाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क pp. 134–135, स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 133, गृह. र. p. 203. विश्वरूप on या I. 22 quotes दक्ष II. 15.

^{1590.} इदं च स्नानाङ्गतर्पणं स्नानाण्यवहितोत्तरमेव कार्यम् । अङ्गानां प्रधानदेशकातान्वयौचित्यात् । यत्तु कात्यायनादिभिः संध्याषम्दनबद्धायज्ञायुत्तरं तर्पणमभिहितं तत्
पञ्चयज्ञान्तर्गतपात्यहिकतर्पणाभिप्रायम् । आद्विकपकाञ् p. 191; vide the next page
also and p. 144 'स्पष्टमेतत्याराशस्माधवीये चतुर्विशतिमते । यथा । स्नानादनन्तरं
सावर्त्तर्पयित्यद्वेवताः । उत्तीर्य पीढ्येद्वस्तं संध्याकर्म ततः परम् । इति । एवं च यत् कचित्संध्योत्तरतर्पणाभिधानं तद्दृहःकर्तव्यस्वतम्त्रतर्पणाभिमायकम् । मैथिलास्तु यथाहनि
तथा प्रातरिति चचनेन माध्याद्विकक्रमातिदेशात् संध्योत्तरमेव प्रातःस्नानाङ्गतर्पणम् । शिष्टाचारोध्येवभेव ।

standing in water, he should not wring the water from the ends of his garment until he has finished it. He should then wring 1591 the ends of his garment and the water so falling down is deemed to be meant for the sonless deceased persons born in the family of the bather and he has to repeat a verse to that effect. Further details of tarpana are set out under brahmayajña below.

After one takes a bath one was not to shake one's head (for getting rid of the water), nor should one rub off the water on one's body with one's hand or with the garment already worn by one; one has to cover one's head with a turban (to dry the hair) and wear two fresh garments already washed and dried (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 9-13).

What clothes the brahmacārin was to wear has already been stated (pp. 278-279). A few words must be said about the clothes to be worn by a householder.

Weaving and woven cloth are frequently referred to in the Veda, generally in a metaphorical sense or in similes. Vide Rg. I, 115. 4, II. 3. 6, V. 29. 15, X. 106. 1. In Rg. VI. 9. 2-3, both warp (tantu) and woof (otu) are mentioned. The words used for garment are 'vāsas' or 'vastra'. In the Tai, S. (VI.1.1.3) it is said that ksauma (linen) cloth is worn when a person takes the diksā (initiatory rite) for a Vedic sacrifice. In the Kāthaka Sam. XV. 1 ksauma cloth is said to be the fee in a certain rite. In the Atharvayeda VIII. 2. 16 we have the two words 'vāsah' (outer garment) and 'nīvi' (under garment) 1592 used with reference to the same man. In the Rg. the word 'adhivasa' is also used with reference to a garment which must have been somewhat like a mantle or toga (Rg. I. 162, 16). In the Tai, S. II. 4. 9. 2. the skin of the black deer is mentioned. In the Sat. Br. V. 2, 1, 8 it is said that when the Nestr 1593 priest is about to lead up the sacrificer's wife he makes her put on a kuśa upper garment (vasas) or a kuśa skirt next to the cloth that

^{1591.} शङ्काः । आब्रह्मस्तम्वपर्यन्तं जगृत्तप्यस्विति बुन्त् । जलाश्वलिवयं द्यादेतस्तं क्षेपतर्पणम् । आह्विकप्रकाश p. 145. चतुः संवेष्ट्य वासोन्तं स्नातो निष्पीडयेरस्थले । ये के चास्मस्कुले जाता इति मन्त्रेण मानवः । मन्त्रश्च कार्ष्णाजिनिनोक्तः । ये के चास्मस्कुले जाता अपुत्रा गोत्रिणो सुताः । ते गृह्वन्तु मया द्त्तं वस्रनिष्पीडनोद्दकम् ॥स्मृतिसु. (आह्विक) p.250.

^{1592.} यत्ते वासः परिधानं यां नीविं कुणुषे त्वम् । अधर्ववेद् VIII. 2. 16.

^{1593.} तस्माक्षेष्टा परनीसुद्दानेष्यन्कोशं वासः परिधापयति कौशं वा चण्डातकमन्तरं इंक्लितवसनात्। शतपथनाः V. 2. 1. 8. कौश may mean 'made of silk or made of kusa grass'.

one who is initiated for the sacrifice wears. In the Br. Up. II. 3. 6. there 1594 is a reference to cloth dyed red with safflower or woollen cloth that is whitish in colour. Rg. IV. 22. 2 and Rg. V. 52. 9 are interpreted by Western scholars as referring to wool on the Parusni river being the best, but the sense is rather It appears from the above that cloth was either obscure. woollen or linen, that silken (or kusa) cloth was worn on very solemn occasions, that deer-skin was also employed as covering and that cloth was also dyed red. Whether cotton cloth was known in the earliest Vedic period is not certain. It is clear that in the sutras (Visnu Dh. S. 71. 15 and 63. 24) and in Manu (8, 326 and 12, 64) cotton cloth is known and so its use must have reached several centuries before the times of the sūtras. Arrian (tr. by MacCrindle) says that Indian dress was made of cotton (p. 219).

The Ap. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 22-23) requires that a householder should always wear an upper garment (besides the lower one) but allows him to have only the sacred thread instead (if he be noor &c.). Vas. Dh. S. XII. 14 says that snātakas (those who have returned from the stage of student-hood) should always wear a lower garment and an upper one, two yajñopavitas &c. The Baud, Dh. S. I. 3. 2. says the same and adds that a snataka should wear a turban, a deer-skin as upper garment, shoes and have an umbrella. Aparārka (pp. 133-134) quotes verses from Vvāghra and Yogayājñavalkya to the same effect, the latter remarking that if one cannot procure a second washed garment one may wear a blanket of wool, or hempen or linen cloth. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 6. 5-6, 10-11) says among garments 1595 the one that has not been worn is pure and therefore everything connected with sacrifice and worship should be done with fresh (or unblemished) clothes. The sacrificer, his wife and the priests should wear garments that have been washed, dried in the wind and are not worn out by use; but in sacrifices performed for abhicara (harm to one's enemies) the priests should wear clothes and turbans dved red. In consecrating the Vedic fires one should wear clothes made

^{1594.} तस्य हैतस्य पुरुषस्य रूपं यथा माहारजनं वासी यथा पाण्ड्वाविकं &c. बृद्ध. खप. II. 3. 6.

^{1595.} अध रनातसस्य अन्तर्वास उत्तरियम्। वैणवं दण्डं धारयेत्। सोदकं च कमण्डछम्। द्वियज्ञोपवीती। उष्णीयमिजिनस्त्तरस्यानही छत्रमीपासनं दर्शपूर्णमासी। बौ. ध. स्.
1. 3. 1-6. Compare for red clothes and turban in magic rites ज्ञावर on जै.
111. 8. 12 'इयेने श्रूयते लोहितोष्णीया लोहितयसना ऋत्विजः प्रचरन्तीति।'

of flax or if they are not available cotton or woollen ones. Śabara on Jaimini X. 4. 13 quotes śruti passages to the effect that the sacrificer and his wife wear fresh unused clothes in the model sacrifice and in the Mahavrata the sacrificer wears in addition a tārpya (silk garment) and his wife wears one made of kuśa grass.1596 Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 66 requires that one must wear an upper garment in five acts viz. study of the Veda, dedication of a well or a tank &c. to the public, making gifts, taking one's meal or acamana. Similarly the Visnupurana (III. 12. 20) requires that a man must not, with only one garment on, begin homa, the worship of gods and similar rites, study of the Veda, ācamana and japa. 597 Gaut. 9. 4-5, Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 10-13, Manu IV. 34-35, Yaj. I. 131 and others enjoin that a snātaka and a householder should wear white garments and they must not be worn out or dirty if he has enough (means) and should not wear dyed garments or garments of high price (or gaudy ones) or those worn by another. 1598 Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 24 remarks 'what a man, while wearing reddish garments, does such as japa, homa, receiving gifts, offerings made to gods and Manes, does not reach the gods. 1599 Cloth dyed in indigo is also forbidden and a male has to undergo a fast and take pañcagavya for wearing such cloth. The Apastamba smrti (in verse) chap. VI has several verses on cloth dyed in indigo. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 quotes verses 1-5 of Apastamba. Vide Aparārka p. 1186 for quotation of the same verses and also of Angiras, verses 32-39 (which are almost the same as Apastamba's). Gaut, 9. 5-7, Manu IV. 66, Visnu Dh. S. 71. 47, Mark. purana 1600 34. 42-43 prescribe that one should not wear the shoes, garments

1596. महाबते श्रूपते तार्ष्ये पजमान: परिधत्ते दर्भमयं पत्नी हति। अस्ति त प्रकृती अहतं वास: परिधत्ते हति। ज्ञास्त का ज़े. X, 4. 13. Vide Band. Dh. S. I. 6. 13 as to how tārpya is to be purified. The word अहत has two meanings; (1) cloth fresh from the loom (to be worn in marriages and similar mangala ceremonies); (2) garment that is washed, but not used for many days, that is virtually new and has its fringes intact. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 113.

1597. होमदेवार्चनाद्यासु क्रियासु पठने तथा। नैकवस्तः पवर्तेत द्विजो नाचमने जपे ॥ विक्युपुराण III. 12. 20, quoted by हेमादि (व्रतस्वण्ड p. 35).

1598. सति विभने न जीर्णमलबद्वासाः स्यात् । न रक्तमुल्बणमन्यधृतं वासो विभु-षात् । गौतम 9. 4-5; सर्वानरागान्वासिस वर्जयेत् । छुण्णं च स्वाभाविकम् । अनुद्धासि वासो वसीत । अवतिकृष्टं च शक्तिविषये । आप. ध. सु. 1. 11. 30. 10-13.

1599. काषायवासा यान्कुकते जपहोमप्रतिग्रहान् । न तद्देवगमं भवति हन्यकन्येषु यद्धवि: ॥बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 24, quoted by अपरार्क p. 461.

1600. उपानद्वस्त्रमाल्यादि धृतमन्येर्न धारयेत्। उपवीतमलंकारं करकं चैव वर्जयेत्॥ र किण्डेयपुराग 34. 42-43.

vaiñopavita, ornament, garland, or water-jar used by another but if a man is unable to secure one for himself, he may wear another's garment or shoes or garland after cleansing it. According to Garga quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 113) a brahmana should wear white garments, a ksatriya red and brilliant ones, a vaišya yellow ones, a śūdra should wear a dark one that is dirty. The Mahabharata says that one has to wear garments at the time of worshipping gods that are different from those that one wears while walking on a road or when one is in bed 1601. Prajāpati quoted by Par. M. states that in tarpana one should wear silk cloth having a hem or one that is orange-coloured, but never one that is gaudy. Probably it is requirements like these that led to the practice of wearing silken garments at the time of meals and worship, which practice is observed even now in many parts of India. Manu IV. 18 and Visnu Dh. S. 71. 5-6 prescribe that one must dress, speak and entertain thoughts that would be in keeping with one's age, occupation, monetary affairs, learning, family and country. The garments to be worn by the vanaprastha and samnyasin will be discussed below. The smrtis contain rules about tucking up the lower garment. A garment should be tucked in three places i. e. when it is tucked near the navel, on the left side and behind on the back. A brāhmana is said to be a śūdra as long as he has not tucked his garment behind or allows one corner of it to hang down from behind like a tail, or has tucked it in the wrong way or side, or has wound part of it round his waist or has covered the upper part of the body with a portion of the lower garment. Vide Sm. M. (āhnika pp. 351-353) and Sm. C. I. pp. 113-114 for these and other rules about wearing garments.

After one bathes, one has to sip water (Daksa II. 20. ff) and make marks on his forehead (variously called *tilaka*, ūrdhvapuņḍra, tripuṇḍra &c.) according to one's caste or sect. In the Ahnikaprakāśa (pp. 248-252), in the Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika pp. 292-310) elaborate rules are laid down on this subject. In the Brahmāndapurāṇa¹⁶⁰⁸ it is stated that for making

^{1601.} अन्यदेव भवेद्वासः शयनीयेन्यदेव तु । अन्यद्वथ्यासु देवानामर्चायामन्यदेव तु । अनुशासन 104. 46, quoted by अपरार्क p. 173 and गृष्ठ. र. p. 501. माधवीये पजापतिः । क्षीमं वासः प्रशसन्ति तर्पणे सद्दशं तथा । काषायं धातुरकं वा नोल्यणं तसु कहिचित् ॥ आचाररत्न p. 33a.

^{1602.} पर्वताग्रे नदीतीरे मम क्षेत्रे विशेषतः । सिन्धुतीरे च बल्मीके तुलसीमूलमाश्रिते ॥ मृद एतास्त संग्राह्मा वर्जयेदनयमुत्तिकाः । ब्रह्माण्डपुराण quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 115; vide नित्याचारप्रदीप pp. 42-43.

urdhvapundra (vertical mark of a line or lines on the forehead) one may select earth from the top of mountains or from banks of holy rivers like the Indus and the Ganges, from places sacred to Visnu, from ant-hills and from the root of the tulasi plant. The thumb, the middle finger and the finger next to the small finger are to be used in making the mark, but the nails should not come in contact with the earth employed. The mark may be of the form of a lamp and its wick, or of the form of bamboo leaves or a lotus bud, or of a fish or tortoise or a conch and the mark may be in length from two to ten fingers. The marks are to be made on the forehead, the chest, the throat and its pit, on the abdomen, the right and left sides, the arms, the ears, the back of the neck. after taking the twelve names of Visnu (viz. Keśava, Nārāyana &c.) for each of the above twelve parts of the body. The tripundra mark (three oblique lines) is to be made with holy ashes (bhasman) and the tilaka with sandalwood paste. 1603 According to the Brahmandapurana, the ürdhvapundra is made after a bath with loose earth in such a way that it resembles the outline of the foot (of Hari). 1604 the tripundra with holy ashes after homa. and the tilaka (a circular mark) with sandalwood paste on worshipping gods (devapūjā). The Sm. M. (āhnika p. 292) quotes Vāsudevopanisad for making the ürdhvapundra mark on the forehead and other places with Gopicandana (magnesian or calcareous clay) or in its absence with earth from the roots of the tulasi plant. Sacrifice, gifts, japa, homa, study of the Veda. tarpana of the Manes, if done without the urdhvapundra mark, become fruitless (according to Visnu quoted in Sm. M. ähnika p. 292). The Vrddha-Hārīta smrti (II. 58-72) has a long note on urdhvapundra. The Sm. M. (āhnika p. 296) notes that some texts of the Pāśupata and other Śaiva sectarians run down ūrdhvapundra and highly extol the tripundra mark, while Pañcaratra texts enjoin the marking of the body with sankha, cakra and other weapons of Visnu and condemn tripundra. Devout worshippers of Visnu who are followers of Madhvācārya brand the weapons of

^{1603.} ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रं मृदा कुर्याब्रिपुण्ड्रं भस्मना सदा। तिलकं वे हिजः कुर्याच्चन्दनेन यहुच्छया॥ quoted in आद्विकप्रकाश p. 250 and मदनपारिजात p. 279. The त्रिपुण्ड्र् is defined as भ्रुवोर्मध्ये समारभ्य यावदन्तो भवेद्भुवोः। मध्यमानामिकाङ्ग्रल्योर्मध्ये तु प्रतिलोमतः। अङ्गक्षेन कृता रेखा त्रिपुण्ड्राख्याभिधीयते॥.

^{1604.} द्वारवत्युद्धवं गोपीचन्दनं वेङ्कटोद्धवम्। सान्तरालं प्रकुर्वीत पुण्डं हिरपदा-कृतिम्॥ श्राद्धकाले विशेषेण कर्ता भोक्ता च धारयेत्। बुद्धहारीत VIII. 67-68.

Vispu such as the conch on their arms and bodies with heated metal pieces, just as early Christians stamped the cross on the forehead with red-hot iron (vide Wilson's 'Religious Sects of the Hindus', vol. I. p. 42). Works like Vrddha-Harita II. 44-45, the Prthvicandrodaya condemn the practice of branding the body with marks of the conch &c. with red-hot iron as fit only for sudras. The Smrtvartha-sāgara of Chalāri quotes passages of the Vāyupurāņa and Visnupurana supporting branding. In the Kalagnirudropanisad the procedure 1605 of the tripundra mark is laid down. Holy ashes are taken from the sacred fire with the five mantras 'sadyo jātam' (Tai. Ār. 10. 43-47) and they are then invoked with the mantras 'agniriti bhasma'; part of the ashes is then taken in the palm of one's hand with the mantra 'mā nastoke', (Rg. I. 114. 8) and mixed with water and therewith lines are made on the head, the forehead up to the (middle of the) eyebrows and eyes, on the chest and shoulders, after repeating 'tryayusam Jamadagner' when applying the ashes to the forehead, 'kaśyapasya tryayusam' when applying to the navel (or chest) and so on (the head coming last). The Sānkhyāyana gr. says 1606 "He makes the tripundra mark with ashes with the five formulas 'tryāyuṣam' &c. on his forehead, chest, right and left shoulders and then on the back: (by doing this) he studies these Vedas, one, two, three or all." The Smrtimuktaphala 1607 (ahnika p. 301) quotes a passage from Baudhayana in which the words of the exhortation to the pupil returning home 'bhūtyai na pramaditavyam' occurring in the Tai. Up. I. 11 are interpreted as referring to the making

1605. Vide Sm. M. p. 301 for all details. Even now parts of a mantra are used in applying hely ashes to the forehead, to the navel, to the right and left shoulders and the head. The mantra occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 7. 2 'ड्यायुपं जमद्गेः कश्यपस्य इयायुपम् । यहेवानां इयायुपं तन्मे अस्तु इयायुपम् । . वाज. सं. III. 62 has the same mantra with slight variations. About the ashes the following are repeated 'आभिरिति भस्म वायुरिति भस्म जलमिति भस्म स्थलमिति भस्म व्योमिति भस्म सर्वे वा इदं भस्म, 'quoted in नारायण's दीपिका on कालाग्निकट्ट उपनिषट्ट.

1606. ज्यायुषमिति पञ्जभिर्मन्त्रैर्ललाटे हृद्ये च दक्षिणस्कन्धे वामे च ततः पृष्ठे च पञ्चसु भस्मनां त्रिपुण्ड्रं करोति स एषां वेदानामेकं द्वौ त्रीन् सर्वानधीते । सांख्यायनगृह्य quoted in स्मृतिसु. (आद्विक p. 303). Vide S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 76 where this passage is said to be a late addition.

1607. अधातो द्विजातीनां त्रिपुण्ट्रधारणाविधिं व्याख्यास्यामो भूरये न प्रमद्तिक्यमिति विज्ञायते। बोधायन quoted in स्मृतिसः (आद्विक p. 301).

of the tripundra mark with ashes ($bh\bar{u}ti$). This is a fine example of how sectarians twist the words of ancient texts to bolster up their practices and dogmas. In the Kādambari (para 34) Hārīta is described as ornamented by the tripundra mark of ashes. The Acaramayukha quotes a verse from the Bhavisyapurana of him who does not bear the tripundra mark, truthfulness, sauca, japa, homa, pilgrimage and worship of gods-all this becomes futile 'and a verse from the Smrtiratnavali as to the parts of the body that are to be smeared with holy ashes, viz. the forehead, the region of the heart, navel, throat, shoulders, the ioints of the arms, the back and the head. The Smrtimuktaphala (āhnika p. 310) gives the following sage advice to the Śaiva and Vaisnava sectarian writers that were guilty of running down the practices of each other 'As one God appears in the form of various deities, all should worship their (favourite) god, whether Siva, Visnu or any other, without indulging in the calumny of other deities and they should wear the pundra mark that is deemed to be pleasing to any deity without calumniating other sect marks', 1608 The Nirnayasindhu (II pariccheda) when dealing with the 11th day of Asadha sets out from the Rāmārcana-candrikā passages about the marking of the body with conch figure by means of heated metal pieces and also quotes the Prthylcandrodaya and other works that condemn such practices and remarks that one may follow the sistas. The ācāraratna (p. 37 a) states that votaries are of several kinds, viz. Śaivas and Vaisnavas who are purely followers of the Vedic cult, Saivas and Vaisnavas who follow both Vaidika and Tantrika practices and the same two following purely the Tantric cult.

After bath comes $saindhy\bar{a}$ (Yāj. I. 98). This subject has been dealt with above (pp. 312-321) under Upanayana.

After samdhyā comes homa (Dakṣa II. 28 and Yāj. I. 98-99). If a brāhmaṇa took a bath in the early morning and engaged in a lengthy samdhyā prayer he may not be able to perform homa in the morning at the proper time. Homa was performed in the morning before sunrise according to one view (anudite juhoti) and after sunrise, according to another (udite juhoti); but even on the latter view, homa must be performed before the

^{1608.} तस्मावेकस्यैवेश्वरस्य सर्वदेवमयत्व।देवतान्तर्गनिन्दावार्जितैरेवेश्वर आराध्यः शिवो विष्णुरम्यो वा देवः। पुण्ड्रमपि तत्तदेवताभीतिकरं पुण्ड्रान्तरनिन्दावर्जितैरेव धार्यम्। स्मृतिम्. (आद्विक p. 310).

sun rises one cubit above the horizon (Gobhila-smrti I. 123). 1609 The evening homa is to be performed at a time when the stars clearly appear in the sky and the ruddy colour has left the western horizon (Gobhila-smrti I. 124). Asv. Sr. II. 2 and Asv. gr. I. 9. 5 state the time for morning homa to be up to the end of the period of sangava (i. e. the second of the five periods of day time). Therefore some said that in order to perform homa in time one may perform the morning $saindhy\bar{a}$ prayer even after homa. 1610 It has been shown above (p. 425) that the belief was that a man owed three debts one of which, viz. that to the gods, was discharged by performance of sacrifices and that a man had to perform agnihotra (fire worship) to the end of his life. The fire to be tended was either srauta or smarta. As to the first there were certain rules. Only a person that had attained. a certain age was to kindle the śrauta fires, viz. one who had a son or had reached an age when he could have a son and whose hair was still black (i.e. who had not become middle-aged or old). There were two views on the necessity of kindling the śrauta fires. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 45-48 1611 says "a brāhmaņa must necessarily kindle the three srauta fires and offer (in them) the Darśa-Pūrnamāsa (new moon and full moon sacrifices), the Āgrayana isti, the Cāturmāsyas, the animal and soma sacrifices. For this is enjoined as an observance and has been lauded as a debt. For it is declared (in the Veda) 'a brāhmana is born

1609. संध्याकर्मावसाने तु स्वयं होमी विधीयते । दक्ष II. 28; प्रादुष्करणमग्नीनां प्रातर्भासां च दर्शनात् । हस्ताद्र्ध्वं स्वियावद्भिरं हित्वा न गच्छति । ताबद्धोमविधिः पुण्यो नान्योऽम्युदितहोमिनाम् । गोभिलस्मृति I. 122–123. Manu II. 15 refers to the several views about होमकाल. समयाध्युषित in Manu is explained as the time before the sun's disc appears after the stars have become invisible. Vide स्मृतिच् I. p. 161 and बो. मृ. सं. परिशिष्ट I. 72 for explanation of उदित, समयाध्युषित &c. The स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35 says प्रातहोंने संगवान्तः कालस्त्वज्ञदिते तथा। सायमस्तमिते होमकालस्तु नव नाहिकाः॥

1610. होमं घैतानिके कृत्वा स्मार्ते कुर्याद्विचक्षणः। स्मृतीनां वेदमूलत्वात्स्मार्ते केचि-त्युरा विदुः॥ भरद्वाज quoted in स्मृतिचः I. p. 163; vide नित्याचारपद्धति p. 314 and संस्कारप्रकाश p. 890.

1611. अवर्षं ब्राह्मणोऽग्रीनादधीत । दर्शपूर्णमासाग्रयणेष्टिचातुर्मास्यपञ्चसोमैश्र यजेत। नैयामिकं ह्येतहणसंस्तुतं च। विज्ञायते हि त्रिभिक्संणैकंणवान ब्राह्मणो जायत इति। यज्ञेन देवेम्यः इत्येष वाह्मणो पञ्चा पः पुत्री ब्रह्मचर्यवानिति। वसिष्ठ XI. 45-48; vide विद्युप्यमसूत्र 59. 4-9 for similar provisions. Manu IV. 26 explains that the Agrayana işti is to be performed with the new grain that is brought in at the end of the rainy season (in sarad) after the old grain is consumed, that an animal sacrifice is to be performed at the eginning of the uttarayana and of dakṣiṇayana (i. e. twice a year) and a Soma sacrifice once a year at its beginning. Vide also Yāj. I. 125-126.

indebted in three debts, in sacrifice to the gods &c." Sabara on Jaimini V. 4. 16 expressly says that there is no particular time fixed for kindling the sacred fires and that a person may do so the very day on which the pious desire to do so arises in his mind 1612. The Trikandamandana I. refers to the two views that $\bar{a}dh\bar{a}na$ (kindling of śrauta fires) is nitya (obligatory) and the other view (discussed by Baudhāyana) that it is merely $k\bar{a}mya$ (to be performed only if one desires the fulfilment of certain objects). The person who had kindled the sacred fires offered his daily oblations in them. It is clear that even in very ancient times not many kindled the sacred The Grhya and Dharma sūtras often contain rules referring to those who had kindled the sacred fires and to those who had not. For example, the Asv. gr. I. 1. 4 quotes Rg. VIII. 19.5 'the person who lays a fuel stick on fire, or throws an oblation on it or offers it the study of the Veda, or who pays adoration to Agni, (in substance) offers a good sacrifice.' Asv. gr. then quotes a brāhmaņa passage explaining 1612 Rg. VIII. 19.5 in which reliance is also placed on two more Rk verses (viz. Rg. VIII. 24. 20 and VI. 16. 47). The purpose of all this is to show that even the study of the Veda, the performing of namaskāra and offering of a samidh in the fire are equivalent to a real sacrifice. That shows that it was not obligatory on every-body to kindle the three sacred fires. But it must be said that agnihotra was highly thought of in ancient India. Vide Chandogya Up. V. 24. 5 for a verse extolling it.

The three fires (often called Tretā) are the Āhavanīya, Gārhapatya and Dakṣiṇāgni. The Āhavanīya fire-place is a square, Gārhapatya is round (as the earth is round) and Dakṣiṇāgnī is in the form of half the orb of the moon (vide Vṛddha-Gautama p. 604, Jivānanda). In the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras elaborate discussions are held about the kindling of fires (agnyādhāna), about the several sacrifices and the various details connected therewith. It has been decided, in view of the vastness of the subject of śrauta rites and the academic nature for modern times of the treatment of most of those rites, to pass them over

^{1612.} नैवाधाने कश्चित्कालनियमोऽस्ति । यद्हरेवैनं श्रद्धोपनमेत्तदृहराद्धीत इति । ज्ञाबर on अपनयो वाधानस्य सर्वकालत्वात् । जै. V. 4. 16.

^{1613.} यः समिधा य आहुती यो वेदेन द्दाश मर्तो अग्नये। यो नमसा स्वध्वरः॥ तस्येद्वर्वन्तो रहयन्त आशवस्तस्य द्युग्नितमं यशः। न तमंही देवकृतं कुतश्चन न मर्त्यकृत नश्चतः ॥ अर. VIII. 19. 5-6.

in this work and to give in a separate chapter at the end of this volume only some information about the śrauta sacrifices. For about two thousand years hardly any animal or soma sacrifices have been performed (except rarely by kings, nobles and rich people). In medieval times there were many brāhmaṇas who performed the New and Full moon sacrifices, the Āgrayaṇa iṣti and the Cāturmāṣyas. But in modern times even such agnihotrins have become very rare and in certain parts of India one can hardly find a single agnihotrin keeping śrauta fires even among thousands of brāhmaṇas.

Every one who has kindled 1614 the sacred fires has to offer every morning and evening the Agnihotra (oblations of clarified butter) in the śrauta fires. Not only has one who has consecrated the three sacred fires to offer agnihotra everyday. but also every householder has to do so every day twice, in the morning and in the evening. Vide Manu IV. 25, Yaj. I. 99, Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 13. 22 and I. 4. 14. 1. 'For when a man is married, there are daily observances declared for him such as agnihotra, (honouring) guests and such other proper actions' (Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 1). The rules about the proper time of kindling fire and offering oblations and about the material of the oblations are the same for grhya rites as in śrauta agnihotra (Asy, gr. I. 9.4-6). The fire in which these daily offerings are made by one who has not kindled the three srauta fires is called aupāsana, āvasathya, aupasada, vaivābika or (-hana), smārta or grhya or śālāgni. There are various views about the time from which this fire is to be maintained. The view of the vast majority of writers is that the grhya fire is the nuptial fire which is kindled on the day of marriage by the newly married pair. We saw above (pp. 530, 557) that the \bar{A} sv. gr. (I. 8. 5) directs that when the bridgeroom starts after marriage from the bride's house for his own house (whether in the same village or in

^{1614.} अतिहोत्रं च जुहुयादाद्यन्ते शुनिशोः सद्। मनु IV- 25.

^{1615.} यश्मिन्न में पाणि मृह्णीयास्स मृद्धाः । खादिरमृद्धाः I. 5. 1; vide गोमिलमृ. I. 1. 20-21; पाणिम्रहणादिशिम्सनमित्यासनित्याच्यस्ते तस्मिन्नाद्धाणि कर्माण । हिरण्यकेशिमृ. I. 26. 1-2; आवसश्याधानं दारकाले दायाद्यकाल एकेषाम् । पार. मृ. I. 2; उपयमनम्भृत्योपासनस्य परिचरणम् । पार. मृ. I. 9; वैवाहिकेम्रो कुर्वित मृद्धां कर्म यथाविधि । पञ्चयज्ञानिधानं च पक्ति चान्वाहिकीं मृद्धी ॥ मृद्धाः III. 67; vide या I. 97 for the word विवाहाम् । एष औपमदोग्निवीहनो वा। तस्मिन्न पाकयज्ञाः । काठकमृद्धाः 47. 1-2. अपराक्तं मृ. 490 explains औपसद् as मृद्धाम्म. Vide आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 16 (for औपासन). अनाहितामेरिप ज्ञालामें। आश्व. मृ. II. 2. 5. हरद्त्त on गौ. XI. 17 distinguishes जालामि from औपासन and says it has a wider application.

another village) the nuptial fire is continually carried in a vessel (called $ukh\bar{a}$) in front till he reaches his house. Vide also Ap. gr. V. 14-15. The Asv. gr. I, 9. 1-3 says 'beginning from the holding of the hand (i. e. marriage) he should worship the domestic fire himself or his wife, also his son or his daughter or pupil. 1617 The worship of fire should be constantly kept up'. A man's nuptial fire may go out and he may not re-instate it through neglect or other cause or his wife may be dead and he may remain a widower. In such cases he has to offer his daily offerings in the ordinary fire on which he cooks his food (laukika or pacana fire); so that so far five kinds of fires (viz. the three srauta ones, aupasana or grhya and the laukika) are spoken of. There is another fire called 'sabhya' (which is the sixth). According 1618 to Medhātithi on Manu III. 185 the sabhva fire is that which is kept burning in the hall of a rich man for the removal of cold and for the diffusion of warmth. Vide Sat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 12, p. 302 n 1), where the translator says that the sabhya fire was kept only by ksatriyas. The Kātvāyana Śrauta sūtra 1V. 9. 20 prescribes that the sabhya fire also is generated by friction like the Garhapatya fire. An. Śr. sūtra IV. 4. 7 says that the sabhya fire is to be kindled in the hall (of gambling, according to the com.) to the east of the place of the ahavaniya fire. The Smrtyarthasara (p. 14) 1610 says that a householder should maintain six fires, five, four. three, two or one, but should never remain without fire. When he keeps the treta, aupasana, sabhya and ordinary fire he will have six; when he maintains the tretā, aupāsana and sabhya he is called pañcāgni, who is among the brahmanas that are panktipāvanas (i. e. that sanctify the company at dinner). Vide Gaut. 15, 29, Ap. Dh. S. II. 7, 17, 22, Vas. Dh. S. III. 19. Manu III. 185, Yāj. I. 221. He who maintains tretā and aupāsana will have only four, he who maintains only tretā

^{1616.} विवाहाग्रिमग्रतोऽज्ञसं वयन्ति । आश्व मृ. I. S. 5; समार्व्यतमश्चिमग्रहरान्ति । नित्यो धार्य: । आप. मृ. V. 14-15.

^{1617.} पाणिग्रहणाद्धि गृद्धां परिचरेत्स्वयं परन्याप वा प्रत्रः क्रुष्टार्यन्तेवासी वा । नित्या-चुगृहीतं स्यात् । आश्व. मृ. I. 9. 1-2.

^{1618.} सम्यो नाम यो महासाधनस्य श्रीतापनोदार्थनेव बहुषु देशेषु व्यवाहियते। मेधाः on मन III. 175; बुद्धगीतम 15th chap. p. 604 (Jivananda part 2) defines as 'आवसथ्यं तु ये चाझि पचनाझि पचदाते । तेषां सभागतो वाह्नः सम्य इत्यमिधीयते। अग्रेणाहवनीयं सभायां सम्यः । आप. श्रो. 1V. 4. 7.

^{1619.} गृहस्थस्तु षडग्निः स्यात्पञ्चाग्निश्चतुरग्निकः । स्यान् हिञ्यग्निरथैकाग्निर्नाग्निहीन कर्थचन ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 14.

will have three, he who maintains aupāsana and the ordinary fire will have two and one may only maintain the ordinary fire. The rites prescribed in 1620 the grhyasātra of a person's śākhā were to be performed in the aupāsana; other rites prescribed in the smrtis were to be performed in the ordinary fire. But if one has no fire other than the ordinary one, every rite has to performed in it. The under-lying idea of this emphasis on the worship of Agni seems to be that the oblations thrown into the fire reach the sun, that sends rain, from which springs corn, that is the sustenance of all beings. Vide Manu III. 76 (= Śāntiparva 264. 11) and Sm. C. I. p. 155, Par. M. I, part I, p. 130 for the eulogy of agnihotra.

There were other views about the time from which one was to begin keeping one's grhya fire. Gaut. V. 6, Yāj. I. 97, Pār. gr. I. 2 and others refer to an optional course viz. setting up the grhya fire at the time when one separates from other members of the family. The Śān. gr. I. 1. 2-5 refers to four alternatives in all (including the two already referred to): the other two are: When 1621 a pupil is about to return from his teacher's home, he may keep as his grhya fire that fire on which he puts the last samidh; or a person may, if he is the eldest son, keep the fire of his father on the latter's death or of his eldest brother on the latter's death (if there is no division and the family continues joint). Baud. gr. II. 6. 17 says 1622 that the grhya fire for a person is one by which his upanayana is performed, that from upanayana to samāvartana the homa is performed only by uttering the vyāhrtis and with fuel sticks, from samāvartana to marriage with vyāhrtis and clarified butter, and from marriage onwards with offerings of boiled rice or barley.

- 1620. गार्ह्यमोपासने क्रुर्यात्सर्वाधानी तु लौकिके। रमार्ते च लौकिके कार्य श्रौतं वैता-निकाग्निषु ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 14; अनाहितावसथ्याग्निरावायां घृत्रुतम्। शाकलेन विधानेन जुहुयालोकिकेऽनले॥ वेद्वव्यासस्मृति III. 31–32
- 1621. भार्यादिरग्निर्दायादिवां। गाँ. V. 6. अभिसमावर्त्स्यमानो यत्रान्त्यां समि-धमभ्याद्ध्य।त्तमग्निमिन्धीत। वैवाह्यं चा। दायाद्यकाल एके। मेते वा गृहपतौ स्वयं ज्यायात्। ज्ञां. गृ. 1. 1. 2-5; compare गोभिलगृ. I. 1. 12.
- 1622. यहिमज्ञानुपनयति तस्मिन् ब्रह्मचर्य तस्मिन्वतचर्य तस्मिन् समावर्तनं तस्मिन् पाणिग्रहणं तस्मिन् गृह्याणि कर्माणि क्रियन्ते । स एष उपनयनप्रभृति व्याह्वातिभिः समिन्द्रिः सूर्यतः आ समावर्तनात् । समावर्तनप्रभृत्याज्येन व्याह्वतिभिद्धेयते आ पाणिग्रहणात् । पाणिग्रहणप्रभृति व्याहिभिर्या यवैर्षा हस्तैनेते आहुती जुहोति अग्नये स्वाहा प्रजापतये स्वाहा हित सायस् । सूर्याय् स्वाहा प्रजापतये स्वाहेति प्रातर्ण । बौ. गृ. II. 6. 17, 19–21; अग्नये स्वाहति सायस् । ज्ञास्तर्थाय स्वाहति प्रातस्तुष्णीं द्वितीये उभयत्र । आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 8.

The deities to whom agnihotra is offered in the morning and evening are Agni and Prajāpati (to the latter inaudibly). According to some in the morning the sun takes the place of Agni (vide Baud. gr. II. 7. 21 quoted in n. 1622 Hir. gr. I. 26. 9. Bhār. gr. III. 3, Āp. gr. VII. 21).

The oblations are to be made in the morning and evening of cooked food, but only such corn as is fit to be offered to fire as havis is to be used (Asv. gr. I. 2. 1). It is either boiled rice or barley (Ap. gr. VII. 19). Gobbila-smrti (I. 131 and III. 114) says 1624 that among havisyas the foremost are yavas (barley), then comes rice, but one should eschew māsa, kodrava and gaura among corns even if nothing else is that if rice and barley are not available one may employ curds or milk or in their absence, yavāgū (gruel) or water. According to a verse quoted by Nārāyana on Āsv. gr. I. 9. 6 ten materials can be offered as havis into fire viz. milk, curds, yavāgū, clarified butter, boiled rice, husked rice, soma, flesh, sesame oil and water. 1625 Manu III, 257 specifies some articles as naturally fit for being employed as havis. Vide also Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 12-14. Though flesh is allowed as offering in some sacrifices it cannot be employed in the morning and evening homa (vide Asv. gr. I. 9.6). The general rule is that when no particular material is specified for homa into fire, clarified butter is to be used as offering, and when no particular deity is mentioned, then the deity is to be Prajāpati 1626. There is another rule that fluid materials are to be offered into fire with the sruva ladle, while solid havis is to be offered with the right hand1627.

¹⁶²³. अध सायं प्रातः सिद्धस्य हिवष्यस्य जुहुयात्। आश्व. गृ. I. 2. 1 ; सायं प्रातस्त ऊर्ध्वं हस्तैनेते आहुती तण्डुलैर्यवेर्वा जुहुयात्। आप. गृ. VII. 19.

^{1624.} हविष्येषु यवा मुख्यास्तद्दु बीह्यः स्मृताः। माषकोद्दवगौराद् सर्वाटाभै विवर्जयेत् ॥ अभावे बीहियवयोद्देष्ना वा पयसापि वा। तद्भावे यवाग्वा वा जुहुयादुद्केन वा।। गोभिलस्मृति I. 131 and III. 114; the first is quoted by अपरार्क p. 142 and the 2nd by स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 163.

^{1625.} पयो द्धि यवागृश्च सर्पिरोद्नतरण्डुलाः । सोमो मांसं तथा तैलमापस्तानि दृशे-व तु ॥ quoted by नारायण on आश्व. मृ. I. 9. 6 and by नित्याचारपद्धति p. 320; vide समृत्यर्थसार p. 35 for a similar verse.

^{1626.} आज्यं हव्यमनादेशे जुहोतिषु विधीयते। तन्त्रश्च (?) देवतायाश्च प्रजापतिरिति स्थितिः॥ गोभिल I. 113.

^{1627.} द्रव्यं सुवेण होतव्यं पाणिना कठिनं हविः। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35. ओषध्यः सक्तवः पुष्पं काष्टं मूलं फलं तृणम् । एतद्धस्तेन होतव्यं नान्यिक्किचिद्चोदनात्। बौ. मृ. शेषस्त्र I. 3. 8.

The Gobhila gr. (I. 1.15-19) lays down that 'one is to kindle one's grhya fire (originally or if it goes out) by bringing it from the house of a vaisya or from a frying pan or he may bring it from the house of a person who performs many sacrifices, whether he be a brāhmaṇa or rājanya or vaisya or one may produce it by attrition; this last is holy, but does not bring prosperity. One may do as one likes 1623. There are similar provisions in Śān. gr. I. 1. 8, Pār. gr. I. 2, Āp. gr. V. 16-17. If the grhya fire goes out, the husband or the wife has to observe a fast that day as a penance (Āp. gr. V. 19).

The fire in which oblations are to be offered must be fed by plenty of dry wood, must be well kindled and smokeless, the cinders must be red-hot and it must be flaming up 1629. The Chān, Up. V. 24, 1 indicates that oblations were to be offered only on red hot coals. The Mundaka Up. I. 2. 2 says the same. Ap. Dh. S. (I. 5, 15, 18-21), Manu IV. 53 and others lay down that one should not come very near fire when one is not pure, one should not blow on fire with the mouth (to kindle it). nor should one place it under a cot &c., one should not throw anything impure in fire, nor should one warm one's feet over it, nor should one place it towards one's feet (when one is sleeping). Gobhilasmrti I. 135-136 says that one should not blow on fire with the hand or a winnowing basket or a darvi (ladle), but one may use a fan: some blow on fire with the mouth because fire was produced from the mouth and construe the words (of Manu IV. 53) 'one should not blow on fire with the mouth' as applicable to ordinary fire (i.e. one may blow with the mouth on śrauta fires 1630).

^{1628.} वैद्यकुलाद्वाम्बरीषाद्वाशिमाहृत्याभ्याद्ध्यात्। अपि वा बहुयाजिन एवागाराद्द् ब्राह्मणस्य वा राजन्यस्य वा वैद्यस्य वा। अपि वान्यं मिथित्वाभ्याद्ध्यात्। पुण्यस्तेवानर्धुको भवतीति। यथा कामयेत तथा कुर्यात्। गोभिलगृद्ध I.1.15-19; काठकसंहिता VIII.12 has 'यो ब्राह्मणो वा वैद्यो वा पुष्टोऽसुर इव स्थात्तस्य गृहाद्वादरेचैव सा पुष्टिर्यद्धं तद्वरुष्धे .

^{1629.} बहुकुष्केन्धने वाग्नी सुसमिद्धे विधूमके। साङ्गारे लेलिहाने च होतच्यं नान्यथा क्रिच्त ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35; vide स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 163 for similar quotations from several smitis and vide गोभिलस्मृति I. 133–134.

^{1630.} The पुरुषस्क (Rg. X. 90. 13) says 'सुखादिन्दश्चाग्निश्च पाणाद्वायुर-जायत . The गृह्यसंग्रहपरिशिष्ट (Z. D. M. G. vol. 35 p. 541) I. 70 requires that the blowing should be with the mouth 'सुखेनोपधमेदार्ग्न सुखाद्वचेषोऽ-ध्यजायत and not with a piece of cloth nor with the hand nor with a winnowing basket. Vide हरदत्त on आप. ध. सु. I. 5. 15. 20 for several explanations about blowing with the mouth on fire.

The daily home must be offered by the man himself and Daksa says that the merit secured by performing home by oneself cannot be secured by getting it performed through another, but he adds that home performed on one's behalf by a priest, by one's son, teacher, brother, sister's son, or son-in-law is equivalent to homa made by oneself. 1631 We saw above (n. 1617) that the Asv. gr. (I.9.1) allows the wife, a son, an unmarried daughter or a pupil of the householder to attend to the worship of the house. holder's grhya fire. Sān. gr. II. 17. 3 is to the same effect. The Smrtyarthasāra (p. 34) adds that the wife and the daughter should perform all the acts in home except paryuksana. Ap. Dh. S. II. 6, 15, 15-16 1632 and Manu XI, 36-37 lay down that the with, an unmarried daughter, a young married daughter, one who has studied little, a stupid person, a diseased person or one whose upanayana has not been performed should not offer agnihotra (on behalf of the householder); if they do so, they and he both fall into hell; therefore the person to offer agnihotra for another should be one proficient in srauta sacrifices and master of the Vedas. These passages have been explained by the Sm. C. (I. p. 161) and other writers as applicable to the performance of srauta sacrifices only; while as regards the daily homa in the grhya fire the wife and others specified by \bar{A} sv. are held to be competent if the sacrificer is ill or has gone abroad. Haradatta (on Asv. gr. I. 9, 1-2) says that either the husband or the wife must always be near the grhya fire, 1633 Laghu-Asvalayana (I. 69) says that one who has kindled the grhya fire should not leave the boundary of his village without his wife, as the texts lay down that home is to be performed in the place where the wife stays. A brāhmaņa 1634 may go abroad on business, leaving his fire in charge of his wife and after appointing a priest; but he should not stay away long without cause. A priest should not offer home on behalf of a householder, when both the spouses are absent, because such homa by him in the

^{1631.} स्वयं होमे फलं यत्स्यास तद्म्येन जायते । ऋत्विक् पुत्री ग्रुक्शांता भागिनेयोऽथ विद्वपतिः । एंभिरेव हुतं यत्तु तद्भुतं स्वयमेव तु ॥ दक्ष II. 28-29, quoted by अपरार्क p. 125.

¹⁶³². पर्श्वक्षणवर्ज परनी जुहुयात्कुमारी च । स्मृत्यर्थसार $p.\ 34$. न स्त्री जुहुयात् । माजुपेतः । आप. ध. स्. $II.\ 6.\ 15.\ 15-16$.

^{1633.} अन्यतरोषश्यमिश्चसमीपे तिष्ठेत्। नोभौ सह प्रवसेतामित्यर्थः। हरद्त्त on आन्य. गृ. I. 9. 1-2.

^{1634.} निक्षित्याप्तिं स्वदारेषु परिकल्प्यार्त्वजं तथा। प्रवसेत्कार्यवान् विश्रो वृध्येय न चिर्रे विसेत् ॥ quoted in the स्मृतिच I. p. 161.

absence of both is useless. 1635 If an householder has several wives of the same caste or wives of different castes, the texts lay down who is to be associated with him in religious rites-These rules have already been set out above (pp. 559-50). When a householder's wife dies he should not give up his Vedic fires, but that (i. e. the Agnihotra) should be performed till one's life by means of an upādhi (i. e. by marrying another savarņa wife or by associating with himself an asavarna wife)' says Gobhila smrti¹⁶³⁶ III. 9. Gobhila then refers to the story of Rāma, who performed sacrifices with a golden image of his discarded wife Sitā kept by his side. In spite of Gobhila's dictum, allowing a golden image or a kusa representative of an absent or dead wife, Apararka condemns the practice as opposed to the rule laid down by Satyāsādha in his śrauta. sūtra 'there 1637 is no pratinidhi (representative or substitute) in the case of the owner (i. e. yajamāna), the wife, the son, the (proper) place and time (for an act), fire, the deity (to be invoked), of a rite and of a text (directed to be employed in a rite).' His argument is that the wife's co-operation is required in such actions as looking at the clarified butter, in unhusking grains &c. and as an image of kuśa or gold cannot perform these acts, the image cannot be employed in place of the wife. The Sm. C. replies to this argument by saying that the words of Satyāsādha have reference only to a human substitute for a wife and that other smrtis allow a substitute made of gold or kuśa. For example, Vrddha-Hārīta 1638 expressly prescribes that a man may perform agnihotra and the offering of the five daily sacrifices throughout his life in the company of his wife's image made of kuśa grass (if the wife be dead &c.). If a person loses his wife or if he goes abroad or

1635. असमक्षं तु दम्पत्योहाँतस्यं नर्त्विगादिना । द्वयोरप्यसमक्षं तु भवेद्भृतमनर्थ-कम् ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 1, quoted in स्मृतिच् । p. 161.

1636. सुतायामि भार्यायां वैद्विकामिं न हि त्यजेत्। उपाधिनापि तत्कर्म यावज्जीवं समापयेत् ॥ रामोपि कृत्वा सौवणीं सीतां पत्नीं यशस्विनीम्। ईजे यज्ञैवेहुविधेः सह भ्रातुमिर-चितेः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 9-10. These are explained at length by अपरार्क pp. 114-15 and the स्मृतिचन्दिका I. p. 167.

1637. न स्वामित्वस्य भार्यायाः पुत्रस्य देशस्य कालस्याग्नेर्वेवतायाः कर्मणः शब्दस्य च प्रतिनिधिर्विद्यते । सत्याषाष्टश्रीत III. 1.; compare 'स्वामिनोग्नेर्वेवतायाः शब्दा-स्कर्मणः प्रतिवेधाच प्रतिनिधिर्निवृत्तः 'आप. श्री. 24. 4. 1; द्वीमिन VI. 3. 18-21.

1638. कुत्वा कुशमर्थी पत्नी यावजीवमतिन्द्रतः। जुहुयाद्शिहोत्रं तु पञ्चयङ्गादिकं क्षणा । बृद्धहारीत XI. 214.

becomes patita his agnihotra may be continued by his son ¹⁶³⁹ (Atri, verse 103). The Ait. Br. (32.8) also says that even one who has lost his wife (or who has no wife) should perform agnihotra, as the Veda orders a man to offer sacrifice. ¹⁶⁴⁰

Not kindling Vedic fires when one was competent to do so and giving up śrauta and smārta fires were looked upon as upapātakas by Yāj. III. 234, 239, Visnu Dh. S. 37, 28 and 54, 13. The Vas. Dh. S. III. 1 says 1641 that those who do not study or teach the Veda or who do not maintain the sacred fires become equal to śūdras. Gārgya as quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 156) avers that if a dvija remains after marriage without fires even for a moment (when he has the power and authority to maintain them) he becomes a vratya and patita. The Mundaka Up. I. 2. 3 declares that if a person fails to perform the Darśa-Pürnamāsa and other sacrifices and Vaiśvadeva, his seven holy worlds are destroyed. The Tai, S. I. 5. 2. 1 and the Kāthaka S. IX. 2, declare 'He who makes the (sacred) fires go out (be extinguished) is indeed a killer of a hero in the eyes of the gods and brāhmanas who are anxiously devoted to rta (righteousness or correct order) did not formerly eat food at his house'.

The texts (such as Yāj. I. 99) prescribe japa (muttering of Gāyatrī and other holy Vedic mantras) as part of samdhyā adoration. This has been already referred to above (p. 313). Yāj. I. 99 speaks of japa (of verses addressed to the Sun) after morning homa and then in I. 101 again prescribes japa after the midday bath of philosophical texts (like the Upaniṣads, as stated in Gaut. 19. 12 and Vas. Dh. S. 22. 9). Vas. Dh. S. 28. 10-15 are verses which mention several hymns principally of the Rgveda, by reciting which (inaudibly) several times a man becomes pure. These verses occur in Śańkhasmṛti chap. XI (with some variations) and in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 56 (in prose). Some

^{1639.} भार्यामरणपक्षे वा देशान्तरगतेपि वा । अधिकारी भवेत्युत्रस्तथा पातकसंयुते ॥ अति 108.

^{1640.} तस्माद्पत्नीकोपि अग्निहोत्रमाहरेत् । तदेषाभियज्ञगाथा गीयते । यजेश्सौत्राम-ष्यामपरनीकोप्यसोमपः । मातापितुम्यामन्द्रणार्थाद्यजेति वचनाच्छ्रुतिः ॥ ऐ. जा. 32. 8.

^{1641.} अश्रोतिया अनन्तवाक्या अनग्नयो वा शूद्धसधर्माणो भवन्ति। वसिष्ठ III. 1; कृतदारो न वे तिष्ठेत्क्षणमध्यग्निना विना। तिष्ठेत चेद् द्विजो झात्यस्तथा च पतितो भवेत्॥ गार्ग्य quoted by स्मृतिचः I. p. 156; बीरहा वा एष देवानां योशिसुद्धासयते । न वा एतस्य ब्राह्मणा ऋतायवः पुराक्षमक्षत् । ते. सं. I. 5. 2.; काठकसंहिता IX. 2 (reads the words as वीरहा सुरक्षाद्यते).

of these Vedic texts are well known, such as Aghamarsana (Rg. X. 190. 1-3), Pāvamāni verses (Rg. IX), Satarudriya (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11), Trisuparna (Tai. Ar. X. 48-50) &c. Manu II. 87, Vas. 26. 11, Sankhasmrti XII. 28, Vișnu Dh. S. 55. 21 say that a brahmana attains the highest perfection by japa alone, even if he does not do anything else. Gobhila smrti II. 17 says that one should inaudibly repeat as much of the Veda from the beginning as one can and that japa may be performed before tarpana or after the morning homa or at the end of vaiśvadeva and that it constitutes brahmayajña (II. 28-29). Visnu Dh. S. (64. 36-39) avers that japa should comprise sacred hymns, particularly the Gayatri and Purusasūkta, as nothing else is superior to these. 1642 Japa is of three kinds, $v\bar{a}cika$ (audibly uttered), $up\bar{a}m\dot{s}u$ (inaudibly uttered) and mānasa (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior to each preceding one (Laghu-Hārīta 1643 chap. IV, p. 186, Jivānanda I). Vide Manu II, 85 (= Vas. 26, 9, Śankha XII. 29). Japa is one of the removers of sin (Gaut. 19. 11). Japa is to be performed sitting on a seat of kuśa grass, either in the house, or on a river bank, or in a cowpen, or in a fire room or at tirthas or before images of gods or before an image of Visnu, each succeeding place being many times superior to each preceding one.1644 One is not to speak while engaged in japa. A brahmacārī or a householder who has consecrated sacred fires should mutter the Gävatri 108 times, while a vanaprastha and vati should repeat it more than 1000 times. Vide Manu II. 101 also about the extent of the time to be devoted to japa. When in the middle ages Vedic learning declined and Puranas came to the fore, the writers of the digests stated that one who has studied the whole Veda should repeat daily from the beginning of the Veda as much as he could; if one has studied only a portion of the Veda. then one should recite in his japa the Purusasukta (Rg. X. 90) and similar hymns and a brāhmaņa who knows only the

^{1642.} स्नातश्च पवित्राणि यथाशक्ति जपेत् । विशेषतस्तु सावित्रीमवश्यं जपेत्युरुषस्रक्तं स । नैतास्यामधिकमस्ति । विष्णुधर्मस्त्र व 64. 36–39.

^{1643.} The verses of Laghu-Harita about three kinds of japa are quoted in the Smiticandrika I. p. 149 from Nisimhapurana (chap. 58. 78-81).

^{1644.} Vide समृतिच॰ I. p. 150 मृह. र. p. 241 quoting the verses मुहे स्वेक्ग्रणं जट्ये &c.

Gāyatrī should repeat the texts of the purānas. 1645 Vrddha-Hārīta (VI. 33, 45, 163, 213) prescribes that the mantra of 6 letters (om namo Visnave), eight letters (om namo Vāsudevāya) or of twelve letters (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) should be repeated 1008 or 108 times. The counting of the mantra as repeated so many times has to be done by means of one's fingers (except the thumb) or by drawing lines (on the ground or walls &c.), or by telling the beads of a rosary, as japa without counting the number is fruitless 1646. Sankha-smrti (chap. XII. in prose) lays down that the rosary should have beads of gold or precious stones or pearls or crystal or rudrāksa, padmāksa (lotus seed) or putrajīvaka or a man may count by knots of kusa grass or by bending the fingers of the left hand. 1647 ·Brhat-Parāsara V. p. 85 and Laghu-Vyāsa (Jivānanda part II. p. 375) contain similar provisions about aksamālā and counting of japa. They add 'indraksa' to the different kinds of beads. The rosary should have 108 beads (this is the best) or 54 (middling) or 27 (this is the lowest number of beads in a rosary). 1648 Kālidāsa (in his Raghuvamsa XI. 66) mentions that the hero Parasurāma had on his right ear a rosary of aksa seeds. Bāna (Kādambarī para 37) speaks of counting by means of rings of rudrāksas. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 152-153, Par. M. I. part I, pp. 308-311, Madanapārijāta p. 80. Āhnikaprakāśa pp. 326-328 for further details about the resarv.

After home and japa one may spend some time in attending to or looking at auspicious things, such as seeing one's elders, looking at a mirror or in clarified butter, arranging and decorating his hair, applying collyrium to the eye, touching

1645. अत्र च समस्तवेदाध्ययनवता आदाघारम्य वेद्पाठेन स्वाध्यायः करणीयः। एकद्काध्यायिना पुरुषसूक्तादिपाठेन सावित्रीमात्राध्यायिना पुराणपाठेनेति व्यवस्थेति पारिजातः। गृहः र. p. 249.

1646. असंख्यातं त यज्ञातं सर्वे तिम्निष्फलं भवेत्। अङ्गिरस् quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकरः p. 64; बृहत्पराशर p. 85 'असंख्यमासुरं यस्मात्तस्मात्तदृणयेद्धुवस्।

1647. कुशक्रयमासीनः कुशोत्तरीयवान् कुशपवित्रपाणिः पाद्धुत्वः सूर्याभिसुखो वाऽश्रमालासुपादाय देवताध्यायी जपं कुर्यात् । सुवर्णमणिसुक्ता-स्कटिक-पद्माक्ष-रुद्राक्ष-पुत्रजीवकानामन्यतमेनादाय मालां कुर्यात् । कुश्चान्धि कृत्वा वामहस्तोपयामैर्वा गणयेत् । क्ष्युस्तृति XII. 4-6 quoted by अपरार्क p. 47, स्मृतिच॰ I. 148, परा. मा. I. part 1, p. 303, आद्विकप्रकाश p. 312.

1648. अष्टोत्तरशतां कुर्याञ्चतःपञ्चाशिकां तथा । सप्तिविश्वतिका कार्या ततो नैवाधमा हि सा ॥ ब्रह्मा quoted in स्मृतिच॰ 1. p. 153, परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 309: (ascribed to प्रजापति).

dūrvā1649 &c. Vide Manu IV. 152 quoted above (p. 646). What objects a man should see on getting up has already been stated (p. 648). According to Nārada (prakīrnaka vv. 54-55) there are eight mangala objects viz. a brāhmana, a cow, fire, gold, clarified butter, the sun, water and the king and if one sees, bows to or circumambulates these, one's life is lengthened. 1650 Vāmana-purāņa (14. 35-37) mentions numerous objects that are auspicious and that one should touch or see before going out. 1651 The Matsyapurāna 243 enumerates in 26 verses numerous auspicious and inauspicious objects (these are quoted in Gr. R. pp. 553-554). Vispu Dh. S. 23. 58 enumerates six objects derived from the cow as auspicious. Vide Adiparva 29. 34. Dronaparva 127. 14 (for touching eight mangalus), Santi 40.7, Anusasana 126.18 and 131.8. According to the Visnu Dh. S. 63. 26 one should start on a journey after seeing such objects as fire, a brāhmaņa, hetaera, a jar full of water, a mirror, a banner, a parasol, palaces, fans, chowries &c. Visnu Dh. S. 63. 27-31 states that when, on leaving one's house, one sees certain persons or objects one should return to the house and then restart viz. a drunkard, a lunatic, a cripple, one who has vomited or has undergone a purge, one who is completely shaved, one with dirty clothes, one having matted hair, a dwarf, one wearing orange-coloured clothes, an ascetic &c.

The performance of the duties of sauca, dantadhāvana, snāna, sandhyā, homa, japa would occupy the first of the eight parts of the day. In the second ¹⁶⁵⁸ part of the day a brāhmaṇa householder was to go over and to revise his Vedic studies and to collect fuel sticks, flowers, kuśa &c. (Dakṣa II. 33, 35, Yāj. I. 99). This subject of Veda study has already been dealt with above (pp. 351-354). In the third part of the day the

^{1649.} देवकार्य ततः कृत्वा ग्रुमङ्गलविक्षणम् । दक्ष 11.30; आचान्तश्च पुमान्कुर्यान्ततः केशप्रसाधनम् । आदृशीक्षनमङ्गलयदूर्वाद्यालम्भनानि च ॥ विष्णुपुराण quoted in गृह. र. p. 183.

^{1650.} लोकेऽस्मिन्मङ्गलान्यष्टौ बाह्मणो गौर्हुताज्ञनः। हिरण्यं सर्पिरादित्य आपो राजा तथाष्टमः॥ नारद (प्रकीर्णक 54) quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 168.

^{1651.} होमं च कृत्वालभनं शुभानां ततो बहिनिर्गमनं प्रशस्तम्। दूर्वी च सर्पिर्द्धि सोद्छुम्भं धेत्तं सवत्सामृष्मं सुवर्णम्। मृद्गोमयं स्वस्तिकमक्षताश्च लाजा मधु ब्राह्मणकन्य-काश्च। श्वेतानि पुष्पाणि तथा शमीं च हुताशनं चन्द्रनमकिबिम्बम्। अश्वत्थवृक्षं च समालभेत ततश्च कुर्याक्षिजजातिधर्मान्। वामनपुराण 14. 35-36 quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 168, गृह. र. p. 167.

^{1652.} द्वितीये च तथा भागे वेदाभ्यासो विधीयते । ... समित्युष्पकुशादीनां स कालः परिकीर्तितः । दक्ष II. 33 and 35 ; वेदार्थानधिगच्छेच शास्त्राणि विविधानि च । या. I.99.

householder was to work and find out the means of maintaining those dependent on him (Dakṣa II. 35). The different ways of maintaining oneself in the case of brāhmaṇas have already been spoken of above (pp. 105-134). Gaut. IX. 63, Yāj. I. 100, Manu IV. 33, Viṣṇu 63. 1 and others say that a brāhmaṇa householder should approach a king or other rich person for the wherewithal to maintain his family. The persons whom every one must maintain have already been pointed out on p. 569 (Dakṣa II. 36) In the case of the well-to-do, there are other persons who should be maintained viz. agnates and cognates, one who is without means, helpless or has taken shelter 1653. In this world only that man may be said to live on whom many depend for their livelihood; other men who only fill their own belly are really dead, though living (Dakṣa II. 40).

In the fourth part ¹⁶⁵⁴ of the day (i. e. before noon) one was to have the mid-day bath (with tarpaṇa) and then the mid-day samdhyā prayer and devapūjā &c. (Dakṣa II. 43 and Yāj. I. 100). Those who bathe twice (in the morning and at noon) will strictly follow the routine sketched above in Dakṣa, Yāj. and others. But most of the brāhmaṇas bathe only once either in the morning or before noon. The principal matters to be described in connection with the bath before noon are tarpaṇa of gods, sages and pitṛs; devapūjā and the five daily yajāas. These will now be described in detail.

Tarpana—(satiating by offering water). As stated in Manu II. 176, every day one has to perform tarpana of gods, sages and pitrs. The water to be offered to gods is poured by that part of the right hand which is called devatīrtha and that for the pitrs by the pitr-tīrtha. A person was to perform tarpana according to the grhyasūtra of the Vedic śākhā which he or his ancestors studied. There is a good deal of divergence among the several grhyasūtras. Here the procedure of tarpana prescribed

1653. ज्ञातिर्वन्धुजनः क्षीणस्तथानाथः समाश्रितः। अन्योपि धनयुक्तस्य पोष्यवर्ग उदाहतः॥ दक्ष II. 36-37.

1654. चतुर्थेद्वस्तथा भागे स्नानार्थे मृद्यमाहरेत्। तिलपुष्पकु झादींश्व स्नायाञ्चाकु श्रिमे जले। दक्ष II. 43 (quoted by अपरार्क p. 128); स्नात्वा देवान्पितृंश्वेव तर्पयेद्चिये-सथा॥ या. I. 100, on which the Mit. remarks ततो मध्याद्वे शास्त्रोक्तविधिना नद्यादिपु स्नात्वा देवान् स्वगृद्धोक्तान् पितृंश्व चकारादृषींश्व देवादितीर्थेन तर्पयेत्। तद्यन्तरं गन्धपुष्पक्षित्रहेरिहरहरण्यगर्भपभृतीनामन्यतमं यथावास नमूण्यज्ञःसाममन्त्रेस्तत्यकाशकैः स्वन्नामभिर्वा चतुर्थनेतर्निमस्नार्युक्तेराराधयेद्यथोक्तविधिनाः

by the Asv. gr. (III. 4.1-5) will be first set out. In the Devatātarpana the following deities are enumerated and one has to add the words 'trpyatu', 'trpyetam', or 'trpyantu' with each devatā according as it is one deity, two deities or more and offer water to each (e. g. 'Prajapatis-trpyatu, Brahmā trpyatu, Dyāvāprthivī trpyetām ' &c.). The deities are 31 viz. Prajāpati, Brahmā, Vedas, devas, rsis, all metres, omkāra, vasatkāra, vyāhrtis, the Gāyatri, sacrifices (yajñas), heaven and earth, the air (antariksa), days and nights, the Sankhyas, siddhas, oceans, the rivers, the mountains, the fields, herbs. trees, Gandharvas and Apsarases, snakes, birds, cows, sādhyas, vipras, yaksas, the raksases, the bhūtas (beings) that have these (raksas) at the end. In modern times the fields, herbs, trees. Gandharvas and Apsarases are put in one compound wordand form only one devata, while after bhūtas there is a separate deity 'evam-antāni trpyantu'. Haradatta on Āśv. gr. III. 3. 2 refers to the view of some that take 'evam-antani' as a separate mantra but his opinion was that the phrase 'evam-antani' only described the preceding devatās and that the devatās stopped at 'raksāmsi'. He further adds that the tarpana to these was done by the prajapatya tirtha (of the hand).

The sages to whom water is offered are divided into two groups. The first group contains twelve sages and when offering water to these the sacred thread is worn in the nivita form. The twelve sages are those of the hundred rks, the middle rsis (i. e. of mandalas 2 to 9 of the Rgveda), Grtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, Vasistha, Pragāthas, the Pāvamānī hymns, sages of the short hymns and those of the long hymns (the tarpana formula will be 'satarcinas-trpyantu. mādhyamās-trpyantu, Grtsamadas-trpyantu &c.). It will be noticed that the sages from Grtsamada to Vasistha are the seers of mandalas 2 to 7 of the Rgveda. The Pragathas stand for the eighth mandala of which the first hymn is ascribed in the Anukramani to Pragatha of the Kanva got a and the rest of the eighth mandala is ascribed to various scions of the Kanya gotra. The verses of the ninth mandala are called Pavamanyah; but as it is a tarpana of sages, we rather expect the form payamānāh as in the Śānkhyāyana grhya IV. 10. 'Satarcinah' refers to the sages of the first mandala, and 'ksudrasūktāh' and 'mahāsūktāh' to sages of the tenth mandala. Water is offered to these sages by the daiva tirtha. Then there is a second group of sages to whom water is offered by a person who wears his sacred

thread in the pracinavita form (i. e. it is suspended over the right shoulder and under the left arm). There are two sub-groups here. In the first the verbal forms 'trpyantu' or 'trpyatu' are used with the nominative of the words for the sage; i. e. 'Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaisampāyana-Paila-sūtra-bhāsya-Bhārata-Mahābhārata-Dharmācāryās trpyantu';1655 ' Jānanti-Bāhavi-Gārgya-Gautama-Śākalya-Bābhravya-Māndavya-Māndūkeyās trpyantu'; 'Gärgi-Vācaknavi trpyatu, Vadavā-Prātitheyi trpyatu, Sulabhā-Maitrevi trpyatu'. These together are five sentences. It is remarkable that in this list three women are mentioned as sages (Gārgi, Vadavā and Sulabhā). Among the other sages the first four are frequently mentioned in the Mahäbhārata as the pupils of Vyasa who taught them the Vedas (vide Sabhāparva 4. 11 and Śānti 328. 26-27 where all four are named). For chronological purposes it is important to note that the Asv. gr. knew teachers of sūtras, bhāsyas, of the Bhārata and also the Mahābhārata and of Dharma. In the second sub-group there are 17 single sages and the 18th is a miscellaneous offering to all other ācāryas. The names of the 17 sages occur in the accusative and after each the word 'tarpayāmi' is to be uttered (i. e. Kaholam tarpayāmi, Kausītakam tarpayāmi..... Āśvalāyanam tarpayāmi). These 17 sages are: Kahola, Kausitaka, Mahakausitaka, Paingya, Mahapaingya, Suvajña, Sānkhyāyana, Aitareya, Mahaitareya, Sākala, Bāskala, Sujātavaktra, Audavāhi, Mahaudavāhi, Saujāmi, Saunaka, Āśvalāyana. The 18th is 'may all the other ācāryas be satiated' (ye canye acaryas-te sarve trpyantu). All these sages are connected with the Rgveda, its Brahmanas, its Aranyakas and other related works like the Prātiśākhya sūtra (of which Saunaka is said to be the author). It is interesting to note that Aśvalāyana himself is named as the last teacher in tarpaņa. Saunaka is said to be the teacher of Asvalayana. 1656 In modern times in the Deccan water is offered twice to each sage or group of sages.

Asv. gr. III. 4.5 is very brief as to pitrtarpana after satiating the pitrs with water, each generation separately, he returns to his house and whatever he gives then becomes the fee (of the

¹⁶⁵⁵ The Santiparva (350. 11-12) shows that Sumantu, Jaimini, Vai-sampāyana and Paila were along with Suka, the son of Vyāsa, the pupils of Vyāsa.

^{1656.} Vide Introduction to Asvalāyana grhya in S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 153 ff.

Brahmayajña of which tarpana is a constituent part). In modern times the deceased ancestors and relatives to whom water is offered are stated below. Water is offered to each thrice (except to women ancestors other than the mother, grand-mother and the great-grandmother) by the pitr-tirtha and the relationship, the gotra and the name of each are recited when doing so. For example, water is offered to the deceased father in the form, 'I offer swadha and bow to and satiate my father, so and so by name, whose gotra was so and so and who has attained the form of Vasu' (asmatpitaram amukasarmanam amuka-gotram vasurūpam svadhānamas tarpayāmi). The ancestors and relatives to whom water is offered, if they are dead, are in order:-father, paternal grandfather and great-grandfather; mother, paternal grand-mother and great-grandmother; stepmother; maternal grand-father (with maternal grand-mother, sapatnikam being used with 'mātāmaham'), maternal greatgrand-father and maternal great-great-grand-father (with their wives); one's wife; one's son (or sons, if several are dead already and with his wife or their wives that are dead); daughter (with her husband, if both are dead); uncle (with his wife, if dead); maternal uncle (with his wife, if dead); brother (with wife); paternal aunt (with husband); maternal aunt (with husband); sister (with husband); father-in-law (with his wife and son, if they are dead); guru (father as teacher of the Gāyatrī and Veda); pupil. In the case of grand-fathers and grand-mothers they are described as 'rudrarupa' and the greatgrand-fathers and great-grand-mothers as 'ādityarūpa'. The three ancestors of the mother with their wives are respectively vasurūpa, rudrarūpa and ādityarūpa 1657. The names of women ancestors have the affix 'da' added and all persons both male and female other than those specified above are described as 'vasurūpa'.

A few points of divergence will be noticed. Haradatta on Āsv. gr. III. 3. 6 notes that some do not include the mother and maternal relations in the daily tarpana, and that according to the established practice in his day the tarpana formulæ did not include the names and the gotra of the relatives. Most sūtras

^{1657.} Vide Manu III. 284 for the terms Vasurūpa, Rudrarūpa and Adityarūpa. हरदत्त on आश्वः ग्रु. III. 3. 6 says 'मानूणां मातामहादीनां मातामहादीनां मातामहादीनां च तर्पणमिच्छन्ति। तत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः। केचित्पित्रादीनां नाम्ना तर्पणमिच्छन्ति। देवदृत्ते पज्ञदत्त विष्णुमित्रमिति। एवं मात्रादीनामपि। प्रसिद्धस्त्वाचारः पितरं तर्पणमित्रमिति।

do not say that the names and gotras of the relatives are to be repeated in daily tarpana. The words 'svadhā namas' do not occur in many sutras, but some do contain them (e.g. Baud, Db. S. II, 5, 184 ff., Vaik, I.4). The devatās of tarpana differ in each sūtra. The Sān. gr. (IV. 9) which belongs to the Rgveda just as Aśvalayana's does, enumerates the deities differently in the beginning (it has Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Visnu, Prajāpati, Virūpāksa, Sahasrāksa &c.). Its order of sages is somewhat different and it adds some names such as Śākapūni, Gautami &c. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 5 contains the most elaborate tarpana of all sutras. It puts 'om' before each devatā, rsi and pitr. It includes not only many more deities than elsewhere, but includes several names of the same deity (e.g. Vināyaka, Vakratunda, Hastimukha, Ekadanta; Yama, Yamarāja, Dharma, Dharmarāja, Kāla, Nīla, Vaivasvata &c.). Among rsis it includes many sūtrakāras like Kanva, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Satyāsādha, and also Yājñavalkya, Vyāsa. The Hir. gr. II. 19. 20, Baud. gr. III. 9. Bhāradvāja gr. III. 9-11 contain long and interesting lists of deities and particularly of sages.

If a man has no time for this lengthy tarpana the Dharmasindhu and other digests prescribe an extremely brief one, viz. he repeats two verses and offers water thrice. The verses are 'may the gods, sages, pitrs,'human beings, from Brahmā up to a blade of grass, be satiated and also all the pitrs, the mother and the maternal grand-father and the rest, may this water mixed with sesame be for the crores of families of bygone ages residing in the seven dvipas from the world of Brahmā downwards'.

The Snānasūtra (3rd kaṇḍikā) of Kātyāyana attached to the Pār. gr. contains a description of /arpana. Like the Baud. Dh. S. it lays down that 'om' is to be uttered before the name of every deity (devatā) and 'tṛpyatām' (or tṛpyantām if the word denoting the deity is in the plural) is the verbal form employed. The deities are only 28 and slightly differ from those of Āśv. The group of sages is made up of only Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vodhu, and Pañcaśikha (Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha are according to the Sānkhya-kārikā the names of the founders of the Sānkhya philosophy and stand in the relation of teacher and pupil). Then (after the ṛṣitarpaṇa), the householder is to mix sesame in water and wear the sacred thread under the left arm and suspend it from the right shoulder and offer the water to Kavyavād Anala

(fire), Soma, Yama, Aryaman, Agnisvāttas, Somapas, Barhisads 1658. Offerings of water mixed with sesame are to be made thrice to each of the above with joined hands (jalanjali) and this is to be done by all householders even if the father be living. The remaining part of tarpana (viz. pitrtarpana) is to be done only by him whose father is dead. Gobhila-smrti II. 18-20. Matsyapurāna 102. 14-21 are very similar to the Snānasütra. According to Āśvalāvana and others water is offered with the right hand only while according to Kātyāyana and others water is offered with both hands. 1669 The Sm. C. I. p. 191 says that the householder should follow his grhyasūtra and if there is nothing in it on this point there is an option. Kārsnājini prescribes that in śrāddha and marriage only the right hand is employed in making an offering or gift, but in tarpana both hands (made into an añjali) are employed. One 1660 añjali of water is offered to each of the gods, two to Sanaka and other sages and three to each of the pitrs. When tarpana is performed while the householder is still in the water with his wet clothes on, he offers the water in the stream itself; but when he wears dry clothes and performs tarpana, then he is to let fall the handfuls of water in a pure vessel of gold, silver, copper, bronze, but not in an earthen one; or he may let the water fall on the ground covered with kusas (Sm. C. I. p. 192). There were several views on this point (vide Gr. R. pp. 263-264). In modern times daily tarpana has become very rare. Only a few even among the orthodox or priestly brahmanas and among those who have studied the several sastras (such as grammar

1658. Yoga-Yājāavalkya quoted by Aparārka pp. 138-139 gives the same names of devatās and of the divine pitys as the Snānasūtra. Vide Manu III. 195-199 for आंग्रेडब.सा:, सीमपा: and बहिषद: that are all pitys of various kinds. बृहत्पराज्ञर 3rd chap. p. 74 (Jivānanda, part 2) says that all from Kavyavād Anala to Barhişads are divine pitys (divyāḥ pitaraḥ). Vide Sabhāparva 11.45 for seven groups (gaṇās) of pitys, four of whom are said to be corporeal and three disembodied. Kārṣṇā-jini quoted by Aparārka p. 138 says that the seven sages from Sanaka to Pañcasikha are the sons of Brahmā.

1659. आद्धे विचाहकाले तु पाणिनैकेम दीयते। तर्पणे तुभयेनैव विधिरेष पुरातनः॥ कार्ष्णाजिनि quoted by अपरार्क p. 132, स्मृतिचः I. p. 191; यम ▼. 99 is आद्धे हवनकाले च द्धादेकेन पाणिना। उभाग्यां तर्पणे द्धादिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः॥; हरद्त्त on आश्व मृ. सू. III. 4.1 says 'द्वतास्तर्पयति। तञ्चाक्षलिना कर्तव्यम्। जलाक्षलिरिति हि तर्पणं प्रसिद्धम्। अन्ये त्वनादेशाद्धक्षिणेन पाणिना कुर्वन्ति। अपरे तु सन्योपगृहीतेन दक्षिणेन॥.'

1660. एकेकं चाथ हो हो वै त्रींस्त्रीनेकेकमआलिम् । अर्हन्त्येते क्रमाञ्चेव देवर्षि-पितरस्त्रयः ॥ स्टब्नान्त, I. 95; vide also स्यास in स्मृतिचः I. p. 191. &c.) do it daily, but generally most brāhmaņas perform tarpaņa as part of brahmayajña on one day in the year in the month of Śrāvana.

A special tarpana was effered to Yama on the 14th of the dark half of a month if it was a Tuesday or on the 14th of the dark half. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 197-198, Madanapārijāta p. 296, Par. M. I. part 1, p. 361. Dakṣa (II. 52-55) prescribes that Yama-tarpaṇa is specially performed in the Jumna on the days specified above and gives the several names under which Yama is invoked. Vide also Matsyapurāṇa 213. 2-8. The Tai. Ār. VI. 5 speaks of a yajña or bali (offering) in honour of Yama every month. There is also tarpaṇa in honour of the great epic hero Bhiṣma offered on the 8th of the bright half of Māgha. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 198.

Gobhila-smṛti ¹⁶⁶¹ (II. 22-23) emphasizes the importance of tarpaṇa by remarking that, as all beings, animate or inanimate, desire water from the brāhmaṇa who brings prosperity to all, tarpaṇa should always be done by him and that if he does not do it he would incur great sin and that if he does it he would support this world. The idea underlying tarpaṇa seems to be indicated even by the Tai. S. V. 4. 4. 1. 1668

It has already been seen (at pp. 668-669) that tarpana was prescribed as an appendage of the early morning bath and that some required it to be done twice daily while others said that it was to be done only once. As Āśv. gr. places tarpana immediately after svādhyāya (or brahmayajña) it follows that he treated it as a constituent though subordinate part of it. The Gobhilasmṛti (II. 29) says that brahmayajña which consists in inaudibly muttering Vedic texts (japa) should be performed before tarpaṇa or after the morning homa or at the end of Vaiśvadeva and at no other time unless there is some special reason. 1663

The Āhnikaprakāśa (pp. 336-377) gives summaries of tarpana according to Kātyāyana, Śankha, Baudhāyana, Visnupurāṇa, Yogiyājñavalkya, Āśvalāyana, Gobhilagrhya.

^{1661.} तथा भूतानि सर्वाणि स्थावराणि ज्ञशाणि च । विषादुद्कमिन्छन्ति सर्वास्युद्य-कृद्धि सः ॥ तस्मात्तद्देत्तर्भतंत्र्यमगुर्वन्महतेनसा । युज्यते ब्राह्मणः कुर्वन्त्रिश्यमेतिङ्क्षभिति हि ॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 22–23, quoted in स्मृतिचः I. p. 196.

^{1562.} अइमझूर्जिमिति परिषिञ्चति मार्जयत्येवैननधो तर्पयत्येव स एनं नृप्तोऽशुध्यक्ष-

शोच जसुष्मिँहोक उपतिष्ठते । ते. सं. V. 4. 4. 1.

^{1663.} यथ्य श्रुतिज्ञपः मोक्तो ब्रह्मयज्ञः स चोच्यते । स चार्याक्तपंणात् कार्यः पश्चाद्वा मातराहुतेः । वैश्वदेवावसाने वा नान्यवर्ते निमिक्तकात् ॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 28-29, quoted in मृह. र. p. 273, आह्निकमकाश p. 335.

CHAPTER XVIII

PAÑCA MAHĀYAJÑAS

Pañca Mahāyajñas:—(the five daily great observances or sacrifices).

From early Vedic times five daily observances called mahānajās were prescribed. The Sat. Br. (XI 5. 6. I.) 1664 says there are only five mahāyajñas, they are like great sacrificial sessions, viz. the sacrifice to beings, the sacrifice to men, the sacrifice to the Fathers, the sacrifice to the gods, the sacrifice to brahman (Veda)'. These are then briefly defined. In the Tai. Ār. II. 10 we read 'these five mahāyajñas indeed are spread out continuously, viz. devayajña, pitryajña, bhūtayajña, manusyayajña, brahmayajña. That is fulfilled as devayajña when one makes an offering in fire, even if it be a mere fuel-stick; when one offers syadhā (śrāddha repast) to the fathers, even if it be mere water, that becomes pitryajña; when a man offers a bali (a ball of food) to the beings it becomes bhūtayajña, when he gives food to brāhmanas that becomes manusyayajña. one studies svādhyāya even if it be a single τk or yajus formula or a saman, it becomes brahmayajña'. 1665

The Āśv. gr. (III 1.1-4) speaks of the five mahāyajñas and defines them in practically the same words as the Tai. Ār. II. 10 and enjoins that those yajñas must be performed everyday. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gr. III. 1. 2 expressly asserts that the

1664. पञ्चेव महायज्ञाः । तान्येव महासत्राणि भूतयज्ञो मछण्यज्ञः पितृयज्ञो देवयज्ञो बह्मयज्ञ इति। ज्ञातपथ जा. XI. 5. 6. 1. These words are quoted by विश्वस्त्प on या. I. 101. The ज्ञातपथ proceeds to define these 'अहरहर्भूतेम्यो विलं हरेत् । तथैतं भूत्यज्ञं समामोत्यहरहर्द्द्द्यादोद्पात्रात्तथैतं मछण्ययज्ञं समामोत्यहरहर्द्द्यादोद्पात्रात्तथैतं मछण्ययज्ञं समामोत्यहरहः स्वाहाक्चर्याद् काष्टात्तथैतं देवयज्ञं समामोति॥ अथ बद्धायज्ञः । स्वाध्ययो वै बद्धायज्ञः । '

1665. पश्च वा एते महायज्ञाः सतिति प्रतायन्ते सतित संतिष्ठनते देवयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो भूतयज्ञो मछ्ण्ययज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञ इति । यद्भौ जुहोत्यपि समिधं तद्देवयज्ञः संतिष्ठते । यत् पितृभ्यः स्वधा करोत्यप्यपस्तात्पितृयज्ञः संतिष्ठते । यज्भूतेभ्यो बर्लि हरति तद् भूतयज्ञः संतिष्ठते । यत्स्वाध्यायमधीयितिकामप्युचं यज्ञः साम वा तद् ब्रह्मयज्ञः संतिष्ठते ॥ ते. आ. II. 10.

basis of the five yajñas is the Tai. Ār. 1066 The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 13-15 and I 4. 13. 1) names and explains them similarly and states that they are called (in the Tai. Ār. II. 10) 'great yajñas' and 'great sacrificial sessions' by way of laudation. The word 'yajña' applied to these five daily duties is figurative and the adjective 'great' is applied only for belauding 1667 them. Gaut. V. 8 and VIII. 17, Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 1-8, Gobhilasmṛti II. 26 and numerous smṛti texts speak of the same five yajñas. Gaut. VIII. 17 includes them among sanskāras as stated above (p. 193).

It will be noticed from the description of the five vaiñas given below that they are distinguished from the solemn śrauta sacrifices in two respects. In these five the chief agent is the householder himself, he does not need the help and ministration of a professional priest, while in the śrauta sacrifices the priests occupy the most prominent place and the householder is more or less a passive spectator or agent in the hands of the priests who direct everything. In the second place, in the five yajñas the central point is the discharge of duties to the Creator, to the ancient sages, to the Manes, and to the whole universe with myriads of creatures of various grades of intelligence. In the śrauta sacrifices the main-spring of action is the desire to secure Heaven or some object such as prosperity, a son &c. Therefore the institution of the five sacrifices is morally and spiritually more progressive and more ennobling than that of the srauta sacrifices.

The sentiments that prompted the performance of these five observances appear to have been as follows: Every man could not afford to celebrate the solemn srauta rites prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta sūtras. But every one could offer a fuel-stick to fire that was deemed to be the mouth of the

1666. अधात: पञ्च यज्ञाः । देवयज्ञो भूतयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो बह्मयज्ञो मनुष्पयज्ञ इति । आश्व, मृ. III. 1. 1-2; पञ्चयज्ञानां हि तैत्तिरीयारण्यकं मून्तं पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञा इत्यादि । नारायण on आश्व. मृ. III. 1. 3. The प्रा. मा. I. part 1 p. 11 also notes that the five yajñas are prescribed in the Tai. Ar. and draws therefrom the sweeping generalization that all smrti rules were known to śruti.

1667. अध ब्राह्मणोक्ता विधयः। तेषां महायज्ञा महासत्राणीति च संस्तुतिः। अहरह-र्भूतवालिर्मेखण्येभ्यो यथाशक्ति दानम् । द्वेयेभ्यः स्वाहाकार आकाष्टात्पितृभ्यः स्वधाकार ओदंपात्रादृषिभ्यः स्वाध्याय इति। आप. ध. स्. I. 4. 12. 13—I. 4. 13. 1. Vide Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 1–8 for very similar words.

great Gods 1668 of Heaven and thus show his reverence and devotion to them. Similarly everyone could show his reverence for and gratitude to the great sages that had bequeathed a glorious heritage of sacred literature by repeating at least one verse and one could propitiate his deceased ancestors by offering in loving memory and filial devotion a mere handful or vessel-ful of water (which costs nothing). The whole world human and non-human is one creation and there must be a spirit of live and let live or give and take. Therefore one must offer what one can afford to a guest and also have something for all beings (including even such shunned animals as dogs, crows and These feelings of devotion, gratitude, reverence, loving memory, kindliness and tolerance seem to have been the springs that prompted the Aryans of old to emphasize the importance of the five daily yajñas and to have led sūtra writers like Gautama and legislators like Manu (II. 28) to look upon them as samskāras, as ennobling the soul by freeing it from mere selfishness and elevating the body to become a fit vehicle for higher things. 1669 Later on it appears that other purposes came to be attributed to the institution of the five daily yajñas. According to Manu III. 68-71, Visnu Dh. S. 59. 19-20. Śankha V. 1-2, Hārīta, Matsyapurāna 52. 15-16 and others every householder causes injury or death to sentient beings every day in five places, viz. the hearth, the grinding mill, broomstick, winnowing basket and similar household gear, mortar and pestle, and water-jar. The five daily yajñas were devised by the great sages as atonements for the sins arising from these five sources of injury to life. These five are: brahmayajña which consists in the study and teaching of the Veda. pitryajña which consists of tarpana, daivayajña which consists in offerings made into fire, bhūtayajña which is offering oblations to beings and manusyayajña which consists in honouring guests. He who performs these daily according to his means is never tainted by the sin of the injuries arising from the five places mentioned above. Manu (III. 73-74) further 1670 says that former sages had a different nomenclature for the five

^{1668.} त्वामग्ने आदित्यास आस्यं त्यां जिह्नां श्चचयश्चित्ररे कवे। ऋ. II. 1. 13; त्वे अग्ने विश्वे अमृतासो अनुह आसा देवा हविरदन्त्याहुतम्। ऋ. II. 1. 14.

^{1669.} स्वाध्यायेन बतेहोंमैश्लेविद्येनेज्यया सुतैः । महायज्ञेश्च यज्ञेश्च बाह्मीयं क्रियते तत्तुः ॥ मतु II. 28.

^{1670.} आश्व. मृ. 1. 1. 2-3 supports मनु 'त्रयः पाकयज्ञाः । हुता असौ हूयमाना अनंसी पहुता ब्राह्मणभोजने ब्रह्मणि हताः ।'

yajñas i. e. ahuta, huta, prahuta, brāhmya-huta and prāšita, which were the same respectively as japa (or brahmayajña), homa (devayajña), bhūtavajña, manusyayajña and pitrtarpana (pitryajña). In the Atharvaveda VI. 71. 2 four out of these seem to be alluded to 'what came to me as huta or ahuta or given by pitrs and assented to by men'. 1671 Huta and prahuta in the sense of homa to gods and bali to bhūtas occur in Br. Up. I. 5.2. But in some grhvasūtras different meanings are attached to these very words e.g. San. gr. I. 5 and Par. gr. I. 4 say that there are four pākayajñas viz. huta, ahuta, prahuta and prāsita and San. gr. I. 10. 7 1672 explains that they are respectively the same as agnihotra (or daivavajña), bali (bhūtayajña), pitryajña and brāhmva-huta (or mānusyayajña). The Hārītadharma-sūtra has a very interesting passage on this point. 'We shall now explain the $s\bar{u}n\bar{u}s$ (places of injury) which are so called because they kill moving and immovable sentient beings. They are five. The first (sūnā) is caused by actions like sudden entrance in water, plunging into water, whirling water, splashing it in various directions, taking water without straining it through a piece of cloth and driving vehicles: the second by walking about in the dark or away from the beaten path or in quick jerks or by treading upon insects &c.; the third by striking (a tree with an axe &c.), by plucking flowers &c. by tying with a rope &c., by crushing (in a mortar), by splitting (wood &c.); the fourth by cutting crops, by rubbing or grinding; and the fifth by ignition (of fire-wood), heating (of water), by roasting, frying and cooking. These five injuries that lead to Hell are committed every day by people. Brahmacarins get rid of the first three by attending on fire and on their teacher and by the study of the Veda; householders and forest hermits purify themselves from these five by performing the five yajñas; ascetics get rid of the first two injuries by sacred knowledge and contemplation, but the injury caused by crushing uncooked seeds under the teeth cannot be removed by any of Although in the Ap. Dh. S. and others the five vaiñas are enumerated in the order of bhūta-yajña, manusva-vajña,

^{1671.} यनमा हुतमहुतमाजगाम वृत्तं पितृभिरत्नमतं मतुष्यैः। यस्मान्मे मन उद्दित्र रारजीत्यग्निष्ठद्धोता सुहुतं कृणोतु ॥ अधर्ववेव VI. 71. 2.

^{1672.} हुतोग्निहोत्रहोमेण अहुतो बलिकर्मणा। प्रहुतः पिनृकर्मणा प्राज्ञितो बाह्मणे हुतः ॥ ज्ञां. गृ. 1. 10. 7. Vide बो. गृ. 1. 1-11 for a somewhat different terminology.

^{1673.} Vide Appendix under note 1673.

devayajña, pitryajña and svädhyāya, still the proper order from the point of view of the times of performance is first brahmayajña (japa &c.), then devayajña, then bhūtayajña, then pitryajña, and lastly manusvavaiña. 1674 Therefore they will be dealt with in the same order here. But some matters have first to be noted. Various views were entertained about the time and nature of brahmayajña 1675 and pitryajña. According to Gobhila-smrti II. 28-29 quoted above (n. 1663), japa prescribed in samdhvā adoration may be looked upon as brahmavajña, that the latter may be performed before tarpana and after the morning homa or after vaiśvadeva. Nārāyana on Āśv. gr. III. 2. 1 says that brahmayajña may be performed before or after vaisvadeva. According to the Snanasūtra of Katyayana, brahmayajna precedes tarpana and Aśv. gr. as stated above (p. 695) appears to regard tarpana as part of it. Manu III. 82 (Visnu Dh. S. 67. 23-25) enjoins upon a man the performance of daily śrāddha with food or water or with milk, roots and fruits and thus to propitiate and please the Manes of his deceased ancestors; while Manu (III, 70 and 283) says that tarpana (done after bath) constitutes pitryajña. Therefore Gobhila says that śrāddha, tarpana and the bali offered to pitrs constitute pitryajña and even when one of them is gone through, the performance of pitrvajña is effected and it is not necessary to perform all three. 1676 In the bali-harana (described below) the remnants of ball are offered to pitrs (Asv. gr. I. 2. 11, Manu III. 91).

Brahma-yajña. Probably the earliest description of this is to be found in the Sat. Br. XI. 5. 6. 3-8. That Brahmaṇa, after stating that brahmaṇajña is one's own daily study of the Veda, compares several elements required in the ordinary sacrifice to certain elements of brahmaṇajña, viz. the juhū spoon, upabhṛt, dhruvā, sruva, avabhṛtha (the solemn bath at the end of a sacrifice) and heaven are said to be represented by the speech, the mind, the eye, mental power, truth and the conclusion (that

^{1674.} न चायस्पदेशक्रमोऽनुष्ठान उपयुज्यते। अनुष्ठानं तु ब्रह्मयज्ञो देवयज्ञो भूतयज्ञः पिनृयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञ इति। हरदत्त ০০ आए. ध. सु. I. 4, 13. 1.

^{1675.} कालादशें। मातर्मध्यन्दिनं वापि ब्रह्मयज्ञो विधीयते। मातर्यादि तदा माहुराहुरयाः परतो भवेत्॥ मध्याह्ने चेत् तर्पणात् माग्वैश्वदेवात्यरत्र वा । quoted in स्मृतिस्. (आह्निक) p. 368.

^{1676.} श्राद्धं वा पितृयक्तः स्यात् पित्रोर्बालरथापि वा । गोभिलस्मृति II. 28; श्राद्धं नित्यश्राद्धम्। एतेन त्रयाणां पितृयक्तरवाद्धमंभवे एकेनापि क्रुतेन पितृयक्कानिष्पत्तेः पितृ-यक्काकरणमसक्तः प्रत्यवायः परिद्वतो भवति। आङ्किकप्रकाका p. 391.

are present in brahmayajña).1677 Then it says that whoever studies day by day his Vedic lessons gains an imperishable world which is thrice or more of the world that one may secure by making a gift to priests of the whole earth replete with wealth. Then 4-7 compare rk, yajus, sāman and Atharvāngiras (Atharvaveda) texts respectively to offerings to gods of milk, ghee, soma and fat and it is stated that the gods being delighted and satisfied with these, bestow on the man who performs brahmayajña affluence and security, life-breath, seed, his whole self and all auspicious blessings and streams of ghee and honey flow for his departed pitrs. The Sat. Br. XI. 5, 6, 8 enumerates other works that may be recited in brahmayajña, the recital of which is like honey offerings to gods who being delighted and gratified bestow on the reciter the boons stated. above, the works being Anusasanas (Vedangas), vidyas (such as sarpa and devajana vidyā mentioned in Chāndogya VII. 1. 1), vākovākya (theological discourses called brahmodya, as in Vāj. S. 23. 9-12 and 45-62), Itihāsapurāna (traditional history and legends), Gāthās, Nārāśamsīs (i. e. stanzas in praise of The Tai. Ar. (II. 10-13) has a more lengthy passage on brahmayajña; Tai. Ār. II. 10 is almost 1679 the same as Sat. Br. except in two respects, viz. in the Tai. Ar. Atharvangirasah are said to be honey offerings and brahmana texts, itihāsas, purānas, kalpas (works on śrauta ritual) and Gāthā Nārāsamsis are said to be fat offerings and the rewards, bestowed by the gods when delighted by the brahmayajña, are long life. brilliance, lustre, prosperity, glory, spiritual eminence and food. Tai. Ar. II. 11 describes how and where brahmayajña is to be performed 'one who desires to offer brahmayajña should repair to a place so far away to the east, north or north-east of his village that the thatch covering houses is not visible and when the sun rises he should wear his sacred thread (in the upavita form) under his right arm, should sit down (on a pure spot), should wash both his hands with water, should sip thrice, should wipe his hand twice with water, should

^{1677.} Juhu, upabhrt, dhruva and sruva are sacrificial ladles and will be described later under frauta sacrifices.

^{1678.} According to the Tai. Br. II. 7. 5 ' मनुष्या चै नराशंसः ; vide शांख्यायनश्रोत 16. 11 where many lists of नाराशंस hymns occur, Rg. I. 125 being one hymn of that kind. अधर्य XX. 127. 1 has the word मराशंस and आ V. 18.5, is नाराशंसी.

^{1679.} Vide Appendix under note 1679.

once sprinkle his lips with water, and touch his head, eyes, nostrils, ears and heart; he should spread out a large seat of darbhas, should be seated facing the east with his legs crossed over each other (the left foot being underneath and the right foot on the left thigh) and then should repeat his Veda; (it is said that) the darbhas are indeed the flavour (or sweetness) of waters and herbs; he (by sitting on darbhas) makes his Veda full of sweetness. Placing his left hand on the right knee with the palm turned up and covering it with the right hand the palm of which is turned down and placing pavitras (blades of darbha) between both hands, he should begin with the syllable 'om' which is a yajus, which is the representative of the three Vedas, which is all speech, and is the highest syllable; this has been declared by ark (Rg. I. 164. 39 is quoted). He recites the syllables bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ; he thereby (by repeating the vyāhṛtis) employs the three Vedas. This is the truth (quintessence) of speech; he thereby has employed the truth of speech. Then he recites thrice the Gayatri verse, which is addressed to Savitr, by its feet separately, then by half of it, then the whole verse without stopping. The sun is the creator of glory, he secures glory itself; then he begins (the next day) the repetition of the Vedic texts from that point which he had noted (the previous Tai. Ar. II. 12 states that if a man is unable to go out of the village he may perform brahmyajña by revolving in his mind in the village itself the Veda by day or even by night; or if he cannot seat himself, then he may perform the brahmayajña even standing or lying down, since the principal matter is the recitation of the Veda (time and place being quite Tai. Ar. II. 13 says that he should conclude the subordinate). brahmayajña by repeating thrice the verse 'Adoration to Brahma (Veda or Prajāpati), to Agni, to the Earth, to herbs, to speech, to the Lord of speech (Brhaspati), I offer adoration to

1680. The idea is that one is not to begin to recite Vedic texts at random. When a man has recited a portion of any Veda one day, he should note where he stopped and continue his recitation next day from that point. The Ap. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 19 also prescribes that one should go every day to the water-side before taking his morning meal and recite in a pure place a portion of the Veda in succession (i. e. one day he should begin where he stopped the previous day and so on). Vide Aśw. gr. III. 4. 6 where the Tai. Ar. allowing recitation of the Veda even while standing or lying down is quoted.

the great Viṣṇu'. 1681 Then he should sip water and return home; thereafter whatever he gives becomes the fee of the sacrifice (i. e. of brahmayajña).

The procedure of svādhyāya (or brahmayajña) in Āśv. gr. III. 2. 2-III. 3. 4 is practically in the same words as in the Tai. Ar. quoted above. One or two points may be noted. The Asv. gr. 1882 prescribes that one should recite gazing at the horizon or one may close one's eyes or one may look in such a way that one feels that one can concentrate one's mind. According to the Asv. gr. the shortest brahmayajña would be: om bhur bhuvah svah; the Gayatri verse repeated thrice; then at least one rk verse and then the verse 'namo brahmane' (quoted above) repeated thrice. The Ahnikaprakāśa p. 329 says that one who knows only a portion of the Veda should recite as brahmayajña the Purusasūkta (Rg. X. 90) and other hymns and one who knows only the Gayatri should repeat 'om' as brahmayajña every day. 1682 Asv. gr. (III. 3.1) mentions the following works for svādhuāua, Rgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmeveda, Atharvāngirasah, Brāhmaņas, Kalpas, Gāthās Nārāśamsīs, Itihāsas, and Puranas. But it adds that one may recite only as much as one feels that one can afford to do with a concentrated mind.

The Śān. gr. I. 4 prescribes several hymns and verses of the Rgveda for reciting in brahmayajña. Others following different Vedas and Śākhās differ as to the content of the brahmayajña. Vide Āhnika-prakāśa pp. 328-336 for brahmayajña according to Kātyāyana and according to the followers of Sāmaveda. Yāj. I. 101 prescribes that as time and ability allow one may include in brahmayajña the Vedas together with the Atharvaveda, Itihāsa and philosophical texts.

Brahmayajña is very rarely performed every day (except by the most orthodox vaidikas and śāstris) in modern times and a fixed formula of brahmayajña has been decided upon, which is recited once a year in Śrāvaṇa by most brāhmaṇas in the Deccan. The formula for students of the Rgveda is as follows:

^{1681.} नमो ब्रह्मणे नमोस्त्वग्नये नमः पृथित्ये नम ओषधीम्यः। नमो वाचे नमो वाचरपतये नमो विष्णवे बृहते करोमि ॥ तै. आ. II. 13. This occurs in आन्त. मृ. III. 3. 4 where महते is read for बृहते.

^{1682.} स यावन्मन्येत तावद्धीत्यैतया परिद्धाति। नमो ब्रह्मणे...करोमीति। आश्व. गृ. III. 3. 4 on which Narayana observes 'स यावत्कालमेकाग्रमनसा आत्मानं मन्येत तावत्कालमेवाधीयीत न द्शाप्यध्येतच्या इति नियमः। सर्वधा समाहितमनसेवाध्येतच्यं नेयत्तानियम इत्यर्थः। १.

^{1683.} एकदेशाध्यायिना पुरुषस्कादिपाठेन साविश्रीमात्राध्यायिना प्रणवपाठेन नित्यं ब्रह्मयज्ञः कर्तस्यः । आद्विकप्रकाश p. 329.

After reciting 'om bhūr bhuvah svah' and the sacred Gāyatrī, he recites Rg. I. 1. 1-9, then the first sentence of the Ait. Br., the first sentences of the five sections of the Ait. Ār.; the first sentences of the Black and White Yajurveda, of the Sāmaveda, of the Atharvaveda; the first sentences of the Nighantu and the six Vedāngas viz. Āsv. śrauta, Nirukta, Chandas, Nighantu, Jyotiṣa, Śikṣā, Pāṇini's grammar in order; the first 'pāda' of Yāj. I. 1 and of the Mahābhārata (I.1.1), the first sūtra of the Nyāya, Pūrvamīmāmsā and Uttaramīmāmsā; then a benedictory formula ('tacchamyor... catuṣpade') and lastly the verse' namo brahmane' is repeated thrice. After this brahmayajña, tarpaṇa of devas, sages and pitrs follows.

The Dharmasindhu (III. pūrvārdha p. 299) says that brahmavajña is to be performed once either after morning homaor after midday samdhyā or after Vaisvadeva, but those who study the Aśvalayanasūtra should perform it only after midday saindhyā. After ācamana and prānayāma one should make the samkalpa (śriparameśvaraprityartham brahmayajñam karisye tadangatayā devarsyācārya-tarpanam karisye) and if one's father is dead one should add in the samkalpa (pitrtarpanam ca karisve). It then sets out how it is to be performed by various people, such as those who have studied all vedas or one veda or only a portion or when one has no time. It says that the followers of the Taittiriya śākhā repeat the words 'vidyud-asi vidya me pāpmānam-rtāt satyam-upaimi' at the commencement and the words 'vṛṣṭirasi vṛśca me pāpmānam-ṛtāt satyamupāgām 'at the end. If a man is unable to repeat brahmayajña sitting he may do it even when lying down.

The Dharmasindhu notes that according to the followers of the Taittiriya śākhā and of the Vājasaneya Samhitā tarpaņa is not a part of brahmayajña and so tarpaṇa may be performed by them either before brahmayajña or even some time after brahmayajña.

1684. After Rg. I. 1. 1-9 the following are repeated अशिर्षे देवानामवमो विष्णुः परमः । अध महाम्रतम् । एष पन्धा एतःकर्म । अधातः संहिताया उपनिषद् । विदा
मध्यन्विद् । महान्रतस्य पंचितिंज्ञातिं सामिधेन्यः। द्वेषे त्वोर्षे त्वा । अग्न आयाहि वीतये। ज्ञां नो
देवीरभिष्टये । अधैतस्य समाग्नायस्य । समाग्नायः समाग्नातः । मयरसत्तजभनलगसंमितम् ।
गौः गमा । पश्चसंवत्सरमयम् । अध शिक्षां प्रवश्यामि । वृद्धिरादेष्य । योगीन्धरं याज्ञवल्वयम् ।
नारायणं नमस्कृत्य । अधातो धर्म ध्याख्यास्यामः । अधातो धर्मजिज्ञासा । अधातो नद्धजिज्ञासा । तच्छंयोराष्ट्रणीमहे । गातुं यज्ञाय गातुं यज्ञपतये । देवी स्वस्तिरस्तु नः । स्वस्तिर्माखपेन्यः । उद्धे जिगातु भेषजम् । इं नो अस्तु द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे । नमो महाणे॰ (त्रिः).
Vide Appendix under note 1684.